Daily Mail. 27. 2. 15.

676/1

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The Government have taken the drastic step of ordering all employers and workers engaged in work for the war to—

1. Stop all strikes at once.
2. Secure full and regular work and output.
3. Abolish all restrictive trade rules or customs.
4. Stop haggling about piece-work prices by an agreement that high earnings in war work shall not involve any lower scale of pay for the men after the war.
5. If necessary get women to work on shells and fuses, work which they can suitably execute.
6. Prevent any stoppage of work by immediate reference to the Government tribunal.
7. Give, in the case of firms, a guarantee to the workers that nothing shall prejudice individuals or trade unions after the war.

At present there is a strike of engineers on the Clyde, and an even wider strike in the shipbuilding industry is threatened. With regard to the Clyde the following statement was issued by the Government yesterday:—

CHIEF INDUSTRIAL COMMISSIONER'S DEPT., Old Palace-yard, Friday.

The strike of the engineers in the Clyde district has been under the consideration of his Majesty's Government and by their direction the following letter has been sent to-day by Sir George Askwith, Chief Industrial Commissioner, to the Engineering Employers' Federation on behalf of the employers, and to the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, the Steam Engine Makers' Society, the United Machine Workers' Association, the Amalgamated Society of General Tool Makers, and the Scientific Instrument Makers' Trade Society on behalf of the men:—

Feb. 26, 1915.

Sir,—From inquiries which have been made as to the position of the dispute in the engineering trade in the Glasgow district, it appears that the parties concerned have been unable to arrive at a settlement. In consequence of the delay the requirements of the nation are being seriously endangered.

I am instructed by the Government that important munitions of war urgently required by the Navy and the Army are being held up by the present cessation of work and that they must call for a resumption of work on Monday morning, March 1.

Immediately following the resumption of work arrangements will be made for the representatives of the parties to meet the Committee of Production in Engineering and Shipbuilding Establishments for the purpose of the matter in dispute being referred for settlement to a Court of Arbitration, who shall have power to fix the date from which the settlement shall take effect.—I am, yours faithfully,

G. R. ASKWITH,
Chief Industrial Commissioner.

The men's committees met last night, and meet again to-day and to-morrow. A mass meeting is hardly possible before Monday or Tuesday.

It is semi-officially reported that the employers will be asked to concede a certain sum and the Government will guarantee the balance. The men asked 2d. an hour extra and the employers offered ¾d.

SHIPYARD CONFERENCE FAILS.

Sir George Askwith presided at a conference between shipbuilding employers and workers in London yesterday on the men's demand for 6s. a week increase or 15 per cent. on piecework. No settlement was reached. A joint conference of unions involving 100,000 men affected will be held at Newcastle on Tuesday, when notices to cease work expire.

EVIL OF BROKEN TIME.

Late last evening the Government statements embodying the wider orders described above were issued as follows:

Sir George Askwith, Sir Francis Hopwood, and Sir George Gibb report that irregular time-keeping in shipyards is a chief cause of failure to reach the maxi-

should not be used as a means of lowering rates of wages, and we think the rates in question should be protected." This can be done by a guarantee that in fixing piecework prices war earnings shall not be considered as a factor, so that all apprehension of a reduction will be removed.

WOMEN'S WORK ON SHELLS.

"We recommend to increase the output that there should be an extension of the practice of employing female labour under suitable conditions in the production of shells and fuses." If there is any difficulty the matter must be referred to the tribunal.

THERE MUST BE NO STRIKES.

"*There can be no justification whatever for a resort to strikes or lock-outs* under present conditions when the resulting cessation of work would prevent the production of ships, guns, equipment, stores, or other commodities required by the Government."

The Government have therefore concurred in issuing the following both to contractors and the trade unions for their adhesion:—

Avoidance of Stoppages on Work for Government Purposes.

With a view to preventing loss of production caused by disputes between employers and workpeople, no stoppage of work by strike or lock-out should take place on work for Government purposes. In the event of differences arising which fail to be settled by the parties directly concerned, or by their representatives, or under any existing agreements, the matter shall be referred to an impartial tribunal nominated by his Majesty's Government for immediate investigation and report to the Government with a view to a settlement.

GUARANTEE TO WORKERS.

"In order to safeguard the position of the trade unions and of the workpeople concerned we think that each contracting firm should give an undertaking, to be held on behalf of the unions, in the following terms:—

To his Majesty's Government.

We hereby undertake that any departure during the war from the practice ruling in our workshops and shipyards prior to the war shall only be for the period of the war.

No change in practice made during the war shall be allowed to prejudice the position of the workpeople in our employment or of their trade unions in regard to the resumption and maintenance after the war of any rules or customs existing prior to the war.

In any readjustment of staff which may have to be effected after the war, priority of employment will be given to workmen in our employment at the beginning of the war who are serving with the colours or who are now in our employment.

Name of firm .....
Date ....."

This guarantee has already been accepted by a number of firms.

FRENCH EXAMPLE.

A fine letter by a British officer whose work throws him much into contact with the French troops is printed in Page 6. It concludes:

"From time to time one reads of labour troubles, threatened strikes, and so forth. Troubles of this kind in a French factory are as unlikely as a mutiny in a French or British regiment, and the degree of possibility of their occurring in England is the measure of our failure to realise our responsibilities at a time when every man's energies are needed every day."

GET ON WITH THE NATION'S WORK!

The country will applaud the vigorous and even-handed tone of the Government's orders to all employers and workers engaged in the production of war material. Munitions of war needed, and needed without a moment's delay, by both the Navy and Army have been held up during the past week on the Clyde because of a difference of opinion as to the wages of the men engaged in manufacturing them. While employers and employed have been haggling over an extra penny or twopence an hour the vital requirements of the country in this supreme crisis of its history have been left to look after themselves. In such a situation, so fatal to our fighting efficiency, so prejudicial to our national good name, the Government was bound to intervene.

The Government has intervened in the right way. It has issued injunctions to both employers and employed on the Clyde to see to it that work is resumed on Monday. It has further called upon all parties concerned in the manufacture of war material to take every possible step so as to increase the output. It has given a pledge that the cause of labour and the trade unions shall not be prejudiced in peace by waiving during the war any restrictions found necessary in the men's interest or by permitting the more general employment of women in the production of ammunition. So grave a call in so grave an emergency will not go unheeded, nor will either employers or employed fail to realise the vital need of reconsidering their position. The Government is certain to be obeyed because it speaks for the nation and because in this matter the very existence of the nation depends on prompt and cheerful obedience.

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Late last evening the Government statements embodying the wider orders described above were issued as follows:

Sir George Askwith, Sir Francis Hopwood, and Sir George Gibb report that irregular time-keeping in shipyards is a chief cause of failure to reach the maximum output. If one of a squad is absent the squad is "broken," and the others do not begin. They advise that the Government should intimate—

"It is essential that the employers and workpeople should agree on and establish within ten days an arrangement for dealing effectively with the question of 'broken' squads."

Employers and the Boiler-makers' Union will meet on Wednesday to consider this, and the Government have empowered their new tribunal to deal with any cases of this kind.

NEED OF MORE SHELLS.

Sir G. Askwith, Sir F. Hopwood, and Sir G. Gibb report that the Admiralty and War Office insist that the production of shells and fuses must be increased rapidly.

"There is no reason to doubt that all sections of the community and not least the workpeople will desire that everything possible shall be done to maintain and accelerate adequate supplies of ammunition. Restrictive rules or customs (in the trade) should be suspended during the war, with proper safeguards to protect the workers and their trade unions."

As an example, the tribunal refers to the workers confining their earnings to time and half, due to a desire to protect the peace rates: "We agree that the war matter shall be referred to an impartial tribunal nominated by his Majesty's Government for immediate investigation and report to the Government with a view to a settlement.

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"In order to safeguard the position of the trade unions and of the workpeople concerned we think that each contracting firm should give an undertaking, to be held on behalf of the unions, in the following terms:—

To his Majesty's Government.

We hereby undertake that any departure during the war from the practice ruling in our workshops and shipyards prior to the war shall only be for the period of the war.

No change in practice made during the war shall be allowed to prejudice the position of the workpeople in our employment or of their trade unions in regard to the resumption and maintenance after the war of any rules or customs existing prior to the war.

In any readjustment of staff which may have to be effected after the war, priority of employment will be given to workmen in our employment at the beginning of the war who are serving with the colours or who are now in our employment.

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The Daily Chronicle
26/01/15

War Work.

Compulsory arbitration is the leading note of the Munitions of War Bill. This method of settling industrial disputes is not loved by the British working-classes, and they only accept it under the stress of war and the strong impulsion of patriotic feeling. When the country is in danger is no time for strikes or lock-outs. In addition to swallowing their repugnance to compulsory arbitration, the labour leaders have consented to abrogate, for the duration of the war, rules and regulations having a restrictive tendency on output. These rules and regulations for the most part are the result of two generations of struggle. Hardly won, they are not to be lightly sacrificed. It is much to the credit of the trade union leaders that they are willing to suspend them during the war. That sacrifice, for it is a sacrifice, they owe to their country in this time of peril, and to their gallant comrades in the battle-line in Flanders and Gallipoli. We hold it to be supremely important that the ante-bellum status and practices of the trade unions should be restored with the least possible delay after the war has ended. It would be a national calamity were our standards of labour and of life permanently lowered as the result of this war. Mr. Lloyd George, always a good friend of Labour, has been careful in his Bill to protect the working-classes against this peril. It is expressly stated in the schedule that "any departure from the practices ruling in the workshops, shipyards, and other industries prior to the war shall only be for the period of the war." Labour rights are also safeguarded in other directions. For example, it is provided that semi-skilled workers engaged on highly skilled work are to be paid "the usual rates of the district for that class of work"; and, further, that the relaxation of the restrictions on the admission of semi-skilled or female labour "shall not affect adversely the rates customarily paid for the job." The effect of these salutary provisions is that there will be no financial inducement to the employer to give preference to semi-skilled or female labour, and that where these are employed they will get good wages.

Labour has made concessions. What about capital? Sacrifices must be reciprocal. They must not all be on one side. It would be monstrous if the effect of additional zeal on the part of the workers was to mean greatly-enhanced profits for the employers. The Munitions Bill quite properly limits the profits of capital in all "controlled" establishments, and interferes in other ways with capital's freedom of action. Its authors genuinely desire to establish parity of sacrifice as between employer and employed. The divisible profits are not to be more than one-fifth in excess of the average of the net profits for the last two corresponding periods of the pre-war era. In other words, where in 1914 a company paid a dividend of 5 per cent., it must not in 1915 pay more than 6 per cent. We foresee trouble in calculation of profit where new capital has been brought in recently. The Munitions Tribunal set up by the Bill is a disciplinary court with power to fine for bad timekeeping and such like offences, but without power to imprison. Such a tribunal may be of real service. Labour will be directly represented upon it. We do not like clause 13, which enables a court of summary jurisdiction in certain circumstances to fine a man £5 a day and alternatively send him to prison. This and some other provisions will have to be carefully scrutinised. Regarded as a whole, the Bill is a very good one, and it has obviously been framed with a sincere desire to preserve the permanent interests of Labour unimpaired. It will be surveyed in the House of Commons by

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The Morning Post
17/01/15

SUPPLY OF MUNITIONS.

ORGANISATION OF INDUSTRY.

COMING GOVERNMENT BILL.

(BY OUR POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Mr. Lloyd George's conference with the Trade Union leaders, resumed yesterday, resulted in agreement on a Bill which will be introduced in the House of Commons early next week and pressed forward with all possible speed. The conference lasted a couple of hours, and the Minister then left the Board of Trade offices while the Trade Unionists debated matters among themselves. At three o'clock he met them again, and late in the afternoon a Cabinet Council was called at which, it is understood, the draft of the Bill was considered and approved.

Strikes and Lock-outs Prohibited.

It will be remembered that so long ago as last March an agreement for expediting work and increasing the mobility of labour was arrived at between the Government and the leaders of the Trade Unions mainly concerned; but in practice considerable difficulty has been found in putting this agreement into force. The Bill deals with this and other still more important matters and gives statutory effect to the wider agreement now come to between the Minister of Munitions and the industries represented at yesterday's conference. So far as can be ascertained, the principal objects sought to be attained are these:

If the Board of Trade certifies that cessation of labour at a munition factory would be prejudicial to the national interest a strike or lock-out at such works will be prohibited by the Bill; and all questions of wages and conditions of employment are to be settled compulsorily by the tribunal contemplated in the agreement to which I have just referred.

No Compulsion: A Roll of Volunteers.

The Bill, it is understood, contains no provision of any sort for compulsion, or even for a compulsory registration of the male population (whether the latter is not possible under powers already possessed by the Government is a moot point), but it enables the opening of rolls of volunteers who are prepared to work in any "controlled establishment" to which they may be sent, for a period of six months. It will probably be found that power is given to the King by Order in Council to extend this period should the national emergency continue; and it will be also open to the men themselves to engage for a longer period. Breaches of the undertaking will be punishable by fines imposed by the Munitions Committees.

Limited Profits and Suspended Working Rules.

The expression "controlled establishment" used in the preceding paragraph means a factory engaged in the supply of munitions of war which has been so declared by the Minister of Munitions. In all these establishments the profits of the employers are to be limited, and all restrictive rules and practices of Trade Unions to be suspended. This latter provision is accompanied by a clause giving statutory force to the promise made by the Government last March that at the end of the war the Trade Union restrictions and working rules are to be re-imposed and have effect precisely as was the case before.

The Munitions Committees—bodies representing in equal proportions employers and employed—will be given power to inflict fines for offences such as bad timekeeping, deliberate slackness, and the like. There may be other clauses designed to prevent workmen leaving factories engaged on munition work for the Government without good cause; and, of course, there must be power to deal with employers in the event of breaches by them of any of the regulations made by and agreements entered into with the Munitions Committee or other bodies exercising authority under the Bill.

The Trades Represented.

An official statement was issued last night announcing the fact of the further conference between Mr. Lloyd George and "representatives of a number of workmen's societies." The tale of societies represented is interesting as showing how wide will be the scope of the Bill whose general provisions I have outlined. The

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An official statement was issued last night announcing the fact of the further conference between Mr. Lloyd George and "representatives of a number of workmen's societies." The tale of societies represented is interesting as showing how wide will be the scope of the Bill whose general provisions I have outlined. The list is as follows:

National Advisory Committee on War Output, Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions, National Amalgamated Union of Labour, British Steel Smelters, National Union of Railwaymen, Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, Steam Engine Makers' Society, United Kingdom Society of Coachmakers, Amalgamated Toolmakers, Scientific Instrument Makers, London and Provincial Coachmakers, West of Scotland Brass Finishers, National Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers and Braziers, Sheet Metal Workers (Birmingham), Amalgamated Union of Upholsterers, National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association, Iron and Steel Federation, National Amalgamated Society of House and Ship Painters, General Union of Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated Society of Engineers, National Federation of Women Workers, Friendly Society of Ironfounders, National Society of Brassworkers and Metal Mechanics, Gasworkers and General Labourers, Boilermakers and Iron and Steel Shipbuilders, Workers' Union, Liverpool Shipwrights' Association, United Brassfounders and Finishers, Scottish Painters, Associated Blacksmiths, Electrical Trades Union, United Kingdom Society of Smiths and Strikers, United Machine Workers' Association, Amalgamated Wood Cutting Machinists, Scottish Brass Moulders' Union, Operative Plumbers' Association, United Patternmakers' Association, Shipconstructive and Shipwrights' Association, and General Union of Textile Workers.

The Spectator
5/7/15

On Monday the House of Commons again discussed the Ministry of Munitions Bill. The debate was notable for the fine spirit in which the Labour Members as a whole promised their support in producing ample munitions. Nothing could have been better. Mr. Houston, Unionist Member for West Toxteth, Liverpool, said that he felt so strongly on the failure of the late Government to produce a proper supply of munitions that he had come to the House in defiance of his doctor's orders. We cannot help remarking that he would have done better to obey his doctor. The truth, the whole truth, we want, but not speeches in a lachrymose and depressing tone. These give an entirely false impression abroad of the determination of the British people to win the war, and of their confidence that they will win it in spite of all delays or setbacks. The British people are braced by the truth even when the truth is ugly. It is easy for a speech, however, while saying only what may for the most part be literally justified, to mislead outsiders in the most unfortunate manner as to the temper of the nation. Such a speech, in our opinion, was Mr. Houston's.

Mr. Hobhouse denied that the situation was "desperate," as Mr. Houston had said. When the Cabinet resigned the supply of ammunition to the Army in the field had increased by over two hundred per cent. since last August, and this without taking into account our supplies to the Navy and to our allies. If it were true that the French had increased their supplies by six hundred per cent., our own—all included—did not fall far short of that figure. Mr. Hobhouse then suggested dangers in the Ministry of Munitions Bill. He feared Mr. Lloyd George, with his autocratic powers, might injure trade, and the financial condition of the country after all depended on its trade. Mr. John Hodge, Acting Chairman of the Labour Party, spoke most earnestly, and with the obvious approval of his party, of the desire of Labour to help. Strikes, he said, were inconceivable. Trade Union sacrifices might be great, but they were as nothing to the sacrifices of the men who were laying down their lives in order that people at home might enjoy their liberties. "Far better," he said, "to give up some privileges now than to have no liberties at all, as would be the case if Germany were successful." The speech made a great impression on the House. Other Labour Members spoke quite as strongly.

Sir John Simon replied for the Government. The employment of a considerable number of women, where hitherto their work had been prevented by Trade Union regulations, was contemplated, and if a woman did as good a day's work as a man she must be paid a man's wage. He repeated the promise that after the war Trade Unionism should enjoy all the "old traditions" which it was now being asked to forgo. The Munitions Courts to deal with workmen would have no power of imprisonment. They would have power to inflict fines only. As regards munition volunteers, the statement that the Government had secured all the men they wanted was "a dangerous misapprehension." They must get a great many more volunteers than they would be able ultimately to employ, because there must be discrimination. They must avoid taking men who were engaged on really important work outside the manufacture of munitions.

Mr. Snowden in a rasping speech asserted that the representatives of Labour did not speak for the rank-and-file. He was informed that at the recent Conference one-third of the delegates voted against the proposals in the Ministry of Munitions Bill. Here Mr. Hodge interrupted with: "I speak with the full authority of my Trade Union." Mr. Snowden went on to say that the civil and industrial liberty of the people was at stake. Mr. Churchill had told the country that he had been charged to have the Navy instantly ready for war. Lord Haldane had said that for five years Sir John French had been preparing for such a war as this. But the late Government having been convicted of unreadiness and inefficiency, an attempt was now made in this Bill to put the blame on the workers. Mr. O'Grady informed Mr. Snowden that he evidently knew little of Trade Union movements. The one-third minority at the recent Conference voted, not against this Bill at all, but against compulsory arbitration in all disputes. Letters came from Trade Unionists in the trenches appealing for support. When these men came home they would say that the willingness to forgo privileges temporarily was the greatest work Trade Unionism had ever done. The Bill was read a second time.

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The Financial News
20/5/15

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THE MUNITIONS BILL.

HOW EXCESS PROFITS WILL BE DEALT WITH—EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS.

The main features of the Munitions of War Bill, which was issued yesterday, will have been gathered from the speech of Mr. Lloyd George in the House of Commons on Wednesday last. Following are the more important provisions of the Bill:—

If any difference exists or is apprehended between employer and employed, or between classes of employés, it must be settled either between the parties concerned or reported to the Board of Trade, who may: (1) Refer the matter to any existing body set up by agreement between employers and employed; or (2) submit it to (a) the Committee on Production, or (b) a single arbitrator, or (c) a court of arbitration with an equal number of representatives of both sides sitting under an independent chairman. Not only shall the award thus obtained be binding, but it may also be retrospective. Either a strike or lock-out is only permissible in cases where the Board of Trade has failed to refer the dispute for settlement in accordance with this plan.

As to controlled workshops, the first of the provisions laid down states that "any excess of the net profits of the controlled establishment over the amount divisible under this Act, as ascertained in accordance with the provisions of this Act, shall be paid into the Exchequer." Under Clause 5 the divisible profits are taken to be "an amount exceeding by one-fifth the standard amount of profits," and the standard is fixed at the average of the amount of the net profits for the two corresponding periods completed next before the outbreak of war. Power is given to the Minister of Munitions to take an average of a number of establishments belonging to the same employer either separately or jointly, or to substitute an agreed amount, or refer the matter to a referee or board, whose decision shall be conclusive.

Controlled workshops are subject also to the following conditions:—(1) No change to be made in wages without the permission of the Minister of Munitions, and if consent is withheld the matter shall be determined in the same way as other disputes are to be settled. (2) Any rule, practice, or custom not having the force of law which tends to restrict production or employment to be suspended. (3) The owner to undertake (a) that such suspension shall be for the period of the war only; (b) that men shall not be prejudiced thereby after the war; (c) that priority of employment shall be given after the war to men who left to serve the colours, or were employed when the workshop became a controlled workshop; (d) rates for semi-skilled men shall be the usual rates of the district for the class of work performed; (e) introduction of female labour not to prejudice the wages of the men; (f) record to be kept of all departures from usual conditions; and (g) notice of changes to be given to workmen wherever practicable. (4) Employés to comply with any regulations of the Minister of Munitions necessary for efficiency. (5) Owners empowered to do the same, notwithstanding any Act, Order, or deed under which they are governed.

Workmen are required to undertake to work in whatever establishment is selected for them. It is an offence for employers to endeavour to dissuade any man from so doing. The employment of persons who have left work in munition factories is prohibited unless he holds a certificate to the effect either (a) he left with consent, or (b) that consent was unreasonably withheld.

MINERS' OBJECTIONS.

Mr. Robert Smillie (President of the Miners' Federation) last night said miners were anxious to do everything necessary to assist the nation in the present crisis, but under the Munitions Bill the Trade Union Acts would be practically suspended. Mr. Lloyd George had expressed himself that he would not insist on the miners being included, but he had appealed to them to give some guarantee that the output of coal would not be interfered with by strikes or lockouts. It was hoped that to-day's conference between South Wales owners and miners would result in their being able to give Mr. Lloyd George their promise to do everything in reason to secure continuous and, if possible, increased output.

The Times
8-7.15

THE MANUFACTURE OF MUNITIONS.

An Order in Council, which appears in a Supplement to the *London Gazette* of last night, makes it lawful for the Admiralty or the Army Council to regulate the work of any factory or workshop, or the employment of any of the workmen, or to remove the plant "with a view to maintaining or increasing the production of munitions" in other factories or workshops. The same authorities may also control the supply of metals and materials that may be required for any articles for use in war.

New Times 18/6

MR. CHARLES DUNCAN, M.P. for Barrow-in-Furness, put a question to Dr. Addison, Under-Secretary to the Munitions Department, dealing with the condition of things at a factory in Summer Street, Southwark. He asked whether the girls employed "were lectured by the manager on German atrocities until they became hysterical; whether they were told that if they did not do their utmost the deaths of our soldiers would be at their door, and whether, owing to the dismissal of a forewoman, the girls refused to work, were ejected from the works by the police and had to walk the streets all night?" Dr. Addison professed extraordinary ignorance as to the first of the questions, and appeared to know very little of the rest. He admitted that there had been trouble over the dismissal of a forewoman, and stated that the girls were compelled to leave the factory, having committed a serious breach of the Munitions Act. He denied knowledge as to whether or no they were ejected by the police, or if they had to walk the streets all night. Now, obviously, the matter cannot be left in its present state; either the girls were informed that they were personally responsible for our soldiers' safety, or they were not; either the police did throw them out, or did not. If the latter is the case it reveals a grave and serious condition of things which should not for a moment be tolerated; if the statements have no basis in fact a gross injustice has been done to the manager of the Summer Street factory. It is impossible to leave the point unsettled, and in default of Dr. Addison's report as to the true state of affairs, we would urge Mr. Duncan to return to the charge. The increasing employment of women in munition factories calls for a reassurance as to the conditions under which they work, and demands that the Government should safeguard their interests and protect them from injustice.

The Yorkshire Observer
21/9/15

NOTES OF THE DAY.

Inspection of Factories.

A London coroner, who informed a jury that for the time being the usual inspection of factories was suspended, seems himself to have been insufficiently informed, and anyone acting upon his declaration would be ill-advised. It is quite true that there has been some relaxation of the provisions of the Act with regard to the number of hours that workpeople may be engaged, but this only applies to special cases. Section 150 of the Factory and Workshop Act, which deals with this matter, provides that "in case of any public emergency the Secretary of State may by order, to the extent and during the period named by him, exempt from this Act any factory or workshop belonging to the Crown or any factory or workshop in respect of work which is being done on behalf of the Crown." What has happened is that under this section employers have been allowed, after obtaining the necessary order from the Home Office, to extend the hours of labour beyond those allowed in times of peace. The "public emergency" of the past twelve months or more has warranted the issuing of such orders. It may be stated that the extension ultimately found necessary was much less than that for which provision was originally made in the orders, which were accordingly altered. In all other respects the administration of the Factory Act remains as before.

Daily News & Leader
26/10/15

WOMEN & MUNITION WORK.

THE SUPPLY COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATIONS.

By MARY R. MACARTHUR.

It is generally recognised that the rapid influx of women into many branches of industry—a process which will possibly go on with increasing force for months to come—creates a number of problems which require careful handling and adjustment. Since factory laws in many establishments in the present abnormal circumstances have been modified or set aside it is essential, for instance, that standards should be insisted upon such as will help to maintain in the days ahead of us the health and efficiency of the women workers.

To put the matter on no higher ground (though in a very real sense the whole future of the nation and its children is involved) it is bad industrial economy to squander wastefully our human resources by giving no thought to the physical capacity and endurance of wage-earning women. The old lady of the fairy legend who tried to get all the golden eggs at one gathering was not more foolish than those firms which expect permanently to increase output by prolonged and continuous overstrain on the workpeople. What does follow a long spell of overwork is increased sickness, broken time, a slackening of energy, and a nervous and mental reaction which renders far more precarious and unstable the maintenance of industrial peace.

The £1 Minimum.

If workers are to give of their best, if they are to work month after month at practically the top notch of their physical capacity, the question of good wages becomes a matter of the first importance. It is against reason to expect good and sustained workmanship from an underpaid and underfed girl. She cannot possibly return the energy which she has never been allowed to receive. With food prices at their present high level, with coal and many other commodities advancing in price, with rents rising in the munition areas, the whole question of the remuneration of labour, especially of poorly paid labour, must be honestly faced unless we are prepared for the quantity and quality of work to suffer.

Let us be quite clear, at any rate, that the industrial efficiency of a woman in a munition factory will not be of the highest order if her usual dinner has to be bread and pickles.

These problems, in so far as they affect transferred labour, have been engaging the attention of the Munitions Labour Supply Committee, whose recommendations regarding the employment and remuneration of women on certain classes of war work have just been issued by the Ministry of Munitions. These recommendations, though striking and significant, do not in themselves go very far, and only include women engaged on such classes of munition work as before the war was done by men. Statements to the effect that all women employed on munition work are now to receive a minimum wage of £1 a week have been made, but are entirely misleading and can only lead to trouble and disappointment. I earnestly wish that these statements were true.

Equal Pay for Equal Work.

It has been repeatedly affirmed by the engineers that equal wage for equal work was the only principle on which they could accept the introduction of women into classes of work which previously was the exclusive preserve of men. To this principle, which the engineers considered equally necessary in the interests of women and in their own, lip service at any rate was given on all sides and it was confirmed in the Crayford Agreement in November, 1914, in the Shell and Fuses Agreement in March, 1915, and in a modified form in the famous Treasury Agreement.

The principle was supposed to find legal expression and legislative sanction in the Munitions Act, but here its only safeguard is found in the somewhat vaguely expressed phrase, Section ii. 5, that the "admission of semi-skilled or female labour shall not affect adversely the rates

fied form in the famous Treasury Agreement.

The principle was supposed to find legal expression and legislative sanction in the Munitions Act, but here its only safeguard is found in the somewhat vaguely expressed phrase, Section ii. 5, that the "admission of semi-skilled or female labour shall not affect adversely the rates customarily paid for the job."

Now it is not too much to say that in the munition works this principle of equal pay for equal work between men and women has so far been more honoured in the breach than the observance. Yet we have the evidence of several large engineering employers that on many processes women can do the work as well as men, and on some processes more deftly than men. Instances there are, of course, where women are being paid the same rates as men for the same work, and we have members of the National Federation of Women Workers who earn from £3 to £4 per week.

Let it be remembered, however, that this wage means a seven days week, with all the strain that that involves, and that it includes extra allowance for overtime and night shifts and applies only to a limited number of skilled women.

On the other hand, the rates paid to women on time or premium bonus systems have not even remotely approximated to those formerly paid to men for the same or similar work.

"An Honest Effort."

Of course it must be remembered that coincident with the introduction of women the method of production is often changed, and comparison as between the new and old processes difficult to make. This was illustrated at a conference which took place in August of representatives of the men and women workers engaged in the shell and airship factories in Barrow. It was found that one process, that of gauging shells, formerly performed by semi-skilled men for 28s. a week, had been split up into 17 different processes when the women were introduced. The rate paid to the women was 15s. per week net, but the workers had not the necessary data to compare the output per individual on the different systems. Two processes which had formerly been "debatable ground" between the skilled engineers and the semi-skilled men, and for which the engineers' rate had been 43s. per week, were being performed by the girls at a basic rate of 15s. Instances could be multiplied indefinitely.

The recommendations are an attempt to apply in practice the theory of equal wage for equal work, and though in my opinion the attempt falls short in several vital respects it is at least a sincere and honest effort to deal with the problem. Where they are adopted the recommendations will guarantee a time wage of £1 for a normal working week to all women of 18 who are learning to do any part of a job previously done by men, or employed on piecework or the premium bonus system in cases where their earnings fail to reach the standard amount. The recommendations will also ensure for night or Sunday work a time rate of 25s., 30s., or even £2, according to the custom of the district for men. Women engaged on piece work or on the premium bonus system will be paid exactly the same as men for the same quantity of work, though their time rate guarantee will be less. These proposals, though far from adequate, mark a distinct advance as compared with the present position, and if they are honestly carried out will distinctly improve the conditions of a large number of working women and girls.

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The Manchester Guardian — 20.11.15.

The Munitions Act.

THE extensive powers over employers and employed which the Government enjoys under the Munitions Act have been found so far valuable that a considerable extension is contemplated. Not only the direct production of munitions, but subsidiary processes such as building, the supply of power or of materials for munition works, become, as the pressure of the war increases, of almost equal urgency, and it is understood that the Government intends to bring these services within the scope of the Act. To the employers that will mean, pecuniarily, the taxation of their profits; to the workmen it means restrictions on liberty of movement. The latter is the more keenly felt, and, as our London correspondent showed on Thursday, the extension of the Act will have, in effect, to be purchased by amendments removing the principal grievances of labour. It is one of the risks which we run by curtailing publicity of discussion that no one knows the precise extent or depth of the feeling roused by the Munitions Act. The most definite thing generally known is that when the Act came up against collective and determined opposition in the South Wales miners it collapsed. There would, of course, be no way of enforcing it upon the concentrated opposition of skilled men, and for this reason if for no other it is wise to understand the reasons why the workmen dislike it. Nor is this difficult. The Act suspends the mobility of labour and the right to withhold work. For this suspension there are strong public reasons which the workmen perfectly understand. What the public perhaps does not understand quite so clearly is that the Act deprives the workmen of the chance of obtaining the full price for that monopoly value which the war has conferred upon his skill. The country faced with war is "caught short" in its supply of skilled men. The lack of them limits on all sides the employment of half-skilled and unskilled. Left quite free to bargain, they could obtain a very high price. In many cases, doubtless, the price they have obtained is much above the normal. None the less, they are in fact debarred from selling their work to the employer who will make the highest bid for it, since they cannot leave work in a controlled establishment without a certificate. Now this restriction is in the public interest, and we do not think the workman complains of it taken by itself. But he notes that there are other classes whose wares also command a monopoly value—farmers, for example,—and that nothing is done in their case to protect the community. He was told somewhat roughly last spring that the Government could not control prices, and therefore could not arrest the increase in his cost of living. But it can and does prevent him from taking full advantage of the circumstances that would tend to raise his wages.

This reflection underlies a good deal of the sense of grievance which the Act has notoriously excited. But it is not the point to which indignation is especially directed, or on which reform is demanded. What the workman feels most is that, while he is no longer free to leave his employer, the employer is at liberty to discharge him. It is a one-sided contract. Nor is this all. In order to obtain employment elsewhere a man who leaves a "controlled" workshop must obtain a certificate of discharge from his employer. By withholding the certificate the employer may condemn a man to a period of unemployment. The workman's remedy is to appeal to the Munitions Tribunal. This tribunal consists of a chairman appointed by the Munitions Ministry, and two assessors representing employers and employed. Now the Munitions Ministry is, so to say, a super-employer. It is for the Ministry that the employer himself works. The chairman is, therefore, hardly an impartial third party, but represents authority. There should be a stronger tribunal to deal with all offences under the Act, and it should be one giving more weight to the labour element. But the whole principle of this portion of the Act is unjust. The workman's right to leave his employment is restricted. It can be exercised only by the consent of the Munitions Tribunal. The employer's right of dismissal is not similarly restricted. In case of dismissal all that the trbunal can do is to grant a certificate. There is no adequate excuse for this inequality, and, in our view, the best step would be to go as far as possible to the restoration of freedom. The employer, we should say, should be free to dismiss and the workman to depart, subject in each case to an appeal to the strengthened Munitions Tribunal. This would adequately meet the original object of the clause, which was to prevent workmen being enticed away by offers from other firms. In any such case the employer could appeal to the tribunal, which could withhold its consent. It would also give the workman a security of tenure to compensate for his loss of the right to seek the best market, while it would leave the employer free to dismiss him for incompetence or insubordination—cumbrous machinery, no doubt, but in the wisdom of our legislators we have been committed to the mechanical regulation of these matters, and the best that can be done is to grind as much justice out of the machine as may be.

It is often said that complaints of the one-sidedness of the Act leave out of consideration the four-fifths tax on profits. Unfortunately this tax leaves a good deal to the imagination. It is hedged about—quite necessarily—with so many provisions and limitations that the workman remains cold when he is assured that, private profit being in substance eliminated, he is now working for the State. To make him believe this it would have been necessary to nationalise the munitions works, retaining the present owners and employers as caretakers and managers for the period of the war. In the wisdom of the authorities this course was rejected, and the workman was left tied down to a private employer for the sake of the public utility of his work. We foresaw that he would not like it, and we believe that it can only be made tolerable to him in the long run by careful attention to the practical grievances that have arisen and by rigid determination to apply rules and regulations restrictive of traditional liberty to both parties alike.

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Morning Post.

30. 11. 15.

RIGHTS OF WOMEN MUNITION WORKERS

The Women's Local Government Society have sent to Mr. Lloyd George, as Minister of Munitions, a memorial saying: "We respectifully urge that the Munitions of War Act, 1915, may be so amended as to provide for the formation of a panel of women having knowledge of trade conditions or other special qualifications, and that in every case in which the conditions of female labour or the right of a female to leave her employment are or is involved, one of such women shall be appointed as an additional assessor, and that if in any such case there shall be no such woman available to act as an assessor, the female party or parties to the dispute shall be entitled to require that a female factory or insurance or sanitary inspector shall be nominated to act in that capacity."

Daily News & Leader.

30. 11. 1915.

WOMEN MUNITION WORKER'

The Women's Local Government Society, has sent a memorial to the Minister of Munitions, urging that the Munitions Act be amended to provide a panel of women, so that one of them may be appointed as an additional assessor where the rights of women workers are involved.

If one of these assessors be not available, the female party to the dispute, it is suggested, should be entitled to require that a woman factory, insurance, or sanitary inspector be nominated to act in that capacity.

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Daily News & Leader - 1. 12. 1915.

AMENDMENTS TO THE MUNITIONS ACT.

MR. LL. GEORGE MEETS TRADE UNIONISTS.

MEN'S PROPOSALS.

NO DISMISSALS WITHOUT CERTIFICATES.

The following official statement was issued last night:

PRESS BUREAU, Tuesday Night.

An important conference was held to-day in the Wesleyan Central Hall, Westminster, which was attended by the Minister of Munitions and representatives of the trade unions whose members are affected by the Munitions of War Act, 1915.

The object of the conference was to suggest amendments to the Munitions of War Act, in view of the Amendment Bill shortly to be introduced by the Government. There were 55 trade unions (a list of which is given below) represented at the conference.

The Right Hon. A. Henderson occupied the chair, and Mr. Lloyd George was accompanied by Dr. Addison, Dr. Macnamara, Sir H. L. Smith, Mr. Beveridge, and Mr. Wolff. Mr. Clynes, M.P., and Mr. F. S. Button addressed the conference in criticism of the Act.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S REPLY.

Mr. Lloyd George, who had a cordial reception, in the course of his reply to these criticisms, said that he was in favour of the principle of many of the proposals which had already been presented to him by the representatives of the trade unions; he promised that those to which he could not agree would have his close and sympathetic consideration. The Government desired the Act to work smoothly and satisfactorily.

In the speeches that had been made it appeared to have been overlooked that while the Munitions of War Act interfered to some extent with the liberties of the workman, the Minister of Munitions possessed extensive powers over controlled establishments which cut quite as deeply into the rights of private employers as any provision affecting workmen. He presumed that there was no desire on the part of the trade unions to repeal the part of the Act affecting employers. One chief object of the Act was to give State control over unlimited competition, a principle that many Labour men had been advocating for a long time, and during the progress of this war more things had been done to further the principles of the Labour movement than the propaganda of a generation had been able to secure.

It might seem hard that a workman could not leave one shop to go to another, but the same restriction applied to the soldier who objected to storm the Hohenzollern Redoubt, but would prefer to go to some place behind the fighting line. If this war was a just war, if we were fighting for humanity and for the overthrow of the domination of a military caste in Europe, it was not for men to stand out at such a time for the right to leave one shop to go to another when the whim seized them.

He noticed that most of the amendments were in the direction of what might be called reciprocity. There was a feeling that if a workman could not discharge his employer without a certificate from a tribunal, the employer ought not to be able to discharge the workman without a similar certificate. He had a good deal of sympathy with that, and the point would be considered.

There were also matters affecting the powers of the Ministry in enforcing recommendations upon controlled establishments. The constitution of Munitions Tribunals was also a matter worthy of consideration He could only state that when the deputation appointed by the conference met him in the evening with the conference's recommendations they would seriously consider how best the wishes expressed might be met.

THE EVENING MEETING.

The proposals of the conference were brought before the Minister the same evening by a committee elected by the conference, consisting of the following representatives:

Mr. A. Henderson,	F. Sharp.
A. Wilkie, M.P.,	F. Button.
C. W. Bowerman, M.P.,	F. Chandler.
J. Hill.	W. F. Dawtry.
F. Smith.	Miss M. R. Macarthur.
W. Thorne, M.P.,	W. Mosses.

a full discussion taking place on the more important proposals agreed to at the afternoon's conference.

Mr. Lloyd George promised a full consideration of the various points submitted to him, and it is understood that a further conference with the committee will be held before the final draft of the Amendment Bill is decided upon.

THE SOCIETIES.

The societies represented at the conference were:

Amal. Socy. Engineers	Nat. Union Stove Grate Workers
Assoc. Ironmldrs. (Scot)	Ldn. Saddle and Harness Makers.
Fly. Socy. Ironfounders	Sheet Metal Workers
Shipconstructors and Shipwrights Socy.	Utd. Machine Workers
Nat. Union Railwaymen	Liverpool Shipwrights
Gaswks. & Gen. Lab. U.	Iron & Steel Federation
Gas Municipal and Gen. Workers	The Workers' Union
Nat. Amal Furn. Trades	Scottish Brassmoulders
Amal. Carpenters and Joiners	Scientific Instrument Makers
Gen. Union Carpenters and Joiners	Boilermakers Society
Dock, Whf., Riverside, and Gen Wkrs. Union	Assoc. Blacksmiths Socy.
W. of Scot. Brassfinishers	Smiths and Strikers
Amal. Socy. Toolmakers	Nat. Union of Clerks
Ldn. & Prov. Coachmkrs.	Operative Stone Masons
U.K. Socy Coachmakers	Nat. Painters' Society
Brit. Lab. Amalgamation	Scottish Painters
Nat. Amal. U. of Labour	Amal. Wire Drawers
Ldn. Glass Blowers.	Electrical Trade Union
North. Utd. Enginemen	Machine & Gen. Lab'rs.
Nat. Amal. U. Enginem'n	Steel Smelters
Nat. Fed. Women Wkrs.	Nat. Fed. of Enginemen
Manchester & District Women's Trade C'cil	Boot Operatives
Assoc. Socy Loco. Engineers and Firemen	Steam Engine Makers
Utd Operatives Plumb'rs	United Brassfounders
Nat. Fed. Blast Furnacemen	Upholsterers
	National Brassworkers
	Assoc. Brassfounders
	Sheet Iron Workers
	Wood Cutting Machinists
	Nat. Steel Wkrs. Assoc.

WOMEN WORKERS' APPEALS.

Miss Gertrude Tuckwell and Miss Susan Lawrence (Women's Trade Union League), Miss Mary Macarthur and Miss M. Bondfield (National Federation of Women Workers), and the leading officials of a number of other women's organisations, have asked Mr. Lloyd George to amend the Munitions Act so as to secure that whenever cases of women employees are considered by the tribunals one of the assessors shall be a woman.

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The Standard.
1. 12. 15.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WOMEN AND THE MUNITIONS ACT.

To the Editor of "The Standard."

Sir,—The undersigned have been strongly impressed with the importance of securing that whenever cases of women employees are considered by the munitions courts, provision should be made for the presence of a woman. In view of the proposed amendment of the Munitions Act, and the conference with the trade unions, it is urgently necessary that amendments with this object should be put forward.

The need for the presence of a woman in the munitions courts is easily seen. Many cases will arise in which women will apply for leaving certificates. In some of these the grounds for leaving will be such as women are very reluctant to state in a court composed of men. One such case has already arisen, of which we know, because the women concerned are trade union members. There are probably many others. It is clear that in these cases it is essential to have a woman whose duty it is to consult with the applicant before the case is heard, find out the real facts, and put forward her application before the court. If the munitions court, therefore, is to deal fairly with women there must be a woman assessor or a woman to help the workers to state their case.—We are, yours, etc.,

GERTRUDE TUKEWELL,
Women's Trade Union League.
A. SUSAN LAWRENCE, L.C.C.,
Women's Trade Union League.
MARY R. MACARTHUR,
National Federation of Women Workers.
MARGARET BONDFIELD,
National Federation of Women Workers.
MARY LONGMAN,
Women's Labour League.
ADA SALTER,
Women's Labour League.
MARGARET LLEWELYN DAVIES,
Women's Co-operative Guild.
E. WEBB,
Railway Women's Guild.
ELLEN SMITH,
Fabian Women's Group.
SOPHY SANGER,
International Association for Labour Legislation, British Section.
J. J. MALLON,
Anti-Sweating League.

Liverpool Journal of Commerce,
1. 12. 15.

MUNITIONS ACT AMENDMENT.

Important Conference.

LONDON, Tuesday.

The following official report of the conference held to-day, at the Central Hall, Westminster, between trade union representatives and Mr. Lloyd George, was issued this evening by the Ministry of Munitions:

An important conference was held to-day in the Wesleyan Central Hall, Westminster, which was attended by the Minister of Munitions and representatives of the trade unions, whose members are affected by the Munitions of War Act, 1915. The object of the conference was to suggest amendments to the Munitions of War Act, in view of the Amendment Bill shortly to be introduced by the Government. There were 55 trade unions represented at the conference.

The Right Hon. A. Henderson occupied the chair, and Mr. Lloyd George was accompanied by Dr. Addison, Dr. Macnamara, Sir H. L. Smith, Mr. Beveridge, and Mr. Wolff. Mr. Clynes, M.P., and Mr. F. S. Button addressed the conference in criticism of the Act.

Mr. Lloyd George, who had a cordial reception, in the course of his reply to these criticisms, said that he was in favour of the principles of many of the proposals which had already been presented to him by the representatives of trade unions. Those he could not agree to he promised should have his close and sympathetic consideration. The Government desired the Act to work smoothly and satisfactorily. In speeches that had been made it appeared to have been overlooked that while the Munitions of War Act interfered to some extent with the liberties of the workmen, the Minister of Munitions possessed the extensive powers over controlled establishments which cut quite as deeply into the rights of private employers as any provision affecting workmen. He presumed that there was no desire on the part of the Trade Union to repeal the part of the Act affecting employers. One chief object of the act was to give State control over unlimited competition a principle that many labour men had been advocating for a long time, and during the progress of this war more things had been done to further the principles of the Labour movement than the propaganda of a generation had been able to secure. He could only state that when the deputation appointed by the conference met him in the evening, with the conference's recommendations they would sit down and seriously consider how best the wishes expressed might be met.

The proposals of the conference were brought before the Minister the same evening by a committee elected by the conference, consisting of the following representatives:—The Right Hon. A. Henderson, A. Wilkie, M.P., C. W. Bowerman, M.P., J. Hill, F. Smith, W. Thorne, M.P., F. Sharpe, F. Button, F. Chandler, W. F. Dawtry, and Miss M. R. MacArthur.

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The Daily Chronicle — 1.12.15.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE & WAR WORKERS.

HIGHER WAGES BAD FOR THE STATE.

MEN IN TRENCHES CANNOT GET DISCHARGE CERTIFICATES.

A conference of trade unions engaged in the production of war munitions was held yesterday at Central Hall, Westminster, under the chairmanship of Mr. A. Henderson, President of the Board of Education.

The conference was called to hear a statement from the Minister of Munitions regarding the proposed Bill to amend the Munitions Act. Fifty-five trade unions were represented.

The proceedings opened with a lengthy statement from two Labour representatives—Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., and Mr. E. Button, of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers—who urged that the Act was working very unsatisfactorily from the workmen's standpoint.

Mr. Lloyd George replied in a speech that occupied an hour. His remarks were frequently greeted with cheers, and there were roars of laughter when he made a palpable hit. On the whole, however, his address was of a serious nature.

The Minister of Munitions said he had considered fully the amendments which had been submitted by the trade unions. To some of them he was frankly sympathetic. To others he had strong objection. There were three interests involved in the working of the Act—the State, the employer, and the workman. Each approached the position from divergent points. They, the delegates of the trade unions, might claim to represent one million workers, but he, as a responsible Minister, represented the State with its 45 millions. The interests of a class were subordinate to the interests of the State as a whole.

CHIEF BUSINESS TO WIN THE WAR.

The representatives of the workers must remember that the present business was to win the war, and any hardship which might fall on the workers at home was little compared with the dangers and difficulties experienced by the men in the trenches. There were three million men in the Army, and a million of these were undergoing the horrors or war at the front.

The question, continued Mr. Lloyd George, had been raised as to the onerous position involved when a workman desired to leave his employment to better his position—either owing to an obnoxious foreman or to the opportunity of proceeding to a new situation which would provide him with increased wages. He could understand that there were cases of real hardships with which he would be prepared to deal. But he would not hold out any hope that he could accept the proposed amendments relating to this matter, nor could he associate himself with the sentiment which underlay their proposals.

A soldier in the trenches could not appeal for his discharge certificate. He could not say that the position in the trenches was so dangerous that he wished to go back three or four miles to the rear out of the way of danger. Nor, in his opinion, should the workman be entitled to leave unless there were circumstances of a compelling nature.

NOT A TIME FOR HIGHER WAGES.

Dealing with the wages aspect of the question, Mr. Lloyd George made it clear that the Government could not sanction a general transfer of workmen, however much the employers were anxious to obtain supplies of skilled labour. The manufacturers, he said, were not the ruling factors. Large increases in wages did not affect them so much as they did the State as a whole. They could probably pay substantial increases in order to secure the most able men, but the State could not afford, at this time, to allow wages to advance according to the ordinary law of supply and demand. It was essential to the interests of the nation that the greatest economy should be pursued in the life of the nation, and continued increases in wages defeated that object.

The proposals of the conference were brought before the Minister of Munitions last night by a committee elected by the conference and consisting of the following representatives:—

The Right Hon. A. Henderson, A. Wilkie, M.P., C. W. Bowerman, M.P., J. Hill, F. Smith, W. Thorne, M.P., F. Sharp, F. Button, F. Chandler, W. F. Dawtry, Miss M. R. Macarthur, and W. Mosses.

A full discussion took place on the more important proposals agreed to at the afternoon's conference. Mr. Lloyd George promised a full consideration of the various points submitted to him, and it is understood that a further conference with the committee will be held before the final draft of the Amendment Bill is decided upon.

Women's organisations have asked Mr. Lloyd George so to amend the Munitions Act as to secure that whenever cases of women employees are considered by the tribunals one of the assessors shall be a woman.

COMMENTS ON DISCHARGE CERTIFICATES.

One of the amendments which it is understood Mr. Lloyd George will make to the Munitions Act is that leaving certificates must not bear any comment.

Yesterday an assistant foreman labourer at a Newcastle shipbuilding yard complained that the company in a certificate of discharge had made a false statement for the purpose of evading the Munitions Act, namely, "Unsatisfactory." It was contended that it was not a certificate but a reference of character and prevented complainant obtaining employment elsewhere. The firm agreed to give complainant a clean certificate, and the summons was withdrawn.

The Times – 1. 12. 15.

WORKING OF THE MUNITIONS ACT.

TRADE UNIONS AND MR. LLOYD GEORGE.

"RIGHTS" IN WAR TIME.

Mr. Lloyd George yesterday met representatives of the trade unions, who suggested various amendments to the Munitions of War Act. Later in the day the proposals were considered by a Committee of the conference, and the Minister of Munitions promised a full consideration of the points submitted to him. It is understood that a further conference will be held before the final draft of the Amendment Bill is decided upon.

The following is the official report of yesterday's conference:—

An important conference was held yesterday in the Wesleyan Central Hall, Westminster, which was attended by the Minister of Munitions and representatives of the trade unions, whose members are affected by the Munitions of War Act, 1915.

The object of the conference was to suggest amendments to the Munitions of War Act, in view of the Amendment Bill shortly to be introduced by the Government.

There were 55 trade unions represented at the conference as follows:—

Amal. Soc. of Engineers, Assoc. Ironmoulders (Scotland), Friendly Soc. of Ironfounders, Shipconstructors' and Shipwrights' Soc., Nat. Union of Railwaymen, Gasworkers' and Gen. Labourers' Union, Gas, Municipal, and Gen. Workers, Nat. Amal. Furnishing Trades, Amal. Carpenters and Joiners, Gen. Union of Carpenters and Joiners, Dock Wharf Riverside, and Gen. Workers' Union, West of Scotland Brassfinishers, Amal. Society of Toolmakers, London and Provincial Coachmakers, United Kingdom Society of Coachmakers, British Labour Amalgamation, Nat. Amal. Union of Labour, London Glass Blowers, Northern United Enginemen, Nat. Amal. Union of Enginemen, Nat. Fed. of Women Workers, Manchester and Dist. Women's Trade Council, Assoc. Soc. of Locomotives Engineers and Firemen, United Operative Plumbers, Nat. Fed of Blast Furnacemen, Nat Union of Stove Grate Workers, London Saddle and Harness Makers, Sheet Metal Workers, United Machine Workers, Liverpool Shipwrights, Iron and Steel Fed., the Workers' Union, Scottish Brassmoulders, Scientific Instrument Makers, Boilermakers' Soc., Assoc. Blacksmiths Soc., Smiths and Strikers, Nat. Union of Clerks, Operative Stone Masons, Nat. Painters Soc., Scottish Painters, Amal. Wire Drawers, Electrical Trade Union, Machine and General Labourers, Steel Smelters, Nat. Fed. of Enginemen, Boot Operatives, Steam Engine Makers, United Brassfounders, Upholsterers, Nat. Brassworkers, Assoc. Brassfounders, Sheet Iron Workers, Woodcutting Machinists, Nat. Steel Workers' Assoc.

The Right Hon. A. Henderson occupied the chair, and Mr. Lloyd George was accompanied by Dr. Addison, Dr. Macnamara, Sir H. L. Smith, Mr. Beveridge, and Mr. Wolff. Mr. Clynes, M.P., and Mr. F. S. Button addressed the Conference in criticism of the Act.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE, who had a cordial reception, in the course of his reply to these criticisms said that he was in favour of the principle of many of the proposals which had already been presented to him by the representatives of the trade unions; those he could not agree to he promised should have his close and sympathetic consideration. The Government desired the Act to work smoothly and satisfactorily. In the speeches that had been made it appeared to have been overlooked that while the Munitions of War Act interfered to some extent with the liberties of the workman, the Minister of Munitions possessed extensive powers over controlled establishments which cut quite as deeply into the rights of private employers as any provision affecting workmen. He presumed that there was no desire on the part of the trade unions to repeal the part of the Act affecting employers. One chief object of the Act was to give State control over unlimited competition, a principle that many labour men had been advocating for a long time, and during the progress of this war more things had been done to further the principles of the Labour movement than the propaganda of a generation had been able to secure.

It might seem hard that a workman could not leave one shop to go to another, but the same restriction applied to the soldier who objected to storm Hohenzollern Redoubt, but would prefer to go to some place behind the fighting line. If this war was a just war, if we were fighting for humanity and for the overthrow of the domination of a military caste in Europe, it was not for men to stand out at such a time for the right to leave one shop to go to another when the whim seized them. He noticed that most of the amendments were in the direction of what might be called reciprocity. There was a feeling that if a workman could not discharge his employer without a certificate from a tribunal the employer ought not to be able to discharge the workman without a similar certificate. He had a good deal of sympathy with that, and the point would be considered.

There were also matters affecting the powers of the Ministry in enforcing recommendations upon controlled establishments. The constitution of Munitions Tribunals was also a matter worthy of consideration. He could only state that when the deputation appointed by the Conference met him in the evening with the Conference's recommendations, they would sit down and seriously consider how best the wishes expressed might be met.

[illegible] the Conference were brought to [illegible]

Act. Later in the day the proposals were considered by a Committee of the conference, and the Minister of Munitions promised a full consideration of the points submitted to him. It is understood that a further conference will be held before the final draft of the Amendment Bill is decided upon.

The following is the official report of yesterday's conference :—

An important conference was held yesterday in the Wesleyan Central Hall, Westminster, which was attended by the Minister of Munitions and representatives of the trade unions, whose members are affected by the Munitions of War Act, 1915.

The object of the conference was to suggest amendments to the Munitions of War Act, in view of the Amendment Bill shortly to be introduced by the Government.

There were 55 trade unions represented at the conference as follows :—

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The proposals of the Conference were brought before the Minister the same evening by a committee elected by the Conference, consisting of the following representatives :—The Right Hon. A. Henderson, A. Wilkie, M.P., C. W. Bowerman, M.P., J. Hill, F. Smith, W. Thorne, M.P., F. Sharp, F. Button, F. Chandler, W. F. Dawtry, Miss M. R. Macarthur, and W. Mosses, a full discussion taking place on the more important proposals agreed to at the afternoon's conference.

Mr. Lloyd George promised a full consideration of the various points submitted to him, and it is understood that a further conference with the committee will be held before the final draft of the Amendment Bill is decided upon.

The Morning Post.

1. 12. 15.

Representatives of several Women's Labour leagues and guilds have signed a declaration pointing out that whenever cases of women employees are considered by the Munitions Courts provision should be made for the presence of a female assessor to help the workers to state their case. The Munitions Act, it is urged, should be so amended as to secure this reform.

Votes for Women

3. 12. 15.

THE MUNITIONS ACT

An important memorial has been sent to the Minister of Munitions by the Women's Local Government Society, urging that the Munitions Act should be so amended as to provide for the formation of a panel of specially qualified women, one of whom shall be appointed as an additional Assessor when the conditions of women's labour, or their right to leave their employment, are in question. The memorial further asks that if no such woman is available, the women shall be entitled to require that a woman factory, or insurance, or sanitary inspector, be nominated to act in that capacity. The memorial is very extensively signed by well-known men and women, including the Bishop of London, Sir William Chance, Mrs. Sidney Webb, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Sir Norman Lockyer, and many distinguished Suffragists.

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The New Statesman. 11.12.15.

The Munitions Act Amendment Bill may possibly have been formally read a first time before this appears, but it will not be circulated until next week. This time there can be no pretence of any Trade Union Agreement. The Government will concede the demand pressed on it from all sides of the House that cases affecting women should not be tried without the presence of a Woman Assessor, but refuses to give either this or any other Assessor any real membership of the Munitions Tribunal, in which the lawyer-chairman (to whom the Minister of Munitions admittedly circulates confidential instructions) is to remain sole judge. The Government refuses, moreover, to permit any appeal from his decision, but offers the quite illusory concession of power to state a case to the High Court *on points of law only*. This in a tribunal where neither party is usually represented by any barrister or solicitor competent to take such a technical objection! The Government also, we understand, refuses to fulfil the definite Ministerial pledge that there should be no imprisonment under these unsatisfactory tribunals, taking refuge in the plea that imprisonment can never be part of the sentence, but follows only from non-payment of fine imposed by a Munitions Tribunal "of the first class." But this was the very contingency that the Ministerial pledge was made to avert, as is proved by the terms of the words inserted in the Act (Sec. 4, Clause 4) in apparent fulfilment of it. If the Government fails to carry out this definite Parliamentary bargain—one of those "understandings" upon which the smooth working of the House depends—it will be treating the Labour members in a way that it would not dream of treating the members of any other Party.

* * *

With regard to the material amendments desired by the workmen, we understand that nearly all of them have been "turned down" by the employers, to whom they were submitted; and that the Government refuses to press them. Mr. Lloyd George improves the arrangements for discharge certificates, but fails to secure the payment of continuous wages for the time that the employer keeps the workman bound. The Minister of Munitions gave it to the Bristol Congress as one of the terms of his bargain with the Trade Unions that he fixed the wages in the controlled establishments. He has not done so; and he now agrees to take power to prescribe a minimum only in the case of women, and *for such of these only as are employed on men's work*. If we are correctly informed on this point, it amounts to an intolerable breach of faith, about which we hope that the Prime Minister will interfere. There can be no more ground for protecting from sweating the women employed on "men's work" (a very illusive and disputable expression) than the other women in munition factories, who are equally prevented by law from striking, and *equally prevented from leaving the employment even of the most "sweating" employer*. The public, we are sure, has not yet grasped the fact that adult women, by the thousand, are actually being thus compelled by law to work in controlled establishments at 2½d. and 3d. per hour, and that Mr. Lloyd George, *at the instance of the employers*, is refusing to take power even to ensure them a pound a week. We hope the Labour Party will take all possible measures to induce the House of Commons to refuse to lock these women in the sweater's den.

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Daily News & Leader – December 14

LONG HOURS & LOW WAGES.

SWEATING OF WOMEN MUNITION WORKERS.

AMENDING BILL.

PROPOSED PENALTY FOR EMPLOYERS

Women munition workers are deeply concerned with the Bill amending the Munitions Act, the second reading of which Mr. Lloyd George is expected to move in the House of Commons to-morrow.

The text of the Bill, which has been the subject of prolonged negotiation, was issued yesterday. Its most important clause relating to women provides that where female labour is employed in a controlled establishment

> the Minister of Munitions shall have power to require the owner of the establishment to comply with any directions given to him by the Minister as to the rate of wages or conditions of employment of the women so employed, and if the owner of the establishment, or any contractor or sub-contractor employing labour therein fails to comply with any such directions he shall be guilty of an offence under the principal Act, and shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £20, and to a fine not exceeding £1 in respect of each woman for each day on which the offence is continued after conviction therefor.

Some of the remarkable facts which have rendered necessary the immediate passage into law of such an amending clause were supplied yesterday to "The Daily News" by the Women's Trade Union League, of which Miss Mary Macarthur is secretary.

Nation's Future Health.

The investigations of the League show that the health of large bodies of women, and, therefore, the future health of the nation, is being seriously undermined by the long hours worked and low wages paid in certain munition factories. The object of the new clause is to force these sweating houses to mend their ways.

Threepence an hour—a rate heartily condemned in a recent speech by the Chancellor of the Exchequer—is still a fairly common wage for women in a variety of branches of the munitions industry. Women have recently been engaged on Government work at 1¾d., 2d., 2¼d., 2½d., and 2¾d. an hour. In the neighbourhood of London one factory has just raised its rate for fuse-making from 2d. to 2¼d. an hour.

One of the very largest firms is paying women 2½d. to 3d. an hour for labour connected with telephone making, with extra "war wages" of four-ninths of a penny. In this instance the rate of pay for women is the same for night as for day work, although the night rate for men formerly engaged on this class of job was 35s. a week. Each woman has to look after twelve machines.

In all such cases the women's unions are fighting for a minimum of 4d. per hour, anything below this being regarded by competent authorities as a sweating wage under present economic conditions.

Below Subsistence Level.

A provincial firm engaged in the manufacture of aeroplanes has been paying 1½d. an hour to girls under 18 and 1¾d. to girls above that age for a working week of 55 to 60 hours. As a result of arbitration, the scale has been raised, but is still well below the subsistence level.

In the same district girls are making bombs for 10s. a week of 55 hours. Girls belonging to a trade union applied for work, but refused it on being told the wages, whereupon the manager remarked: "Never mind, we can get soldiers' wives to do it."

A big firm in the North is working its women the full maximum of 72 hours a week allowed by the law as it stands, i.e., 12 hours a day for six days in the week; but this necessitates nearly all the women being away from home for 96 hours a week, as only certain trams from the residential quarter may be used.

London is a centre of sweated munition labour. A certain firm known to the authorities has been working its girls 75, 77, and even 80 hours a week. As they kept bad time—which under the circumstances was not remarkable—a shift was taken off, and the girls lost a day's pay. This particular factory appears to have been run under perpetual threats of appeals to the Munitions Court, which overawed the workers.

Mercury Dangers.

Where a process requires the employment of mercury firms are working girls the full five hours at a stretch allowed by law, with the result that in one case at least the girls, who left home an hour before beginning work, were in the habit of bringing food with them and eating it secretly—a proceeding most dangerous to health.

In powder factories—where the wages sometimes rule as low as 10s a week—the sheds are not infrequently very cold, damp, and ill-ventilated.

Many of the women who are working terribly long hours for a pittance are quite young girls, according to the reports of the league's investigators. Fainting is frequent, and the health of many of the girls is being permanently undermined to a degree, and in a manner, which must gravely affect the future stamina of the race.

Terribly inadequate arrangements are too often made for providing the women with food, but it is noteworthy that where proper canteens have been arranged the firms have noticed a marked improvement in the workers' output. "It pays," is the comment of those establishments that have instituted reasonable hours and an adequate commissariat.

What the Women's Trade Union League is steadily working for is the universal establishment of eight-hour shifts. Where the plan has been adopted excellent results have been achieved. From one factory in North London which recently adopted it comes this report: "Going on very satisfactorily, with steady improvement in health and output."

It is hoped that the Minister of Munitions may so administer the new clause as to make it a real Women Munition Workers' Charter. The fact that some women are earning as much as £3 a week in munition factories can be no excuse for the sweating of their less fortunate sisters.

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Daily News & Leader - 14. 12. 15.

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Daily Mail - 16. 12. 15.

WOMEN'S TRIUMPH.

THEIR SHELLS THE ENVY OF THE MEN.

FINE WORK & HIGH WAGES.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE ON PROFITS.

By OUR PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATIVE.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, Wednesday.

Important additions to the powers of the Minister of Munitions are made by the Munitions of War (Amendment) Bill, which was to-day read a second time.

Not only are factories and works producing actual munitions of war to be converted into controlled establishments but power is now given to "control" the following undertakings where necessary:—

Mercantile shipbuilding,
Building of munition factories,
Power stations,
Lighting stations,
Water works.

Power is also taken to examine the books of firms supplying munitions so that the Government may see that they are not being overcharged.

These, it was admitted by the Government, are "great inroads upon private rights and industrial liberties."

Mr. Lloyd George, the Minister of Munitions, is deferring until Monday his long-expected statement on the full work which has been accomplished by his new Department.

Dr. Addison, the Under-Secretary, who moved the second reading of the Bill to-day, referred to the work which had been done as "complete and colossal," and warmly commended the patriotic spirit which had animated both employers and employed. With the relaxation of trade practices to which trade unionists had consented, the "dilution of skilled labour" (supplementing skilled workers with unskilled) was proceeding apace. Without it it would have been utterly impossible to obtain the munitions required. Most of the complaints against the working of the Munitions Act referred to the limitations on the movement of labour.

LEAVING CERTIFICATES.

The Bill introduced the following changes, based on the provision that a man cannot obtain other munitions work without a certificate from his late employer:—

Where a workman is dismissed he shall be given a leaving certificate, unless he has deliberately misbehaved

Where a man is suspended for more than three days he shall be entitled to a certificate.

Every case in which a man is dismissed without a week's notice or wages in lieu of notice shall be reported to the Munitions Tribunal.

A man who shows that he can obtain more highly skilled work shall be entitled to a leaving certificate.

There is to be nothing in the nature of a character note on the certificate.

THE ENVY OF THE MEN.

Referring to women as munition workers, Dr. Addison said everybody concerned had been exceedingly impressed by the amount of the work as well as the character of the work turned out by women in munition factories. Women were making shells, fuses, and parts of shells, handling machines, and earning money at piecework rates which was the envy of some of the men.

Steps were being taken to secure the women adequate wages. "Eighty per cent. of the work which women are now doing on munitions is not work which was previously done by men and it is not covered by the main Act. These women are working in controlled establishments, and they cannot leave without a leaving certificate. If you force women into employment which they cannot leave and which they are tied down to for at least six weeks, you must take power to secure that they are paid a reasonable wage. In large factories all over the country women are earning good wages, but there is a considerable number of cases where they are being very improperly paid."

On the subject of the examination of Exchequer." If this firm, on the other hand, was dealt with under the Excess Profits Tax the State would receive £53,900. "The levy on employers under the Munitions Act is a very considerable levy, and it prevents the possibility of the suspension of trade union regulations being exploited by employers for their own benefit." Workers must recognise that there could not be one-sided coercion. It was perfectly true that some of the powers of the original Munitions Act had been modified, but it was a mistake to suppose that the Act had not succeeded. This had been the effect:

Strikes at munition works have been all but unknown.

No strike has affected more than one establishment at a time.

No strike lasted more than five days.

In each case strikes ceased after proceedings had been taken under the Munitions Act and fines imposed.

Many strikes have been avoided by calling attention to the powers of the Munitions Act.

In many cases there has been an undoubted increase of output, particularly in Admiralty work.

THE RIGHT OF THE STATE.

In a great emergency, when the life of the nation depended upon it, the State ought to have the right to the services and the wealth and the resources of every citizen. (Cheers.) He did not recede by so much as a syllable from what he said on that point in June. "But the Munitions Act is not the carrying out of that," he continued. "Why is there no Munitions Act in France? Because in a perfectly democratic State they have taken the wider view that they have the right to commandeer every resource, every power, life, limb, weapons, and everything else, for the interests of the State. Here the Munitions Act is the alternative. It is purely an expedient, because we have not got the wider principle. It is the only way in the absence of a general organisation of the State in which you can possibly carry on the work. It is an interference with liberty! So is every law! The only point is whether it is essential in the interests of the State at the moment, and I have not the faintest doubt that it is absolutely essential."

Next Mr. Lloyd George dealt with those who had said that he ought to have appealed more to the patriotism and the good will of the workers. "Nobody has done more than I have," protested Mr. Lloyd George. "I have depended far more on persuasion than on the exercise of power. This is not a question of dealing with the majority of the workmen. It is dealing with the minority." Among 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 workmen there had been only 2,000 or 3,000 prosecutions. Finally, Mr. Lloyd George expressed his gratitude to the Labour leaders for their assistance (in particular Mr. Hodge) and their courage in dealing with the men. "The greatest risk a public man takes is to oppose his own friends," he remarked.

SWEETENING THE PILL.

Mr. Charles Duncan declared that a good deal of the trouble with workmen had been deliberately manufactured. Some of those who had excited the men were opposed to recruiting, opposed to the war, and would be opposed to everything until they controlled the country themselves. He thanked Mr. Lloyd George for his illustration of the demand the Act made on the employer. If that could be circulated among the men it would sweeten the pill so far as the Act dealt with the workmen. By martial law Germany had been able to outdistance this country in the production of munitions, but with good will he thought the voluntary plan would enable us soon to surpass their output.

Mr. Outhwaite grumbled that the only right the employers had yielded was the right to "plunder the community"; but **Mr. Booth** promptly informed him that employers felt that in relinquishing the right to the lock-out they had resigned one of their most cherished possessions. Business men would bear extra taxation more gladly than they would part with the right to full control of the business they had built up by their own industry. Mr. Lloyd George's example of profits was not an extravagant one. "I know firms that will beat that record," he said.

Sir Arthur Markham commended to the attention of the Minister of Munitions the fact that 8s. to 9s. a to royalty was being paid on the ore from which our steel was being made. One royalty owner was receiving no less than £150,000 a year.

While Sir Arthur was speaking, **Mr Harold Smith** moved "that the question be now put." "We are not here to talk. It is a disgrace," he remarked.

The proposal was passed by the Deputy-

main Act. These women are working in controlled establishments, and they cannot leave without a leaving certificate. If you force women into employment which they cannot leave and which they are tied down to for at least six weeks, you must take power to secure that they are paid a reasonable wage. In large factories all over the country women are earning good wages, but there is a considerable number of cases where they are being very improperly paid."

On the subject of the examination of books, Dr. Addison mentioned a case in which they were convinced they were being overcharged. As a result of examination of the books the price of the commodity was reduced from £30 to £20 a ton, and this would result in a saving of a half-million pounds in a very short time.

RED TAPE THAT WANTS CUTTING

Labour members generally accepted the Bill as one likely to remove many grievances and causes of friction.

Sir Alfred Mond complained of the slow release of skilled workers from the Army. It seemed to depend much more on the view of the colonel of a particular regiment than on the decision of Whitehall. What was the good of insisting that a soldier returned for work in a chemical factory must wear his uniform? It was spoiled in the first forty-eight hours! (Laughter.) Some of the red tape under which that was possible needed cutting. (Cheers.) He mentioned that 4,000 new processes had been devised in this country since the war, and paid a warm tribute to the unremitting toil and skill of those who had devoted themselves to this work. He pleaded for organisation of the fuel supply, declaring that the scarcity was causing serious apprehension to many manufacturers of munitions

Mr. Anderson complained of the decisions of some munitions tribunals. Workmen who had done seventy hours a week ought not to be penalised for not working on a Sunday. He knew of a man who had worked eighty hours in a week being punished for losing a quarter. There had been far too much scolding and far too much meddling with the working men

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S £15,000 000.

Mr. Lloyd George replied to a number of points in the debate. In the only cases of imprisonment inflicted by munitions tribunals the workmen had refused to allow their fines to be paid. They copied Suffragette methods. (Laughter and Voices: "Passive resistance.") "Well, it was in the apostolic succession to passive resistance." (Laughter.) Labour exchanges had already supplied 500,000 men for munition work, he said in answer to Sir A. Mond, and his suggestion for the formation of a company of emergency workers ready to go anywhere had been anticipated. The Department had powers not merely to control works but also to take over works entirely, and by their use of these powers he claimed that at least 10 millions sterling, or perhaps 15 millions, had been saved to the State.

Mr. Tyson Wilson, a Labour member, intervened with a reference to employers being able to go on holiday.

Mr. Lloyd George: I should be sorry to see employers take a long holiday. It would be impossible to carry on the work without them in many cases. If my hon. friend does not know what a difference it makes whether you have a particular employer at the head of a business or not I should like him to come to the Munitions Department for a week or two. Then he would see. (Cheers.)

HOW PROFITS TAX WORKS.

Then Mr. Lloyd George turned to deal with critics who had said that the Government's restriction of profits was a "pure sham." To show what was possible with a controlled firm under the Munitions Act, he cited the example of a firm which before the war was making £12,000 a year profit and in the first year of the war made £120,000. "You would add one-fifth to the standard profit," said Mr. Lloyd George, "and that firm would be allowed £14,400. The rest of it would go to the Exchequer. But that firm would be entitled to say, 'We have increased our output enormously by our exertions.' In that case the Minister of Munitions has full power to make an allowance to that firm in respect of increased output. It is a discretionary allowance.

"They cannot have both. They cannot have the increased one-fifth profit and the allowance for increased output. If you were to give them an allowance of £5,000, then the total they would get would be £17,000, and all the rest would go to the

Sir Arthur Markham commended to the attention of the Minister of Munitions the fact that 8s. to 9s. a to nroyalty was being paid on the ore from which our steel was being mad. One royalty owner was receiving no less than £150,000 a year.

While Sir Arthur was speaking, **Mr Harold Smith** moved "that the question be now put." "We are not here to talk. It is a disgrace," he remarked.

The proposal was ignored by the Deputy-Speaker.

Sir Arthur Markham: When the hon. member has been a little longer a member of the House perhaps he will not start to lecture people who were here many years before—probably before he was born. (Laughter.)

Mr. Smith: You are old enough to know better.

The second reading of the Bill was agreed to.

The Leicester Daily Post.

December 16th. 1915.

Watching the Interests of Women.

Miss McArthur, we are glad to note, has carried her point for sex representation on the tribunals when cases affecting women workers come up for decision. At such times one of the assessors will be a woman. Power is also taken for the Ministry of Munitions to regulate wage rates and conditions of employment of women. Miss McArthur undoubtedly made out a good case for such a course on her recent visit to Leicester. One statement of Dr. Addison, in moving the second reading of the new Bill, will cause misgiving as well as satisfaction. "About seven weeks ago," he said, "the department were satisfied they were paying too much for certain munitions. £30 a ton was the price charged, and, as the result merely of threats to examine the prices contracts were offered at £20 per ton, resulting in a saving of half a million in a short time." The satisfaction will be at the perspicacity of the Department's expert who detected the excess in this particular case; the misgiving at the obvious illustration it affords of the Munitions Act being defective, so long as it does not make disclosure of profits a condition of all contracts for war supplies placed in non-controlled establishments. In controlled establishments the temptation to exploit the nation's needs is scotched; in non-controlled firms only the Excess Profits tax applies, and every extra pound they can squeeze out of the Government on munitions' contracts yields 10s. (less income tax) extra profit for the contractors.

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Daily Telegraph – 16. 12. 15.

WAR MUNITIONS.

THE AMENDING BILL.

WORKMEN'S CERTIFICATES.

EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN.

Dr. ADDISON (Secretary to the Ministry of Munitions), in moving the second reading of the Munitions of War (Amendment) Bill, said the task which had occupied the time and energy of Mr. Lloyd George during the last few months had been of so complex and colossal a character that only those who had been working in close association with him could have any adequate realisation of it. In respect of some of the criticism which had been levelled against the Munitions Act and its administration, the critics had too often lost sight of what had been accomplished and of the enormous difficulties which had had to be surmounted and had attached an altogether undue importance to the relatively few cases in which there had been substantial grounds for complaint. He was convinced that without the Munitions Board it would have been impossible for his right hon. friend to obtain the enormously increased output of munitions which had been obtained, and which would be obtained in far greater volume in the near future.

The representatives of both employers and employed had rendered his right hon. friend the greatest assistance, and had approached the consideration of the amendment of the Act in a patriotic spirit.

There had been no attempt to set aside the main principles of the original Act. These principles were three in number:

First, that there should be a limitation of the profits which were made out of the manufacture of munitions of war;

Secondly, that there should be a relaxation of any trade practices which were found to stand in the way of an increased output of munitions.

Thirdly, that there should be a limitation both on employers and employed as to what they could do in their factories, and how they could dispose of their labour.

Most of the complaints had centred round the limitations on the movement of labour, and in the bill they had endeavoured to meet the sound causes of complaint. Under the Act as it stood, if a man were dismissed from his employment without a certificate he might find himself in the position of neither being able to find other employment nor being able to obtain a certificate. This was an inequitable position, and it was remedied under Clause 4 of the bill, which provided that where a workman was dismissed he should be given a certificate except in exceptional cases where it could be shown that men had deliberately misbehaved in order to be dismissed.

GRANT OF CERTIFICATES.

In some places it was found that men had been suspended from their work without pay for a number of days. It was, therefore, provided that where suspension took place for a period of more than three days a man should be entitled to a certificate. In order to ensure that a man should have a reasonable opportunity of obtaining other employment it was provided in the bill that if a man was dismissed without a week's notice, or wages in lieu of that notice, the case should be reported to the munitions tribunal, who could award the man a certificate, and reasonable compensation.

Another important modification had been intro-

was the chairman giving his casting vote only if the representatives of employers and workmen disagreed. It was a hardship on munition workers that they could not leave for better employment in less than six weeks, though they could be dismissed on a week's notice, or suspended for three days. Excessive hours had been injurious to the output of the works and the health of the workers. The Labour members had not been captious critics of the Ministry of Munitions. They had done their best to "help through." (Hear, hear.)

Sir A. MOND (R., Swansea Town) congratulated Mr. Lloyd George on the way in which the bill had been received, but he regretted that it did not go further. It would have been better to make every factory producing munitions a controlled establishment. Something more vigorous might be done to obtain the return of skilled labour from the Army. In France it seemed to be infinitely easier than was the case here to get men returned from the front. On the whole, the Minister of Munitions must be satisfied with the way in which controlled establishments had been worked. In many districts the question of fuel supply was causing serious apprehension to manufacturers. The Minister of Munitions ought to be in a position to regulate the disposition of industrial fuel in this country, so that those working for him might make certain that they would get the amount required.

PENAL PROVISIONS.

Mr. PRINGLE (R., Lanarkshire, N.W.) said the majority of the relaxations proposed were thoroughly approved by critics of the original Act. He still regarded the whole system of a penal code as a mistake. He did not believe it had added to the production of a single shell—(hear, hear)—and he did not believe the compulsory powers had done anything to increase production in the slightest degree. On the other hand, he believed that in many parts of the country the irritation caused by the penal and compulsory provisions had retarded production and had dried up and sterilised the voluntary effort which would otherwise have been available. He urged the Minister of Munitions even now to consider the advisability of parting with the compulsory provisions.

Mr. CHAPLIN (U., Wimbledon) said they had been told that the work of the Munitions Department was colossal, and he had no doubt it was. He rejoiced that a Minister of Mr. Lloyd George's energy and industry was at the head of that department. Everybody was anxious to know as much as possible of the progress of the great work entrusted to the right hon. gentleman and as to its cost. If the right hon. gentleman found it possible to answer the question he would like to know what progress had been made in the quantity of munitions produced since the department was established.

The SPEAKER said these matters were hardly relevant to the bill.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE: I propose on Monday to make a statement on these very points.

REAL RECIPROCITY.

Mr. WILKIE (Lab., Dundee) said if the Government had endeavoured to work out the question of munitions by means of partnership between Labour and capital instead of by compulsion, labour leaders would have been more completely with them. The same blemishes appeared in the amending bill as in the Act. What the Labour party asked was that there should be real reciprocity and equity between employers and employed.

Mr. G. TERRELL (U., Chippenham) expressed the opinion that the House was not acting with the greatest wisdom in relaxing penal clauses of the Act. The obligation to give notice should be made mutual and extended to the workmen. With regard to the issue of medals to war workers after the war, he thought it would act as a great encouragement to the men if the right hon. gentleman would settle rules based on the average hours which the men worked and on the continuity of their work.

Mr. ANDERSON (Lab., Attercliffe) said there was need for this amending bill. In some places there had been a great deal of dissatisfaction about the working of the Munitions Act. He thought the clauses with regard to women workers would give general satisfaction, but he desired to see something substantial done in connection with overtime, fatigue, and Sunday labour. (Hear, hear.) It was surely wrong to penalise men who in many cases had worked themselves to a physical standstill. (Hear, hear.) In addition to that, he desired to see something in the nature of arbitration courts representative equally of employers and workmen.

In regard to the original Act, the power of imprisonment ought to be taken away altogether. On the Clyde that provision had done more harm than any good it had achieved. It was a mistake to introduce all sorts of new regulations without consulting the workers. There had been far too much scolding, far too much moral lecturing, and far too little real understanding of the working classes.

profits during the two years preceding the war were £12,000, and whose profits during the first year under the Munitions Act went up to £120,000. What would happen in that case? You would add one-fifth to the standard profits, and the firm would be allowed £14,400. The rest would go to the Exchequer. But that firm would be entitled to say, "We have increased the output enormously by our exertions." In that case the Ministry of Munitions has full power to make an allowance to the firm in respect of the increased output. But the firm cannot have both the one-fifth increase of profit and the allowance for output. If you gave them an allowance of £5,000 the total they received would be £17,000. The rest, £103,000, would go to the Exchequer.

Under the excess profits duty £53,900 would go to the Exchequer, so that where the profits are very considerable the Munitions Act makes a larger levy than the excess profits duty. Take another case, a case where the profit has risen from £1,500 a year to £3,000. One-fifth added to the £1,500 would make £1,800, and the £1,200 would go to the State. Take the 50 per cent. excess profits tax, and £750 would go to the State.

The Munitions Act means a very considerable tax on employers, and it prevents the possibility of the suspension of regulations being exploited by employers for their own benefit.

But if there are compulsory powers applicable to employers which are being exercised from day to day, you cannot complain if there are also compulsory powers applicable to the workmen. I have seen hundreds of trade union representatives from these works, and when the proposition was put to them whether they wanted one-sided compulsion they practically all repudiated the idea.

SUCCESS OF THE ACT.

It is perfectly true we are modifying some of the powers. We have profited by experience.

But it is a mistake to say that the Munitions Act has not succeeded. (Cheers.)

Quite the reverse. Since the passing of the Munitions Act there has been no strike affecting more than a single establishment at a time. There have been only three strikes of any importance, lasting more than five days, and in each case the strikes ceased on the day after proceedings were taken under the Munitions Act and fines imposed. One in an Admiralty yard threatened to be a very serious one. Prosecutions were instituted, fines were imposed, and the men went back to work.

It is asked, "Has an additional shell been turned out in consequence of the Munitions Act?" It is not alone a question of shells. I could give cases where, in consequence of the Munitions Act, there has been undoubtedly an increase in the output of Admiralty work.

I still say that the State ought to have the right in any great emergency, where the life of the nation is at stake, to command the services and the resources of every citizen. (Cheers.) But the Munitions Act is an alternative to that.

Why is there no Munitions Act required in France? Because they have taken the wider view that they have the right to commandeer every resource for the interest of the State. The Munitions Act is purely an expedient because you have not adopted the wider principle. It is an interference with liberty! So is every law. (Cheers.) The only point is: Is it essential in the interests of the State at this moment? I have not the faintest doubt that it is absolutely essential, and that it is impossible to carry on the work of the State without powers of this kind.

APPEAL TO PATRIOTISM.

I agree with my hon. friends who say that when you talk about the majority of the workmen of this country it is far better to appeal to their goodwill and patriotism. Nobody has done more than I have in that way. I have appealed to workmen with every power I have got. Most of what I have done has been appeal. I am still continuing to appeal. Next week I am going to see the workmen on the Tyne and the Clyde, with many of whom I have had some disagreement. When I meet them I am depending far more upon persuasion than coercion. But as my hon. friends know very well it is not a question of dealing with a majority of the workmen, but with a minority. These workmen unless they are dealt with by other means dislocate the whole of the machinery and interfere with workmen who are anxious to do their work.

Let us consider the question of those men who are wearing out their strength by overwork. You have got myriads of them in this country. A committee has condemned Sunday labour. We have already sent a circular round to the controlled establishments and called upon the employers to get rid of Sunday labour to the utmost possible extent.

OVER ONE MILLION WORKMEN.

The minority who are not doing their work are the people responsible for the overwork of the majority; they are adding to their burdens. What

suspension took place for a period of more than three days a man should be entitled to a certificate. In order to ensure that a man should have a reasonable opportunity of obtaining other employment it was provided in the bill that if a man was dismissed without a week's notice, or wages in lieu of that notice, the case should be reported to the munitions tribunal, who could award the man a certificate, and reasonable compensation.

Another important modification had been introduced.

Where a man could show that the work he was seeking would make better use of his skill than the work in which he was at present engaged he would be entitled to his certificate. (Hear, hear.)

Certificates were to be of a strictly uniform character, and nothing was to be entered on them which was in the nature of a character note. (Hear, hear.) A good many cases had been brought before the Ministry of Munitions pointing to inequality in some of the decisions of munitions tribunals, but the Minister of Munitions did not think they would be likely to get equality of decision or uniformity of action by adopting the suggestion that the number of assessors should be four instead of two.

It was provided in the bill, however, that the chairman of the tribunal must consult the assessors, and in cases where women workers were concerned it was laid down that there should be a woman assessor. (Hear, hear.)

Moreover, a tribunal was set up to which appeals might be made on points of law.

EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN.

Another important section dealt with the employment of women. Those who had had an opportunity of examining the records had been deeply interested in the amount of the work, as well as in its character, which had been turned out by women in munition factories. (Hear, hear.) Women were doing now in munition works a great many skilled operations—turning out shells, fuses, parts of shells, and other things, some of which at least were not previously made by women at all. There was nothing in the principal Act which secured that the women the Government were forcing into munitions work—because the Government were forcing open wider and wider the door through which they might enter—should receive an adequate time rate. Eighty per cent. of the work women were doing on munitions was work that was not previously done by them at all, and therefore it was not included in the principal Act.

There was a considerable number of cases in which women were being very improperly paid—(hear, hear)—and these would be dealt with under the powers acquired in this bill.

A further section of the bill extended the operation of the principal Act. In the first place, it would be decided that a Government establishment employed in the production of munitions should be a controlled establishment, and should have applied to it the rules and regulations which applied to controlled establishments. The building of such merchant ships as the Admiralty might specify would be treated as war work, and the definition of munitions would be extended to take in certain materials such as those necessary for the manufacture of explosives. It was also extended to works of construction.

Thus the building of munition factories and so on would be regarded as war work.

Further, the principal Act was extended to power stations and lighting stations and to the supply of water and other things which were an essential part of the machinery of large factories. The Minister of Munitions would have power to call for the accounts and books necessary to establish the cost of production in a factory of munitions of war. He was afraid that the provisions he had indicated, together with the extension of the definition of munition work, constituted great inroads which the State was making for its own protection on private rights, and on individual and industrial liberty.

SPLENDID LOYALTY.

In this bill they were engaged in an endeavour to adjust differences fairly, to make rough places plain, and to hold the balance as evenly as possible between this class and that. But considerations which arose in connection with those matters would not make them forget that there were thousands of employers and hundreds of thousands of workmen who all the time, without making any complaint, without perhaps any acute sense of any ground of complaint, with industrious, patient, and splendid loyalty, had gone on with their work making munitions for the Armies by day and by night. If they felt the limitations imposed upon them, they accepted them loyally because they knew that any restraints and sacrifices, either personal or financial, we might impose upon ourselves were as nothing when compared with the voluntary surrender of individual liberty, security, and comfort made by those brave men who, enduring all manner of privations, were fighting our battles on land and sea. (Cheers.)

LABOUR MEMBERS' HELP.

Mr. HODGE (Lab., Gorton) said there were some good features in this bill which were long overdue. It was unfair, however, that a workman upon whose services the Munitions Department had a lien for six weeks should be liable to dismissal with only one week's notice. Many of the Tribunals had worked badly in the past because the chairman absolutely ignored the assessors. What they desired to see [illegible] sentative equally of employers and workmen.

In regard to the original Act, the power of imprisonment ought to be taken away altogether. On the Clyde that provision had done more harm than any good it had achieved. It was a mistake to introduce all sorts of new regulations without consulting the workers. There had been far too much scolding, far too much moral lecturing, and far too little real understanding of the working classes.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S REPLY.

PERSUASION AND COERCION.

Mr. LLOYD-GEORGE: I certainly have no reason to complain of the tone of the debate or of the criticisms which have been directed either against the original Act or against the amending bill before the House. In fact, most of the criticisms have been in effect, if not in form, speeches in support of the bill. Perhaps I had better take the general criticism first, before I come to the details.

Take the question of imprisonment. There has only been one case of imprisonment, and that took place in Glasgow. Why did it take place? It was not because the workmen could not pay. On the contrary, the fines were tendered and paid for the other workmen. These workmen refused to allow their fines to be paid for them, and deliberately chose imprisonment. It was really a sort of episode you have been accustomed to in another agitation during the past nine or ten years. They copied Suffragette methods.

An HON. MEMBER: Passive resistance. (Laughter.)

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE: As my hon. friend points out, they were in the apostolic succession to the passive resisters. As to the criticisms of Sir A. Mond, there is a good deal in what he said with which I am in complete sympathy, but when he complains that the Labour Exchanges have not helped to the extent that they might in furnishing workmen for munition works, I am bound to point out that during the present war the Labour Exchanges have supplied through their agencies 500,000 workmen to munition works, and that they are doing at the present moment the very thing the right hon. gentleman suggested they should do.

At the present moment, whenever anyone goes to them and suggests he is a fit and proper person, and that he has the necessary qualifications for munition work, they do their best to find employment for him. A misconception has arisen in this country. The right hon. baronet knows perfectly well that there are certain classes for which you must get specialists. Take the case of machine-guns. We have had machinery standing idle, though we have had thousands of skilled workmen whose services we could tender to the firm in question, because they wanted a certain number of special men to set up the machinery. It is no use sending ordinary engineers for that purpose. They must be men with long training and special aptitude for that particular class of work. These are the scarcest men in the world to get hold of. We find very often we cannot avail ourselves of the services of other skilled men because the machinery has not been set up by that class of men.

We are organising a company of emergency men who can go from one works to another to set up machinery lying idle for the lack of such men.

LIMITED COMPULSION.

Why do we stand by compulsion to the very limited degree that we do? I will tell the House quite frankly. You cannot have one-sided compulsion; and I ask my hon. friend whether he would be prepared to compel the employer to the extent we do, not merely in the Munitions Act, but in the Defence of the Realm Act, and have no compulsion of any sort or kind for the unwilling or recalcitrant workman? That was not the view taken by the trade union leaders.

Mr. W. THORNE (Lab., West Ham, S.): The employers are not imprisoned.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE: That is because they pay their fines.

There is exactly the same law for the employer as for the workman. (Hear, hear.)

The only difference is that the fines for the employer are heavier. We have taken powers, not merely to control works required for munition purposes, but also full power to take over works. What more did we do? We took full powers to take over the whole of the machinery. Those powers have been exercised, and we have removed machinery from works to other parts of the country where it was more required. We took full powers to take over all material, and we have used those powers to the full.

By means of those powers we have kept down the price of material.

The Metals Department of the Munitions Board has saved at least £10,000,000 or £15,000,000, and perhaps £20,000,000, by the power they have exercised in taking over the whole metal trade of the country.

RESTRICTION OF PROFITS.

I am told that the power to restrict profits in controlled establishments is a pure sham, that it is not a reality; and it has been said that the excess profits tax is more severe. Let me tell the House what it really means. The facts are that where the profits are large the Munitions Act drops much more heavily on the employer. Where the profits are small the excess profits tax drops more heavily on the employer. Take the case of a firm whose standard [illegible]

Let us consider the question of those men who are wearing out their strength by overwork. You have got myriads of them in this country. A committee has condemned Sunday labour. We have already sent a circular round to the controlled establishments and called upon the employers to get rid of Sunday labour to the utmost possible extent.

OVER ONE MILLION WORKMEN.

The minority who are not doing their work are the people responsible for the overwork of the majority; they are adding to their burdens. What you want is to equalise the burdens, to get them all to take their share.

There have been two or three thousand prosecutions in all. There are between 1,000,000 and 1,500,000 workmen. These prosecutions were essential and there is no Court against whose decisions you cannot put up some sort of argument. But these prosecutions are a very small item in the coercion of industry. There are hundreds of the cases against employers. If there are more against workmen than employers it is because there are a thousand times more workmen than employers.

I ask my hon. friends to help us to make this Act thoroughly satisfactory. It is quite true, as Mr. Hodge says, that I have no captious critics amongst his friends. I heartily thank him, and I thank them. I have never appealed to them for assistance without getting it. They have taken risks. (Cheers.) I know the greatest risk a public man has got to take. It is not facing political or industrial enemies. The greatest risk a public man takes is facing his own friends. And there is no greater penalty that a man can face than to quarrel with his own friends. But he is not worthy of the nation to which he belongs, and the struggle it is taking part in, if he does not face these things like a man. And let me say this to my hon. friend—there is no man of whom it is more true than him. It is easy to misrepresent, but he need not fear. His action is straight and honourable, and in the long run the people of this country are a just people, and they will honour him all the more for the course which he has taken. He tells me his friends are not captious critics. I agree. I have never had anything but co-operation from them. His criticisms to-day have been fair and helpful, and when we go into Committee I will consider them in the spirit in which he has advanced them. He, his friends, and I have but one end—we are working together to seek victory for our country when it is standing as champion for the cause of humanity. (Cheers.)

Mr. DUNCAN (Lab., Barrow-in-Furness) said that the union with which he was connected had tens of thousands of men working under the Act, and whereas dispute and victimisation pay used to cost thousands of pounds a week, it had, since the Act came into operation, dropped to £5 a week, and even less than that. The essence of the smooth working of the Act was largely the speedy settlement of all disputes. The amending bill would, he believed, be an improvement of the Act.

Sir F. BANBURY (U., City of London) said that wise expenditure by this country would be a large factor in terminating the war, and he urged that the department should not spend money wildly or extravagantly.

Sir A. MARKHAM (R., Mansfield) argued that the iron-ore mines of Cumberland should have been declared controlled establishments. At the present time the State was paying a royalty of not less than from 8s to 9s for every ton of stone which was raised for the purpose of making steel. One royalty owner alone was receiving £150,000 a year in royalties on this stone.

GETTING TO BUSINESS.

While the hon. member was speaking,

Mr. H. SMITH (U., Warrington) moved "that the question be now put," but the Deputy Speaker declined to accept the motion.

Sir A. MARKHAM: The hon. member is always a very energetic supporter of the Government, right or wrong. In this case he does not get the support of the Deputy Speaker.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER (Mr. Whitley): Order, order!

Mr. H. SMITH: We want to get to business in wartime; it is a disgrace.

Sir A. MARKHAM: The hon. member talks about disgrace. He has only been a short time a member of this House. When he is a member for a little longer perhaps he will not speak in such a fashion to people who have been here for many years, some of us before he was born, about the procedure of the House of Commons.

Mr. H. SMITH: You ought to know better in that case.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, order!

The bill was read a second time.

The House rose at five minutes past eleven.

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The Standard – December 18th 1915.

IN PARLIAMENT.

POWERS OF MUNITIONS MINISTRY.

PROTECTION OF WORKERS.

PROVISION FOR SOUND INSPECTION.

By JOHN FOSTER FRASER.

WESTMINSTER, Friday Night.

A Friday sitting is such a rare event since the guns broke loose that one must suppose that members enjoyed it. At any rate, they mustered in considerable force to-day to talk about the Bill to amend the Munitions Act, and they were so keen at their work that the Government representatives had one of the busiest times of their lives.

Chiefly, the Bill seeks to correct certain defects that have been revealed in the original Act by experience of its working, and, for the most part, the corrections are designed to remove the grievances of the workpeople engaged in making munitions. The measure does other things—for instance, it adds to the almost illimitable powers possessed by the Minister of Munitions the right to schedule water and gas supplies, and the right, also, to cause to be erected houses for the accommodation of munition workers. Naturally the trade union stalwarts turned up in great force.

The Minister of Munitions "led" for the Bill in person. He had the assistance of Dr. Addison, Dr. Macnamara, the Secretary of the Admiralty, and Sir F. E. Smith, the Attorney-General, and he had to deal with eleven pages of amendments. Fortunately, most of them were merely verbal and were easily disposed of. But some of them raised points of first-class importance. For instance, the Bill enacts that when a man has been suspended for three days for causes other than misconduct, he can compel his employer to give him a certificate of discharge. The Labour men declared three days to be too long a period. They wanted one day, and as the discussion progressed, the still wider question of whether a workman should be paid during his period of suspension was raised. Mr. Dillon came to the aid of the Labourites, who were very ably led by Mr. John Hodge, and in the end Mr. Lloyd George had to bow to the storm. He held out two days instead of three as an olive branch, and eagerly promised to consider the question of pay, with due regard to the customs of the trade. Somewhat reluctantly the critics accepted this, and the peril passed.

A SPICE OF HUMOUR.

It was a dull debate, and it bristled with technicalities. One felt grateful for the whimsical Mr. Joseph King, who had put down a whole sheaf of amendments, the great majority of which were of no importance whatever. Mr. King moved each amendment with imperturbable gravity, and in each case he declared it to be of great importance. Then, with equal gravity, he withdrew, while members laughed merrily. His finest effort to add the much-needed spice of humour came when the Attorney-General invited him to explain one of his amendments. Mr. King smiled with childlike blandness. "I am sorry," he said. "I have made notes and I cannot explain. I will withdraw." Members laughed heartily at this. Obviously they were grateful to the member for North Somerset.

The dour Labour men stuck grimly to their task, however. They secured promises of careful consideration for suggested improvements in the condition of women munition workers, and they elicited from Dr. Addison a very full assurance that the Department will keep a watchful eye on the provisions made for the comfort and health of the workers in all new factories. Also, they pinned the Government down to a pledge that inspectors of munition factories shall be properly qualified. "Some of them are pawnbrokers!" declared Mr. Tyson Wilson.

They had, as a matter of fact, good reason to be satisfied with their day's work. The other side—that of the employers, which was represented by Mr. Barclay Dounlas and Mr. Holt—did not fare so well. In these days the "master" is not quite so good as the man—especially when it comes to munitions! But the member for Hexham did succeed in depr[illegible]

man who is discharged, except for misconduct, or who left his employment on the ground that he had been suspended without wages for more than three days, should be entitled to compensation if refused a leaving certificate.

Mr. EDMUND HARVEY moved an amendment to remove the limit upon the period of suspension.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE said that he could not agree to the removal of the limitation, because in many cases men were suspended for short periods while waiting for material or repairs to be effected to machinery.

Mr. HODGE and Mr. DILLON (N., Mayo, E.) contended that workmen who were required to stand by should be paid for their time.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE said that opened up a very large question, but it did not arise on this subsection. That issue would have to be decided by arbitration, and if it decided that all workmen should be paid when standing by it would create a revolution in the customs of certain trades.

After further discussion the amendment was withdrawn, and Mr. Lloyd George consented to a reduction of the period of suspension to two days, promising to reconsider the question on the report stage, with a view to safeguarding customs of the trade.

On the question that the clause stand part of the Bill,

Mr. PRINGLE (L., Lanarkshire, N.W.) moved that it be omitted from the Bill, submitting that the restrictions that it imposed on workmen were causing a great deal of friction and discontent.

Dr. ADDISON, in opposing, said that there would be no value in the Bill if the clause were taken out.

The clause was then added to the Bill.

WOMEN WORKERS.

On Clause 5 which empowers the Minister of Munitions to fix the rate of wages to be paid to women employed in munition work, and arrange the conditions of their employment,

Mr. ANDERSON (Lab., Sheffield, Attercliffe) moved an amendment that the same protection should be given to semi-skilled or unskilled workers.

Dr. ADDISON (Secretary, Munitions) could not accept the amendment. The principal Act provided competent machinery to deal with these cases.

Mr. Hodge and Mr. C. Duncan (Lab., Barrow-in-Furness) supported the amendment, which was negatived.

Mr. E. HARVEY moved an amendment, with the object of making the clause apply to all women engaged in munitions work.

Dr. ADDISON could not accept the amendment. It would apply to establishments where only a small quantity of munition work was being turned out. That was impossible.

The amendment was negatived.

Mr. ANDERSON moved an amendment to Clause 5, to provide that the Minister of Munitions should be empowered to regulate not only wages but the hours of labour of women and girls employed in munition factories, and the sanitary accommodation, heating, lighting, and ventilation of work places.

Dr. ADDISON pointed out that the clause gave the Minister of Munitions power to regulate the conditions of employment, which would cover all the matters mentioned by Mr. Anderson. The department were taking care in all new factories to make provision for the health of workers, and they were doing the same in the controlled establishments. They had arranged with the Chancellor of the Exchequer to give full consideration to expenditure on canteens in computing profits for excess profits duty, and this had had the effect of speeding up the provision of canteens. In establishments where large numbers of women and girls were employed they were arranging for the engagement of matrons or women supervisors.

The amendment was withdrawn, but it was agreed that the Minister of Munitions should have power to regulate hours of labour of women.

PENALTIES FOR FALSE STATEMENTS.

Clause 8, which sets out punishments for false statements for the purpose, among other things, of evading the provisions of the Act, and Clause 9, which imposes an obligation on owners of establishments to supply information as to cost of production, etc., were carried.

Mr. HOLT (L., Hexham) objected to the last-named clause, which he said was one of the most outrageous proposals that he had ever listened to.

Mr. PRINGLE said that he thought that the most complete security should be forthcoming that the information obtained would be treated as strictly confidential.

Dr. ADDISON replied that the clause was necessary. In some cases it had been found that too much was being paid for munitions. If it were necessary to put in words in the clause which would make the intention of the Government clearer, it would be done on report. The gentlemen who would conduct inquiries would be specially appointed, and the information that they obtained would be treated as confidential.

On Clause 10, which specifies the powers of the inspectors to obtain information in connection with the supply of munitions such as the inspection of books, wages sheets, etc.,

Mr. TYSON WILSON (Lab., Westhoughton) moved an amendment to provide that the inspectors should be properly and technically qualified to discharge their duties. Pawnbrokers, barbers, butchers, and bakers were now employed as inspectors. Such appointments were, of course, ridiculous.

Dr. ADDISON replied that if the amendment were accepted it would place upon the depart[illegible]

this new court being now formed, when there were courts already in existence at considerable cost to the country.

The amendment was carried.

Clause 12, which empowers the Minister of Munitions to arrange with any other department for the performance of any of his powers which he thinks can be more conveniently performed by that department, was carried without debate.

On Clause 14, which protects a member or officer of a munitions tribunal, or any other person acting under the authority of the tribunal, from civil or criminal proceedings if he acts in good faith and with reasonable care,

Mr. KING, who had a number of amendments on the paper designed to mitigate the severity of the clause, promised not to move them if, as he hoped, the clause would be dropped.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE offered to drop the clause, and it was accordingly taken out of the Bill.

TRIBUNAL FOR WOMEN.

After Clause 15, which allows costs to defendants in vexatious proceedings, had been agreed to,

The Committee proceeded to deal with new clauses.

The first, proposed by Mr. Lloyd George, was to establish a special arbitration tribunal for women, which should comprise one or more women, to deal with differences as they arose, and give advice to the Minister of Munitions as to the nature of directions that he should issue.

Mr. LEIF JONES (L., Rusholiffe) said that he thought that this clause left too much power in the hands of the Minister of Munitions, and that they should have an assurance that he would not go behind the backs of the tribunal and decide cases without their assistance.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE said that there were certain questions which would have to be decided by the Government, such as the question of a minimum wage for women, and there ought not to be a compulsory resort to the tribunal in such cases.

Mr. ANDERSON said that he thought that the Committee had a right to understand this proposal, which only appeared on the paper that morning, and had since been altered by the Minister.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE said that if his hon. friends did not want the proposal he would withdraw it.

Mr. ANDERSON protested that the Minister was adopting an attitude which was not fair (hear, hear).

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE said that his hon. friends should make up their minds whether they wanted the tribunal or not.

Mr. ANDERSON said that they all desired machinery to be set up, but they did not want it rushed through before they understood it (hear, hear). There was no guarantee that a representative of the working women would be upon the tribunal.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE said that if the Committee accepted his proposal as drafted he would confer with his hon. friends on the matter before the report stage.

The clause was then read a second time and added to the Bill.

NON-PAYMENT OF FINES.

Mr. GOLDSTONE moved a new clause with the object of preventing a munitions tribunal from imposing imprisonment as punishment in the case of non-payment of fines. He said that this was in accordance with the recommendation of Lord Balfour's Commission, with reference to a case on the Clyde, where three workmen had gone to prison.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE pointed out that the three men referred to went to prison deliberately, although the fines were tendered. It would show weakness to abolish this power of ordering imprisonment.

Mr. PRINGLE said that they did not want men to go to prison. They became martyrs in such cases, and aroused sympathy. In the Clyde case the men on coming out of prison were presented with £8 apiece and diamond bracelets for their wives (laughter).

The clause was negatived.

ARBITRATION IN DISPUTES.

Mr. ANDERSON moved a new clause to provide that workpeople—who were not free to go on strike—should have power to claim arbitration when a dispute arose.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE said that there were cases in which differences were manufactured by a small section of workmen who were anxious to give trouble. He thought that the Board of Trade should have power to restrict arbitration proceedings to cases which were bona fide. If his hon. friend was prepared to agree to that restriction he would submit words on the report stage which would secure his object.

Mr. Anderson withdrew his amendment.

The committee stage was concluded, amid cheers, and the House adjourned at half-past seven o'clock.

tion factories shall be properly qualified. "Some of them are pawnbrokers!" declared Mr. Tyson Wilson.

They had, as a matter of fact, good reason to be satisfied with their day's work. The other side—that of the employers, which was represented by Mr. Barclay Denniss and Mr. Holt—did not fare so well. In these days the "master" is not quite so good as the man—especially when it comes to munitions! But the member for Hexham did succeed in drawing from Dr. Addison an assurance that all inquiries into returns as to cost of production and so forth supplied by employers would be undertaken by "gentlemen specially appointed" (whatever that may mean), and that the information obtained would be regarded as strictly confidential.

Labour was insatiable, however, and Mr. Lloyd George was compelled to set his face resolutely against an amendment the object of which was to make the workmen assessors attached to a Munitions Tribunal members of that body. It seemed rather a trifling point. But the Labour men were truculent, and it was not until they had a division and were beaten by 43 votes against ten that progress became more rapid. Altogether it had been a busy day. It made it clear, at all events, that our legislators like to legislate.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The Speaker took the chair at Noon.

The House went into Committee on the Munitions of War (Amendment) Bill.

On Clause 1, which gives the Minister of Munitions power to declare Government factories in which munition work is carried on to be controlled establishments,

Mr. HODGE (Lab., Gorton Division) moved an amendment that where part of an establishment was turning out munition work that establishment should be deemed for all purposes to be a controlled establishment. He wished to include railway shops where munitions were made, where female labour was being employed, and where the companies were taking advantage of the Treasury agreement between the trade unions and Minister of Munitions in what had been called the ill-usage of labour.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE said that he agreed with the object in view, but considered that the amendment went further than was necessary. He had full power at present to take over these establishments. It was purely a matter of administration. He would, however, consider the matter before the Report stage.

The amendment was withdrawn, and the clause was added to the Bill.

Clause 2 was also added to the Bill. It provides that an employer who discharges a workman who has become a munition worker within a period of six weeks after the workman has entered into an undertaking with the Minister of Munitions shall be guilty of an offence against the principal Act, and be liable to a fine unless he proves that he had reasonable cause for dismissing the workman. The clause also declares that no contract made by a workman with his employer shall prevent him from carrying out his undertaking to become a munition volunteer or make him liable for an action for damages.

Clause 3 was carried after a short debate. It provides against the failure of an employer to comply with the provisions of an undertaking that he has made in the case of workers who have been temporarily released from naval or military service.

CERTIFICATE OF DISCHARGE.

Clause 4 amends the principal Act in order to make the issue of a certificate of discharge compulsory upon the employer when he dismisses a workman or suspends him for more than three days, unless the tribunal is of opinion that the workman was guilty of misconduct in order to secure dismissal. It also provides that when an employer dismisses a workman without at least a week's notice the tribunal may award compensation to the workman, unless it considers that the circumstances are such as to make the omission to give such notice reasonable. It further declares that a munitions tribunal shall, in deciding whether a certificate shall be given to a workman, take into consideration the question whether the workman has left his former work for the purpose of undertaking any class of work in which his skill or other personal qualifications can be employed with greater advantage to the national interest.

Mr. EDMUND HARVEY (L., Leeds, W.) moved an amendment with the object of giving a munitions tribunal power to award compensation to a workman in respect of any time during which he was prevented from earning wages by the failure or the unreasonable refusal of the employer to grant such certificate and also to award an allowance for expenses and loss of working time, such sums to be payable by such persons as the tribunal might decide.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE replied that he considered the clause covered cases where certificates had been unreasonably withheld. He would, however, further consider the points raised before the Report stage.

The amendment was thereupon withdrawn.

On subsection 2, which provides that a workman shall be entitled to a certificate of discharge if he has been in employment for a period of not less than six months, Mr. TYSON WILSON (Lab., Westhoughton) moved an amendment to provide that the inspectors should be properly and technically qualified to discharge their duties. Pawnbrokers, barbers, butchers, and bakers were now employed as inspectors. Such appointments were, of course, ridiculous.

Dr. ADDISON replied that if the amendment were accepted it would place upon the department a greater responsibility than they could bear. Seeing that there was such a great variety of munitions work, it would be impossible to set up a technical standard to govern appointments. The department was doing its best. They would have no hesitation in getting rid of those who were not properly qualified.

Mr. HODGE said that he hoped that the Minister would clear out all the incompetent men in his department. It was only a qualified man who could properly examine a shell. If shells were to win the war, our men should be supplied with the very best they could get.

GARDENER AS INSPECTOR.

Mr. KING (L., Somerset, N.) mentioned a case where a gardener whose experience of machinery was limited to a lawn mower was appointed an inspector (laughter).

Dr. ADDISON, interposing, said that the department would have inquiries made. Out of the thousands of applications the department had received for inspectorships, it was not always easy to get hold of the right people.

Mr. DILLON asked for an assurance from the department that no man would be sent to examine shells who did not understand them.

The debate was continued by Mr. Wardle and Colonel Yate.

Mr. TYSON WILSON, in withdrawing the amendment, remarked that many of the inspectors were the laughing stock of the men in the factories. In fact, the department itself was in danger on account of some of their appointments of becoming a laughing stock, too.

Clause 11 enacts that in proceedings before a munition tribunal the chairman shall, before giving his decision, consult with the assessors, and that in cases coming before the tribunals concerning women one assessor shall be a woman chosen from the panel representing workmen. It also provides for a special court for the purpose of hearing appeals on questions of law.

Mr. O'GRADY (Lab., Leeds, E.) moved an amendment to provide that these assessors should be deemed to be members of such tribunal equally with the chairman. He submitted that it was absolutely essential that the assessors should have a voice in determining what the verdict should be if their decision was to be regarded as a fair and square decision.

Mr. HODGE strongly supported the amendment.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE said that he was sorry he could not accept it. He and his colleagues had given it the deepest consideration, and they had come to the conclusion that it would not only be a departure from precedent to treat the assessors as members of the court instead of advisers, but that, as trade union representatives, they ought not to be placed in an undesirable position in cases where other trade unionists were concerned. He had taken the opinion of the Cabinet on this question, and he regretted that they could not meet the views of hon. members beyond putting a direct obligation upon the president of the court to confer and consult with the assessors before giving a decision.

Mr. GOLDSTONE (Lab., Sunderland) asked if the Minister would accept another amendment in the name of Mr. Denniss, which provided that in all cases where the assessors were agreed the president of the court should be bound to give effect to their opinion in his decision. He said that unless that amendment was accepted a division would be taken upon the present one.

Mr. W. ROCH and Mr. DENNISS having spoken,

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE said that he agreed that if the representatives of the employers and workmen on the tribunal were agreed, it would be a strong order for the president to overrule them, and he would be prepared to compromise on Mr. Denniss's amendment (cheers).

Some of the Labour members insisted upon taking a division upon Mr. O'Grady's amendment, which was defeated by 43 to 10.

Mr. Denniss's amendment was agreed to.

POWERS OF APPEAL.

Mr. KING (L., Somerset, N.) moved to omit the provision that there should be a specially constituted court to consider appeals on questions of law from the munitions tribunals. He desired to substitute a provision that one of the assessors should be a barrister to whom questions of law should be referred.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE said that he could not accept the latter part of Mr. King's proposal, but he was willing to omit the subsection in order that he might on report submit a more satisfactory proposal. His object was to get a tribunal which would secure uniformity in the decisions of the munitions tribunals on questions of fact.

Mr. Lloyd George's suggestion was agreed to.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE moved an addition to the clause providing for payment to a member or officer of the appeal court of such remuneration as the Minister of Munitions, with the sanction of the Treasury, might determine.

Mr. BUTCHER (U., York) protested against

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Yorkshire Observer - 18. 12. 15.

LONDON LETTER.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT BY PRIVATE WIRE.)

172, Fleet Street, Friday Night.

The Munitions Bill.

The habit of Friday sittings is apparently one of the vices or virtues which the majority of the Members of the House have found no difficulty in abandoning. Even in the old days it was only upon special occasions that Friday brought with it anything like a full House, but to-day it was only a meagre handful of Members who responded to the call. A division in the course of the sitting found little more than fifty Members present or sufficiently interested to record their votes, and the debate resolved itself into a comparatively quiet talk across empty benches. The measures before the House—the Munitions Act Amendment Bill—may not have suffered from the fact, but from the spectatorial point of view it was a dull and featureless sitting.

Uncontested Clauses.

The first clause gives the Minister of Munitions power to declare Government factories in which munition work is carried on to be controlled establishments, and Mr. Hodge was anxious to have it declared that where part of an establishment was turning out munitions the whole should be deemed, for the purposes of the Bill, a controlled establishment. He wished to include railway shops where munitions were made and female labour employed, alleging that companies were taking advantage of the agreement between the trade unions and the Minister of Munitions to the disadvantage of labour. The amendment, however, was withdrawn upon the explanation of Mr. Lloyd George that he had full power to take over these establishments already, and that it was purely a matter of administration to which he would give attention. The clause was duly added to the Bill, as was also the clause penalising the discharge of a workman by an employer within a period of six weeks after the workman has volunteered for munition work, and the clause providing against the failure of an employer to comply with an undertaking made in the case of men temporarily released from military or naval service.

The Limits of Suspension.

To the clause dealing with the issue of certificates of discharge, Mr. Edmund Harvey moved an amendment with the object of giving a munitions tribunal power to award compensation to a workman in respect of any time during which he might be prevented from earning wages by the failure or unreasonable refusal of an employer to grant a certificate. Mr. Lloyd George undertook to consider the points before the Report stage. Mr. Edmund Harvey also moved an amendment to remove from a sub-section the limit upon the period of suspension without wages for which compensation might be claimed if a leaving certificate was refused. Mr. Lloyd George opposed the amendment on the ground that in many cases men were suspended for short periods while waiting for materials or repairs to machinery. It was contended, however, by Mr. Hodge and Mr. Dillon that workmen who were required to stand by should be paid for their time. This, in Mr. Lloyd George's opinion, opened up a very large question, and did not arise upon the sub-section in debate. It was an issue which would have to be decided by arbitration, but if it were decided in favour of the payment of workmen standing by, it would create a revolution in the custom of certain trades. The amendment was ultimately withdrawn, Mr. Lloyd George consenting to a reduction of the period of suspension from three days to two, and promising further consideration by the Report stage with a view to safeguarding the customs of the trade. Mr. Pringle was for dropping the whole clause upon the ground that the restrictions it imposed on workmen were causing friction and discontent, but it was urged by Dr. Addison that the Bill without the clause would have no value.

The Women Workers.

The clause empowering the Minister of Munitions to fix the scale of wages to be paid to women in munitions work, and to arrange the conditions of their employment, was the subject of some little discussion. Mr. Anderson wanted the same protection to be given to semi-skilled or unskilled workers, and Mr. Edmund Harvey moved to extend the clause to apply to all women engaged in munitions work, but in both cases the amendments were negatived. On a further amendment Dr. Addison pointed out that the clause gave the Minister of Munitions full power to regulate the conditions of employment, and the Department were taking care to make provision for the health of workers, to regulate canteens, and provide women supervisors where large numbers of women and girls were employed. It was agreed, however, that the Minister of Munitions should have power to regulate the hours of labour of women.

The Scrutiny of Accounts.

The clause of the Bill which imposes an obligation on the owners of establishments to supply information as to the cost of production was characterised by Mr. Holt as one of the most outrageous proposals he had ever listened to, and Mr. Pringle contended that the most complete security should be forthcoming that the information so obtained would be treated as strictly confidential. Dr. Addison argued for the necessity of the clause, and referred to cases in which it was found that too much was being paid for munitions. If the clause needed modifying to make the intentions of the Government clearer it could be done on report. The information obtained would be treated as confidential. In the matter of the inspection of books, wages-sheets, and the like Mr. Tyson Wilson urged that qualified inspectors should be employed, not pawnbrokers, barbers, butchers, and bakers. Mr. Hodge, Mr. King, and others supported the amendment, but it was withdrawn in deference to Dr. Addison's protest that the Department would do its best. Opposition was pressed against the clause providing that in proceedings before a munitions tribunal the chairman should, before giving his decision, consult with the assessors. Mr. Lloyd George resisted, in the name of the Cabinet, an amendment by Mr. O'Grady providing that these assessors should be deemed to be members of such tribunals equally with the chairman, but agreed ultimately to a compromise upon an amendment by Mr. Denniss providing that in all cases where the assessors were agreed the president of the court should be bound to give effect to their opinion in his decision. Some of the Labour Members, however, forced a division on Mr. O'Grady's amendment, with the result that they were defeated by 43 votes to 10. After some further debate, in which one or two other points were left over for consideration on the Report stage, the Bill, with slight modification, was reported to the House.

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Reynolds's Newspaper. 19. 12. 15.

LABOUR AND MUNITIONS.

It has been obvious to everyone interested in industrial affairs that the Munitions Act has not worked quite so smoothly as was hoped when it was initiated. Some of the men who have come under its scope have felt very strongly that, in one or two particulars, it was not only badly designed, but distinctly unfair. Now what is the purpose of the Act? In the first place it was inaugurated to give the nation control over the production of munitions of war. From the very outset of hostilities it was seen that the much vaunted enterprise of private firms was incapable of coping successfully with the national emergency. Better organization was needed; the work of the various existing factories had to be co-ordinated; the many new establishments had to be developed and fitted into their proper place in the general scheme of production. National efforts and national aims replaced the old go-as-you-please methods. Similarly with munition labour. Obviously, in such a time of crisis, workmen must be regarded, and must regard themselves, as national assets, as national servants, as men whose individual desires must, to some extent, be subordinated to national needs. On the whole both employers and employed accepted this position. But a slight minority did not. Trouble was caused for various reasons. A few men were careless and intractable; some employers still put profit-making before patriotism. So a new Department was formed with Mr. Lloyd George at its head as Minister of Munitions.

The immediate result was the Munitions Act, whereby employers' profits were to be curtailed and workers were to be prevented from making moves or taking liberties which would be prejudicial to the end the nation had in view —the production of the colossal quantities of war material necessary to win the war. The principal grievances voiced against the Act have been on the matter of discharge certificates, and on the under-payment of women labour. Under the principal Bill a munition worker cannot obtain employment with a new firm unless he is provided with a certificate from his old employer, or unless six weeks have elapsed since there was any work for him to do. An employer, on the other hand, can dismiss a man, refuse him a certificate, or even make remarks prejudicial to his character, and so prevent him from getting a job in any munition factory. Also, the employer can arbitrarily suspend a man and thus stop his pay. Under the Amending Bill it is provided that where suspension takes place over a period of more than three days a man shall be entitled to a certificate; and if a man is dismissed without a week's notice, or wages in lieu of that notice, the case shall be reported to the Munitions Tribunal, who may award the man a certificate and reasonable compensation. The objection to this is that it does not go far enough in the direction of reform. The employer is practically left with a lien upon a man's services for six weeks, although at liberty to turn him off with a week's notice. We are sorry that more drastic changes were not made in the Bill on the Committee stage. In the matter of women's labour, it was frankly admitted in the House that a good many women were being "very improperly paid," and these are to be dealt with under the powers acquired in the new Bill.

To turn to the employers' side of the case, the real grievances still seem to be AGAINST some employers. There has always been a good deal of scepticism as to how much of the vast war profits now being made would ultimately find their way back to the nation, and that scepticism still exists. Then for the Munitions Department a case was cited to show how prices were put up against the Government. Three weeks ago £30 a ton was being paid for a certain munition. This was obviously too much, and, as a result merely of a threat to examine the firm's books, the contracts were offered at £20 per ton! Having stated these objections to the measure, let us now admit cheerfully that the Act has been, on the whole, of great benefit to the country. Under the circumstances it would have been foolish to expect perfect machinery to be developed offhand. And we must also point out that most of the grievances would have had very little solid foundation if the Act had been sympathetically administered. The best piece of legislation ever devised by the mind of man may be made a ghastly ruin by incompetent, tyrannical, or faulty administration. Now that changes are to be made let us hope that the administrators responsible will lay to heart the advice of the chief Minister concerned and in their dealings with the workers rely more upon persuasion than upon the powers Government has conferred upon them. We are out to win the war. To win we must have stupendous supplies. Those supplies are now forthcoming, and only in so far as those supplies can be kept up or increased by it is the Munitions Act justified. The majority of our munition workers are toiling like slaves. They are cheerfully foregoing every pleasure, every bit of relaxation, everything for which they have for so long struggled. We are even finding it necessary to ask for legislation to prevent some of them from working themselves literally to death. There are cases where men are working eighty hours a week, week after week, at heavy tasks, ruining themselves for life in the interests of the State. The workers on the whole are splendid. We wish we could say as much for the men in authority. Let us, then, remember these when considering labour and war, and not lay too much stress upon the shortcomings of a few.

The Federationist
Dec 1915

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The Munitions Act and its Results.

JOHN HILL (in the Boilermakers' Report).

Writing last month I entered a mild protest against the tendency shown by some employers to harshly interpret and hurriedly apply their powers under the Munitions Act.

Since then I have given assistance in many questions with results to employers and men concerned which no public accusations and stupidly heavy penalties could secure.

From recent decisions of Munitions Tribunals it would appear that employers may punish their employes, whether guilty or not, as in cases where their charge breaks down the men concerned get no compensation for their expenses and loss of time attending court. In other cases men are compelled to walk idle for days till it suits a firm's convenience to give them employment, whilst their services would be gladly accepted by other firms who could guarantee them constant employment.

In the best spirit of national service we have suspended our right to strike, and with the right to strike all customs for the reduction of hours and limitation of output. The Government has put power in the hands of employers to refuse permission to workmen to leave them in the usual way. Employers may also demand from their workmen not only full time service, but overtime on any day (including Sunday), with the threat of the Munitions Tribunal should they refuse.

Some employers forget that we temporarily suspended our rights in the national interest and for the safety and success of our sons and brothers in the trenches. That being so we are entitled to more considerate treatment than they are meting out to us.

Amongst such employers we find no less a person than the president of the North-East Coast Institution of Engineers and Shipbuilders.

He pays a fine tribute to "the men of our Overseas Dominions rushing in thousands to swell the marvellous army," and in contrast to these men he puts "certain sections of the British population who limited production whilst their brothers bled."

He said he believed that posterity would decide that this certain section of the British population were greater criminals than the German breakers of treaties and destroyers of cathedrals in their "merciless lust of destruction and slaughter."

That is a very harsh statement indeed.

I am sure that Mr. Rowell, the gentleman who made that statement, did not mean to malign that section of the population whom the public will associate with his words, i.e., the workingmen employed on war work.

If Mr. Rowell were asked he would say that he referred to a small minority of workmen who are undoubted slackers—a minority who are no more numerous amongst workingmen than amongst all other classes of the community. They even exists amongst the sons of dukes and earls, according to a very distinguished member of the House of Lords, who spoke from personal experience.

Remember, I am not making this comparison to excuse or exonerate workingmen who slack or lose time. Our national needs demand the best we each can give, and he who gives less should be tried by a tribunal of some kind and judged by his work and service.

The Trade Unions of this country have told the Government and their employers that they are not out to make additional war wages out of the nation's necessity, and any advances of wages asked for have [illegible] would restore the [illegible] stones at workingmen—even guilty workingmen.

Amongst firms who have done well out of the war I also note the firm of Hawthorn, Leslie, and Company—the firm of which Mr. Rowell is a principal representative. This firm always does well, and earns a normal yearly dividend of £102,000, but for last year they had a dividend of £202,000 being nearly 100 per cent. increase. This profit was only possible with the assistance of workingmen. Even the arch-criminals whose wickedness is greater than that of the German Huns and Vandals, did their small share, otherwise they would not have been employed for the few hours per week which they are willing to work at a very slow pace.

There is no body of honest workmen who would not gladly expel from their trade the men who will neither work themselves or allow others to do so, and there are many instances of men expelled by the Trade Union for losing time and failing to pay the penalty. And yet these men are the very first to find employment with employers who talk loudest about the wickedness of workingmen.

Is there any body of employers in the country who can show such a record of loyalty as the Trade Unionists of this country?

We began by contributing a large percentage to infantry battalions to man the first line trenches and offer the greatest sacrifices. At home we gave ourselves day and night to the equipment of our brothers at the front, and by a self-denying ordinance we agreed and put it in writing "that no attempt should be made by or on behalf of workmen to derive any actual profit from the country's critical position."

And now, because of a few slackers, for whose existence in the trade employers are themselves chiefly responsible, we have things said which reflect on every workman on war material.

I hope I shall not be misunderstood when I defend men who have neither time nor opportunity to defend themselves. I have no wish for controversy. It is no satisfaction to say "you're another." At the present time we must either pull together or sink together, and we should be agreed on dealing with slackers and national traitors whether they are workingmen or lookers-on.

In another column we reprint the Munitions Act and Regulations, etc. A good many who have never read the Act have condemned it because of some harsh and stupid interpretations and unreasonable penalties which have been inflicted. I ask each of our members to read the Act and keep this month's report for reference; and here I cannot do better than reprint the comments I made on the Act some four months ago.

The Act will apply primarily to "controlled establishments." The Minister of Munitions has power to declare any factory or yard doing war work a "controlled establishment." Any workman in such an establishment who is employed on ships or munitions of war gives up the right to strike, and the employer gives up the right to lock-out.

The Act, however, does not take away the right to strike without making provision for dealing with every question likely to cause a strike.

All our usual machinery for dealing with grievances and questions in dispute will be continued, i.e., reporting to the foreman, calling the district delegate, meeting employers in conference, etc. But where it is decided that this ordinary procedure will settle any question a report should at once be sent to the Board of Trade. If question our wages and conditions during such period shall not be worsened.

Offences under the Act either on the part of employers or workmen are punishable by heavy fines, the employer being responsible for the payment of his own fine and the fines of his workmen. Power is given the employer to deduct workmen's fines out of wages.

Offences under the Act are dealt with by new courts called Munitions Tribunals. On this court there will be a neutral chairman with one or more workmen's representatives and an equal number of employers' representatives.

In such courts it will be our own fault if the points in favour of a workman are not fully brought out in each case.

Schedule 2 of the Act is in the nature of a Trade Union charter. We give up any custom which is detrimental to the maximum war output, but a record of any departure from custom shall be kept so that this custom shall be restored after the war.

We may allow where necessary men of lesser skill to do certain skilled work, but the lesser skilled man must have the same time or piece rates which are paid to the fully skilled workman. In such a case it will be to the employers' interest to have fully skilled workmen all the time. The menace of "the handyman" is thus averted. In all changes of working conditions we must have due notice and opportunity for local consultation with the employers concerned, and if we disagree the proposed change cannot take place until a properly constituted court shall so decide.

The object of the Act is to obtain the maximum output for the present war, and to this end we must most carefully guard and maintain the health and well-being of workmen and their dependents. The maximum output of the nation will not be obtained or maintained if every man, woman, and child are not kept in full physical and mental efficiency. We, therefore, must have good wages, plenty of wholesome, nourishing food, and decent homes to live in. The Government must do their "bit" in nationalising the food supply; aye, and the house supply if the common people are to do their best for the nation.

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND FOOD PRODUCTION.

The "Journal of the Board of Agriculture" for November, 1915, contains an important résume of the final report of the Departmental Committee on the Home Production of Food. The Committee are convinced that there is great need to increase the productivity of the soil of this country, and they are in favour of restoring much of the grass land to arable cultivation; particularly do they desire to do this with the poorer pastures. The Committee suggest at least the partial socialisation of home produced sulphate of ammonia with a view to securing for farmers sufficient supplies at prices approximating to those which obtained before the war. The Committee also suggest that immediate steps should be taken to stimulate the breeding of pigs. They might have inquired into the restrictions imposed and made recommendations as to the abolition of those which made it impossible for many cottagers to breed pigs. The whole of the "Journal," together with the new leaflets issued, suggests that in spite of the criticisms which have been directed against the Board it is endeavouring to supply all food producers with the best scientific information and advice.

It is the workers who suffer the most from all wars, and it is only armament rings, shipping combines, and other capitalist combinations who profit by them.

the hands of employers to refuse permission to workmen to leave them in the usual way. Employers may also demand from their workmen not only full time service, but overtime on any day (including Sunday), with the threat of the Munitions Tribunal should they refuse.

Some employers forget that we temporarily suspended our rights in the national interest and for the safety and success of our sons and brothers in the trenches. That being so we are entitled to more considerate treatment than they are meting out to us.

Amongst such employers we find no less a person than the president of the North-East Coast Institution of Engineers and Shipbuilders.

He pays a fine tribute to "the men of our Overseas Dominions rushing in thousands to swell the marvellous army," and in contrast to these men he puts "certain sections of the British population who limited production whilst their brothers bled."

He said he believed that posterity would decide that this certain section of the British population were greater criminals than the German breakers of treaties and destroyers of cathedrals in their "merciless lust of destruction and slaughter."

That is a very harsh statement indeed. I am sure that Mr. Rowell, the gentleman who made that statement, did not mean to malign that section of the population whom the public will associate with his words, i.e., the workingmen employed on war work.

If Mr. Rowell were asked he would say that he referred to a small minority of workmen who are undoubted slackers—a minority who are no more numerous amongst workingmen than amongst all other classes of the community. They even exists amongst the sons of dukes and earls, according to a very distinguished member of the House of Lords, who spoke from personal experience.

Remember, I am not making this comparison to excuse or exonerate workingmen who slack or lose time. Our national needs demand the best we each can give, and he who gives less should be tried by a tribunal of some kind and judged by his work and service.

The Trade Unions of this country have told the Government and their employers that they are not out to make additional real wages out of the nation's necessity, and any advances of wages asked for have only been such as would restore the balance of real wages which has been upset by the avarice of capitalists and middlemen.

One firm of millers (that of Spillers and Bakers), who did well in normal times with an average yearly profit of £140,000, put up their prices and increased their profits by £227,000, making a first war dividend of £367,000.

A well-known shipowner, when challenged regarding his high freights and profits, said he had a right to make extra profits.

Shall we agree to fine and imprison workingmen and allow idle shareholders to exploit our country in war time?

I am not quite sure the representatives of those firms should be first to throw wickedness of workingmen.

Is there any body of employers in the country who can show such a record of loyalty as the Trade Unionists of this country?

We began by contributing a large percentage to infantry battalions to man the first line trenches and offer the greatest sacrifices. At home we gave ourselves day and night to the equipment of our brothers at the front, and by a self-denying ordinance we agreed and put it in writing "that no attempt should be made by or on behalf of workmen to derive any actual profit from the country's critical position."

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The Act, however, does not take away the right to strike without making provision for dealing with every question likely to cause a strike.

All our usual machinery for dealing with grievances and questions in dispute will be continued, i.e., reporting to the foreman, calling the district delegate, meeting employers in conference, etc. But where it is doubtful that this ordinary procedure will settle any question a report should at once be sent to the Board of Trade. If within 21 days of that notice the question is not referred for settlement by arbitration men are at liberty to strike.

Twenty-one days may seem to long for many questions to be delayed, but as under the Act employers will have no power to delay a reference to arbitration we are more likely to have settlements in one week than in three.

A further clause in the Act provides that "the conditions of labour and the remuneration thereof prevailing before the difference arose shall be continued until the said difference is settled." This clause prevents employers arbitrarily altering existing wages and conditions of employment, so that whether we wait one week or three weeks for a verdict on any averted. In all changes of working conditions we must have due notice and opportunity for local consultation with the employers concerned, and if we disagree the proposed change cannot take place until a properly constituted court shall so decide.

The object of the Act is to obtain the maximum output for the present war, and to this end we must most carefully guard and maintain the health and well-being of workmen and their dependents. The maximum output of the nation will not be obtained or maintained if every man, woman, and child are not kept in full physical and mental efficiency. We, therefore, must have good wages, plenty of wholesome, nourishing food, and decent homes to live in. The Government must do their "bit" in nationalising the food supply; aye, and the house supply if the common people are to do their best for the nation.

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Have you realised that by purchasing a ¼-lb. Tin of

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you can provide the household with

30 cups of this Perfectly Pure Cocoa

by using a half-teaspoonful to the cup—a weekly average of over 4 cups a day?

Morning Post
5-1-16

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MUNITIONS ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

On the report stage of the Munitions of War (Amendment) Bill,

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE moved to recommit the Bill in order to insert a new clause which had been promised, as the result of certain conferences which he had in Glasgow and afterwards with the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. The object of the clause was to give power to the Ministry of Munitions to enforce what was known as L 3 Circular issued with regard to minimum wages of munition workers. In the absence of an amendment of the kind he proposed the process by which that circular could be enforced was rather cumbrous and roundabout.

The House having gone into Committee,

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE formally moved the second reading of his new clause, which was in the following terms: "(1) The Minister of Munitions shall have power by order to give directions as to the rate of wages, hours of labour, and conditions of employment of semi-skilled and unskilled men employed in any controlled establishment on munition work, being work of a class which prior to the war was customarily undertaken by skilled labour; or as to the time rates for the manufacture of complete shell and fuses and cartridge cases, in any controlled establishment in which such manufacture was not customary prior to the war, and any direction so given shall be binding on the owner of the establishment, and any contractor or sub-contractor employing labour therein, and the workers to whom the directions relate, and any contravention thereof or non-compliance therewith shall be punishable in like manner as if the order in which the direction is contained was an award made in settlement of a difference under Part I. of the principal Act."

Mr. PRINGLE pointed out that the clause would give protection to skilled workmen in controlled establishments but not in other establishments, although in the latter the skilled workmen might be guilty of an offence under the Munitions Act if they took steps to safeguard the rights which might be endangered by relaxation of rules and dilution of labour. He suggested that something should be done to rectify this inequality.

Mr. C. DUNCAN (Lab, BARROW-IN-FURNESS) pointed out that obviously much ill-feeling could be avoided if points of difference were speedily adjusted by the Committee of Production.

Mr. CLYNES (Lab, MANCHESTER, N.E.) joined in the general welcome given to the clause. Had the Minister of Munitions received any assurance that this new clause would satisfy those who had made representations to him on their grievances?

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE replied that difficulties as to the speeding up of the settlement of disputes were covered by an amendment on the paper. His only reason for not extending the clause to non-controlled establishments was that, as Minister of Munitions, he had nothing to do with those works. He was carrying out literally the pledge given by the Prime Minister to the Amalgamated Society of Engineers by adapting the words of the Circular L 3. He had seen the workmen privately, and he had very frank talks with them. Some of the Scotsmen were very frank indeed, but they confined most of their objections to the scheme of dilution.

The new clause was added to the Bill, progress was reported, and the House proceeded to the consideration of the Bill as amended by Committee.

MR PRINGLE'S BASELESS STATEMENTS.

Mr. PRINGLE moved a new clause repealing Section 7 of the original Act. This section, he said, had turned out in practice to be one of the most irritating provisions of the Munitions Act. It dealt with the question of employers' certificates for workmen who wished to change their employment. Nobody suspected that the machinery provided by Section 7 might mean that a workman might be out of work for six weeks. The restrictions imposed on the mobility of labour were no longer necessary, as legal enactments had put a stop to employers trying to entice workmen from others. A state of things had been produced on the Clyde bordering on revolution. He was not exaggerating. The conditions on the Clyde had been systematically concealed from the public by the Government and by the Ministry of Munitions. In one of the greatest shipbuilding yards, that at Fairfield, the men were so aggravated that they refused to see the Minister of Munitions.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE—That is absolutely untrue. I never went near Fairfield and never asked anyone in Fairfield to meet me. (Cheers.)

Mr. PRINGLE—You were at Weir's?

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE—The hon. and learned gentleman's statement is either true or untrue. I say it is untrue. I think his first duty is to withdraw the statement. (Cheers.)

Mr. PRINGLE—I withdraw the statement that the right hon. gentleman offered to go to Fairfield and was refused. I put the point that he went, or desired to go, to Weir's, a Government yard, and that there there was a refusal to meet him. He went to Parkhead, and one of the questions with which he was most urgently faced there was this question of Section 7. In introducing him there the chairman of his meeting said: "This is Mr. Lloyd George. He has come specially to speak to you, and no doubt you will give him a patient hearing. We regard him with suspicion because every Act with which his name is associated has the taint of slavery."

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE—That is absolutely untrue. If my hon. and learned friend likes to repeat in the House of Commons tittle-tattle from meetings which were perfectly private and confidential, I am bound to say that that is the danger—repeating on the authority of some one man the statements made by others at a confidential meeting. It is absolutely untrue. In the first place, if it had been true it ought not to have been reported, because the meeting was a private one. In the second place, it is absolutely untrue. (Cheers.)

Mr. PRINGLE—Of course, I accept the right hon. gentleman's statement. At a subsequent stage of the proceedings Mr. Kirkwood put the point about slavery in even stronger form, and at a public meeting, of which an official report was given, but not an accurate or a full report, his right hon. friend admitted his obligation to Mr. Kirkwood. He thought it was admitted that Mr. Kirkwood put in the very strongest way to the right hon. gentleman his objection to what he called the slavery provisions of the Munitions Act.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S NEW POLICY.

One of the reasons why he had pressed for delay in considering the Bill was for the announcement of the new policy. The new policy was to revolutionise the whole conditions. They were to have the compulsory attestation, in the first place, of all unmarried men, and that would extend to the married men. Under compulsory attestation it would be possible for the Government to put men to any work they pleased under conditions of military law. Under the circumstances what was the use of discussing the Munitions Bill? There had been reports in the Press about Mr. Lloyd George's intentions. It was stated, for instance, that as a result of the right hon. gentlemen's visit to the Clyde he had come back more strongly convinced in favour of compulsion, and that he had sent an ultimatum to the Prime Minister regarding military service. His (Mr. Pringle's) brother was working in one of the yards on the Clyde, and he knew the conditions there just as he did, and he would shed the last drop of his blood before he asked his brethren, flesh of his flesh and bone of his bone, to be submitted to the military slavery which was suggested by those newspapers which were in the confidence of the right hon. gentleman.

Mr. HOGGE seconded. He said the workmen on the Clyde were suffering very legitimate grievances, and if some recent events were not covered very quickly very serious trouble would result in the Clyde Valley.

Mr. CURRIE (U, LEITH BURGHS) held that the real trouble with the Clyde workmen arose from the fact that they had a difficulty in accepting Mr. Lloyd George's advice because they heard very different views from him not long ago. The larger number of the Clyde munition workers would realise that the Minister of Munitions was doing his best to discharge his great work just now. What some of them were afraid of was that things done now might remain to their detriment after the war.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S REPLY.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE said the amendment had nothing whatever to do with Government [illegible] of the House he would promise that by means of regulations prosecution for refusing to work on Sunday would be made impossible.

The amendment was withdrawn.

PENALTY OF IMPRISONMENT.

With the assent of Mr. Lloyd George, a new clause, moved by Mr. PRINGLE, was adopted abolishing the penalty of imprisonment for offences under the Munitions Act.

WOMEN'S ARBITRATION TRIBUNAL.

Mr. ANDERSON asked that the special arbitration tribunal for women to be established under Clause 6, should not be composed entirely of officials but should include Trade Union representatives and one or two women capable of dealing with questions affecting the employment status of women.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE said he had not quite made up his mind as to the class from which the members of the tribunal should be selected, but agreed that they should be thoroughly acquainted with questions of the kind referred to and that there should be one or two women among them.

On Clause 7, which extends the definition of munitions work by the setting out of various classes of work to be included,

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE moved an addition so as to include the construction, alteration, repair, or maintenance of docks and harbours in cases where such work was certified by the Admiralty to be necessary for the successful prosecution of the war.

Mr. HOLT moved to add after the word "harbours" the words "work in estuaries."

This was agreed to, and the amendment as amended was adopted.

THE LATE SIR G. SCOTT ROBERTSON.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE said that it was his painful duty to move an amendment standing in the name of a highly respected member who had passed away (Sir George Scott Robertson). Men of all classes would greatly regret the removal of one who had won great distinction in the public service and was highly respected by all. (Hear, hear.) The amendment was to include in the definition of munitions work the supply of tramway facilities.

The amendment was agreed to.

DIVULGING TRADE SECRETS.

Mr. HOLT, on Clause 10, moved that information given by business firms to the Ministry of Munitions as to their business should be an official secret for the purposes of the Official Secrets Act.

Sir G. CAVE thought the main purpose of the amendment was covered already in the original Act, but the matter would be further considered with a view to setting it right if necessary before the Bill finally became law.

Mr. BOOTH said that perhaps the Minister of Munitions was unaware that what was sought to be guarded against in this amendment had already been done several times. Information obtained for official purposes by officials of the Ministry of Munitions had actually been used for private purposes.

The amendment was withdrawn.

The Bill passed the report stage.

NON-UNION LABOUR.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE moved that the measure should be recommitted, and this having been done, he proposed, in fulfilment of a promise, that when the owner of a controlled establishment, in which it was the practice prior to the war to employ Union labour exclusively, received non-Union labour, he should be deemed to have undertaken that the non-Union labour should only continue during the war.

The motion was agreed to, and the House resumed.

CONSULTING TRADE UNIONS.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE said that there had been nothing to complain of either in the substance or the tone of the criticism. There was, however, one remark which he must take an opportunity of correcting and repudiating. He had done more consultation with the leaders of Trade Unionism than any man in the House. He had not taken a single step without taking the most absolute precautions to ascertain their opinion. It was not implied that in entering into a conference a Minister was always to take the view of one party. So far as the vast majority of their suggestions were concerned, he had accepted them. The very fact that he went to the Clyde showed that he did not think the opinion of Labour negligible. There was not a man in the Trade Union movement but knew that the mutiny had been against the whole organisation of Trades Unionism. He saw that beginning when he was President of the Board of Trade. Bargains entered into by the Trades Union leaders were repudiated by mutinies in various localities. There was not the faintest doubt that Trade Union leaders had been fighting for their lives. While it was most desirable to take steps to gain a full measure of the confidence of men who were working in a very difficult situation, it was almost impossible to make bargains with those who were always criticising the Government, and one was driven to fall back on the law. At the same time, the Prime Minister agreed with him that it would be a good thing to arrive at an understanding in order to secure the co-operation of labour, and with that object the new clauses to which there were serious objections were inserted in the Bill. The fact that the Government had piloted through the House this Amending Bill, which contained nothing but concessions to Labour, showed that they were not deaf to the representations of Labour, and that they were anxious to remedy the evils of which Labour complained. The powers to control establishments employing a million and a half of workers, to organise labour, to settle the conditions of work, the limitation of profits, and the various

valley.

Mr. CURRIE (U, LEITH BURGHS) held that the real trouble with the Clyde workmen arose from the fact that they had a difficulty in accepting Mr. Lloyd George's advice because they heard very different views from him not long ago. The larger number of the Clyde munition workers would realise that the Minister of Munitions was doing his best to discharge his great work just now. What some of them were afraid of was that things done now might remain to their detriment after the war.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S REPLY.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE said the amendment had nothing whatever to do with Conscription. In countries where there was complete military conscription no Munitions Bill was necessary, and therefore, if his hon. friend wished to get rid of Clause 7 and every other clause in the Munitions Act, the best way would be to have universal conscription. Coming to the discussion of Clause 7, the case was that they had an unrest which was attributable very largely not to employers, but to managers and foremen who were trying to get advantages one against the other. They offered men all kinds of inducements to leave their work. The result was that there was unrest. The stability of labour was interfered with. It was impossible for any man to organise his business for the output of munitions with any sort of reliance on the future. When they discussed the matter with Trades Unions it was admitted that there was a case, and it was suggested that the clause was the best possible way of dealing with it. He could not see any other way unless they put everybody under some sort of military discipline.

THE TROUBLE ON THE CLYDE.

His hon. friend referred to what happened on the Clyde. He represented this upheaval as an upheaval of the Trades Unions against the action of the Government. The revolt was far more against the official leaders of Trades Unionism than against the Government. There had been trouble on the Clyde long before the war. It was the trouble of a section of workmen. They were Syndicalists—same of them Socialists, but most of them Syndicalists—who had been trying to overthrow the official leaders of Trades Unionism for months and months before the war began. There was trouble over a strike, which was repudiated by the Trades Union leaders. The Trades Union leaders had their way and carried the bulk of the men with them. The malcontents had never forgiven them, and had done their best to overthrow them. They had formed an association of their own and had run newspapers of their own, but they were not official Trades Union papers. The whole of the Government's difficulty had come in because they could not make an arrangement with responsible Trades Union leaders. It came very largely from the fact that there was a very powerful organisation underneath them working sedulously and with great skill to overthrow not the Ministry of Munitions, not the Government, but the recognised leaders of Labour in the Clyde Valley. In the circumstances grievances must arise, but he believed that the vast majority of the working men of this country were prepared to work fairly and loyally in order to increase the output. What was the slavery which it was said was imposed on the men? The restraint was infinitely less than the restraint which their fellow workmen put on themselves when they volunteered to become members of Scottish regiments. (Hear, hear.) The workmen had admitted that there was a case for restrictions in time of war. Men were simply told that if they moved about from one workshop to another it would be absolutely impossible to organise the resources of the country to help the Army in the field. Unless labour was organised the war would be lost. Organisation was essential to victory. Was it too much to ask workmen to submit to restrictions?

A WARNING.

Everything depended on the supply of munitions. The length of the war depended on it. Everything depended on whether we should be able to turn out a sufficient quantity of munitions to bring the campaign to an end this year. That did not depend on the soldiers; they had done their part heroically. (Cheers.) It did not depend on the Government. It depended entirely—he said it solemnly with the full knowledge of papers which he had examined to-day—on the workmen of this country doing what the workmen of France had done, frankly setting aside conditions, throwing themselves into the work, sticking to their workshops. Unless they did that, he could not tell what the result would be, but he could tell this, that if they did it they, and they alone, would achieve the victory for this Empire and for the destinies of the human race. (Cheers.)

Mr. HODGE said that there had been a great deal of exaggeration with respect to the trouble over this clause. There had, however, been many cases of hardship. He contended that the Munitions Department should do something more to prevent vexatious and frivolous cases being taken before the Munitions Tribunals.

Mr. OUTHWAITE said that when the South Wales miners struck without the consent of their leaders Mr. Lloyd George conceded to them all their demands. He (Mr. Outhwaite) did not see why the workmen of Scotland should be coerced, any more than the workmen of South Wales.

The clause was negatived.

SUNDAY WORK.

Mr. PRINGLE then moved a new clause providing that no person should be subjected to penalty under the Munitions Act for refusing to work on Sunday.

Dr. ADDISON (SECRETARY to the MINISTRY of MUNITIONS) opposed the clause. Machinery had often to be kept going on Sunday and a certain amount of work had to be done on that day. Only in a few extreme cases had there been prosecutions for refusing to work on Sunday.

Mr. JOYNSON-HICKS (U, BRENTFORD) thought the House of Commons should lay it down that under no circumstances was the British workman to be fined or penalised for refusing to work on Sunday.

After several other members had urged the right of the exhausted worker to refuse to labour on Sunday,

Dr. ADDISON said that in deference to the wishes to fall back on the law. At the same time, the Prime Minister agreed with him that it would be a good thing to arrive at an understanding in order to secure the co-operation of labour, and with that object the new clauses to which there were serious objections were inserted in the Bill. The fact that the Government had piloted through the House this Amending Bill, which contained nothing but concessions to Labour, showed that they were not deaf to the representations of Labour, and that they were anxious to remedy the evils of which Labour complained. The powers to control establishments employing a million and a half of workers, to organise labour, to settle the conditions of work, the limitation of profits, and the various provisions contained in the Defence of the Realm Act and other Acts, constituted a tremendous step forward in our industrial and social development.

The third reading of the Bill was agreed to.

The House adjourned at twelve minutes before ten o'clock.

Bromley District Times
12-1-17

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WOMEN'S WAR WAGES.

"A DECENT LIVING WAGE."

The following statement has been issued from the Ministry of Munitions:—

"What are women actually earning on munitions work? Are they overpaid or underpaid? On the one hand, there are denunciations of extravagance—stories of girls with chocolate boxes on their lathes and of women buying expensive sets of furs, and so forth. On the other hand, there are complaints that there are women on Government work earning 3d. an hour or less. That instances of low wages may still be found is as undeniable as the tales about the furs and the chocolate boxes, but both are exceptional.

"The Minister of Munitions has, in fact, done more for women workers in fifteen months than any other authority could probably have done in fifteen years. As early as October, 1915, he published his famous Circular L2 with its keynote, 'Equal pay for equal work.' By this Order women replacing men were to be paid the same piece rates as men, with a time rate of £1 a week. These terms were at once applied to the national factories, although in private establishments they were at first merely recommendations. Circular L2 became law in February, 1916, and has just been reissued in a form still more favourable to women. The amended form provides for the payment of £1 for a 48-hours' week to women of 18 years and over, with an extra 6d. an hour for all additional work. Thus a woman working 50 hours a week will at the end of that time find herself in receipt of £1 1s., and if she were to work for 54 hours she would receive £1 3s.

"A Special Arbitration Tribunal has also been set up by the Minister of Munitions to deal exclusively with women's wages. This tribunal first considered a number of special cases, and made a number of awards. Then in July last these awards were consolidated into an Order which extended their benefits to many thousands of women and girls without the trouble and expense of arbitration. This Order applies to women and girls employed on work which prior to the war was not recognised as men's work, and amongst its provisions is the payment of 4d. an hour to piece-workers of 18 years and over, of 4½d. an hour to workers of 18 years and over when customarily on time, with an additional ½d. per hour in each case for work undertaken in danger zones. Supplementary Orders provide for girls on men's work and for women and girls on aircraft woodwork.

"A Decent Living Wage."

"The effect of these Orders is to secure for the majority of women and girls engaged on direct munitions a decent living wage, or the possibility of making, when on piecework—and piecework was intended to be the rule—earnings undreamt of by the average woman worker in pre-war times.

"It is comparatively easy to deal with direct munitions. Shells and fuses have no use except in war, and no purchaser but the Government. But the progress of the war has led to the control of thousands of establishments of the most diverse character, from great firms making armour plates to firms making patent foods for babies. It has brought within the definition of 'munitions of war' thousands of articles of ordinary commercial uses, many of which have long been made by women. The trades involved have their own customs, their own rates of pay, their own systems of apprenticeship, all framed under the stress of national and international competition. To interfere rashly with them would be like sticking a knife into the works of a watch, and in this field the Minister of Munitions has had to proceed with caution.

"The Special Tribunal has been engaged, however, on this task for many weeks. It has examined hundreds of cases, and if the new Orders which result from the labours leave any trades uncovered, it can, as the need arises, deal with these by arbitration."

The Iron & Trades Review
January 19, 1917.

An order, entitled the "Munitions (Employment and Remuneration of Women on Men's Work) Order No. 5," dated December 21, 1916, has been made by the Minister of Munitions. In future women employed on time on work customarily done by men shall, except as mentioned below, be paid:—Where the working week is 48 hours, £1; where the working week is less than 48 hours, £1 for the working week and for additional hours, if any, worked up to 48; where the working week exceeds 48 hours, as follows:—For 49 hours, £1 0s. 6d.; for 50 hours, £1 1s.; for 51 hours, £1 1s 6d.; for 52 hours, £1 2s.; for 53 hours, £1 2s. 6d.; for 54 hours, £1 3s. Women employed on time, (*a*) on work of a class customarily done by semi-skilled men, or (*b*) on work of a specially laborious or responsible nature, or (*c*) where special circumstances exist shall be paid according to the nature of the work and the ability of the women, but in no case less than the time-rates specified above. Overtime, night shift, Sunday and holiday allowances as customarily paid to men, shall be paid to the women to whom the above paragraphs refer. The basis for overtime shall be the working week for women in the establishment in question. For this purpose, the working week for women shall in no case be reckoned as less than 48 hours or more than 54 hours. The rate for overtime for women other than those referred to above shall be computed on the basis of £1 for 48 hours. The above directions shall not apply in the case of women employed on work customarily done by fully-skilled tradesmen, in which case the women shall be paid the time-rates of the tradesmen whose work they undertake. Overtime and night-shift and Sunday and holiday allowances payable to such men shall also be made to such women.

WOMEN WORKERS' PAY.

INCREASES BY MUNITIONS MINISTRY

The Ministry of Munitions is to be congratulated on improving, to a large extent, the wage rates in many controlled establishments. It has been pointed out in *The Times* that women received in some cases only 9s. a week for 52 hours, and were unable to leave without forfeiting six weeks' wages.

Two new orders laying down various rates, and affecting about a quarter of a million women have just been issued—Orders 1917, nine and 10—under which, for the first time, a statutory wage is applied to some of the large subsidiary trades engaged on munition-making. Among these are electrical engineering and electrical accessories, wire rope and cables, iron and steel work, and rubber, in which trades some of the instances of the very low wages paid to women have been quoted in *The Times*.

One of these orders, however, provides for even lower rates than those previously given, but the order has a limited application. A basis rate of 3¾d. an hour for women of 18 for piecework is, having regard to the rise in the cost of living, only the equivalent of what was regarded as a sweated rate before the war. It is also regrettable to find in this Order (No. 10) a reduction of ½d. an hour on the time-rate. It had been hoped that a new consolidating order would have been issued raising the rates of workers of 18 and over to at least 6d. an hour, and making it a minimum and not a standard rate. In this connexion it is worth noting that by an agreement just concluded in France covering the whole of the metal trades M. Thomas has fixed a minimum rate of 6d. an hour.

The new rates, however, show a marked advance on the previous ones—the increase in wages varying from 6s. to 10s. a week. The Orders are dated January 6, and came into operation last Monday

The Herald.
3/2/17

We must mention the exceedingly welcome announcement that a further step has at last been taken towards the protection of the many thousands of women munition workers whose exploitation has hitherto been allowed to proceed unchecked. Order 447, with its time rates of 4d. and 4½d. for piece and time workers, has now been extended to a number of grossly sweated women's trades, including electrical engineering, electrical accessories, wire rope and cables, wire and steel work, rubber, and a number of other trades. The nut and bolt trade, for what reason we cannot imagine, is still excluded. This is something done; but even the *Times* is far from satisfied, especially with the provision which reduces the rates to 3¾d. and 4½d. in certain trades. This, in face of an 87 per cent. rise in the cost of living, is a miserably sweated rate still, and the fact that it means considerable advances is a reason rather for shame than for congratulation. The *Times* points out that M. Thomas has just fixed by agreement a minimum of 6d. for the whole of the French metal trades. Surely we can do as well as France, and declare a general minimum of 6d., with corresponding advances to women now in receipt of more than the lowest minimum yet fixed. Raise the 3¾d. minimum to 6d., and raise all the rest proportionately. That is the programme which, we hope, will be pressed at once upon the Ministry of Munitions.

Times
14-2-17

WOMEN SHELL-MAKERS.

INCREASING NEED OF MORE WORKERS.

The Ministry of Munitions state that the call for women to undertake work on munitions is becoming increasingly urgent, and that on the response made to it must depend in large measure the ability of the Ministry to satisfy the demands of the Army in view of the coming advance.

Nothing but the employment of women on processes hitherto undertaken by men can meet the situation. In the new contracts, now being issued, it is provided that by March 31 80 per cent. of the operatives employed in executing new and continuation contracts for shells of all sizes from 2.75in. to 4.5in. must be women. In the case of shell above 4.5in. the percentage of women operatives is not specifically defined, but all contracts contain the following clause:—

It is a condition of this contract that any directions of the Ministry of Munitions as to the percentage of women operatives to be employed, or as to the number of skilled or semi-skilled male operatives to be employed, shall be complied with.

All women fit to undertake shell-making or munitions work of any kind should apply at once to the employment exchange nearest to their residence.

Times
13-2-17

WOMEN MUNITION WORKERS.

FOUR WAGE ORDERS.

In answer to a question by Lord Henry Cavendish-Bentinck, Mr. Kellaway states that the following Orders have been issued under section 6 (1) of the Munitions of War (Amendment) Act, 1916:—

(1) Remuneration of women on men's work Order; first applied February 28, 1916; amended January 1, 1917; further amended February 5, 1917.

(2) Remuneration of girls on men's work Order; first applied July 17, 1916.

(3) Remuneration of women and girls on work not recognized as men's work Order; first applied July 17, 1916; amended January 22, 1917.

(4) Remuneration of women and girls on woodwork for aircraft Order; first applied October 2, 1916.

The first and second of the above Orders have been applied up to the present to 3,585 establishments engaged in the following trades:—

Arms, ammunition, and ordnance, mechanical, electrical, telegraphic and marine engineering, makers of electric and telegraphic accessories, machine tool manufacture, shipbuilding and repairing, iron and steel works, tube works, tinplate, lead and copper works, foundries, blast furnaces, wire and cable works, textile and printing machinery, motors and cycles, aircraft, constructional engineering, the manufacture of saws and files, cutlery, silver and electro plate.

The third of the above orders has been applied up to date to 3,875 establishments, embracing the following trades:—

Arms, ammunition, and ordnance, mechanical, electrical, telegraphic and marine engineering, makers of electric and telegraphic accessories, machine tool manufacture, shipbuilding and repairing, iron and steel works, tube works, foundries, blast furnaces, lead and copper works, wire and cable works, textile and printing machinery, motors and cycles, aircraft, constructional engineering, the manufacture of saws and files, cutlery, silver and electro plate, chemicals, asbestos, rubber, optical and scientific instruments, explosive and filling factories, mica.

The fourth of these orders has been applied to the aircraft industry.

Electrical
2-3-17

Skilled Women's Wages.—By a new Order of the Ministry of Munitions, women engaged on skilled work, or any part of a skilled job, must receive 25s. weekly from the first to the fifth week, after which they are to receive proportional advances to the 13th week, when they will be paid the district engi[illegible]s' rate of 10½d. per hour.

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Daily News & Leader

7.10.15.

SOLDIERS OF THE FACTORY.

M. THOMAS'S SPEECH TO LABOUR LEADERS.

FRANCE'S EXAMPLE.

NOT A SINGLE STRIKE SINCE WAR BEGAN.

M. Albert Thomas, the French Minister of Munitions, who left England for France yesterday afternoon, addressed earlier in the day a meeting of British Labour leaders at the office of the Ministry of Munitions. Mr. Arthur Henderson presided.

M. Thomas, who spoke through an interpreter, said that had he been able to speak in English as well as he could speak in French it would have given him great pleasure and joy, as a Labour member of Parliament and a Socialist, to address masses of British workmen. He was sorry he could not do that, and he was glad to have the opportunity of addressing some of the representatives of workers who were his associates in this great work of both nations.

The first result of the war was to take most of the younger men, at least, and the strongest muscle and brains from the workshops. Everything was stopped, or nearly everything, for a few weeks. The men had to serve their country as soldiers under a military system which they had so very often denounced in their meetings, but they went very enthusiastically and willingly; they were called, but they would have gone without being called, the universal feeling being that the country was being attacked and that they were rushing to support the country against a dastardly act of aggression.

Men Brought From the Front.

A few weeks after they had become soldiers—about the time of the battle of the Marne—new interests became conspicuous; industrial needs such as had never been dreamed of came to light for the first time. Enormous quantities of supply were found to be necessary, though even then nobody thought how great that demand would be. It was found necessary to bring back a great many men from the Army to the shop, although they considered that all the time they were soldiers fighting for the country, and fighting the same fight. In the workshop, as in the field, they considered they were fighting against the "Boches."

Then their efforts became even greater than before. They had had to march day by day and night by night, and fight in the field or in the trenches. But some of them actually died, so hard and continuously did they work in those first weeks. These workmen, it could be said, had willingly sacrificed everything. From September to February they never knew a Sunday; they never knew one holiday; they did not think of it; they were at it every day. The time came when the machinery grew tired before the men. Then it was found advisable to give the men at least one day in a fortnight, or every Sunday morning, and that had been the system since.

Before the war the men were by no means easy to manage. They were men used to discussion and struggle for their interests and rights. In Great Britain, where there were long established organisations of trade unions, strikes were methodically prepared, and the unions were equipped with the necessary supplies of reserve money. In France perhaps they were not quite so fully organised, and there were a great many small strikes. The men were ready to strike at anything, but there had not been one strike in France since the war began—even a twenty-four hours' strike. (Cheers.) Sometimes they

to make it the last of all wars. (Cheers.) They hoped to come back to a state of things where there would be no heavy military burden on the nation, and where more happiness, more freedom, and more work for the real needs of human society would be possible. That is what they think now." (Cheers.)

Mr. Henderson, in thanking Mr. Thomas for his speech, said that those present would do the best they could to transmit the information he had given them to their respective unions, in the hope that any of them who had not yet done so would catch the spirit which evidently pervaded every French workman, whether in the field or the factory.

LABOUR RECRUITING MANIFESTO.

Plea for Vindication of Voluntary Principle.

The manifesto which has been drafted in connection with the Labour Recruiting Campaign was issued yesterday afternoon. It is signed, on behalf of the three national committees, by Messrs. H. Gosling and C. W. Bowerman (Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress), J. O'Grady and W. A. Appleton (General Federation of Trade Unions), G. J. Wardle and W. S. Sanders (Labour Party Executive). The text of the manifesto is as follows:

Fellow countrymen,—At no time in the history of our nation has it been faced with a crisis of such gravity as the one which now exists. Aggression carefully planned has, after fourteen months of war, brought the German forces into Belgium, France, Poland, Turkey, and the Balkan States.

We are convinced that Germany is prepared to involve every country in conflict in order to attain her ends.

Under the voluntary system we have raised great armies to oppose the aggressor, and we can point proudly to their achievements. We are, however, satisfied that if the voluntary principle is to be vindicated at least 30,000 recruits per week must be raised to maintain the efficiency of our armies, and secure such a victory as will free the world from the fear of that military tyranny which Germany would impose upon it.

There are in the country at the present moment tens of thousands of men of military age and fitness who have not yet joined the colours, and for whom equipment and munitions are ready. We appeal to them to take up at once their share of the burden, not only because by so doing they will be defending their own interests, but also because their action will preserve the vital interests of the nation.

It is not want of courage that keeps men from enlisting, but the failure to appreciate the seriousness of the situation.

We know that defeat or an inconclusive peace would mean for us not only the loss of prestige as a nation, and the certainty that the conflict would be renewed in a few years' time, but the loss of those personal liberties and privileges which have taken centuries of effort to win.

The responsibility for victory or defeat rests with those who have not yet responded to the call. Therefore join now as volunteers in defence of your country and all that it stands for.

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Reynolds's Newspaper, Oct. 10th 1915

Before the war the men were by no means easy to manage. They were men used to discussion and struggle for their interests and rights. In Great Britain, where there were long established organisations of trade unions, strikes were methodically prepared, and the unions were equipped with the necessary supplies of reserve money. In France perhaps they were not quite so fully organised, and there were a great many small strikes. The men were ready to strike at anything, but there had not been one strike in France since the war began—even a twenty-four hours' strike. (Cheers.) Sometimes there had been small difficulties, but a peaceful settlement had always been effected in the course of a day.

Sometimes the men would complain that a too zealous foreman had told a man whose work was not considered quite satisfactory, "If you do not work better than that we shall send you back to the front." Then the workman would come and protest: "I am a soldier here, as I am a soldier there. I am doing my best here, as I did my best there. Going to the front is no punishment to me."

Women in the Workshops.

The men agreed to put aside for the present all difficulties that might be caused by the union rules or traditions. Quite recently he had had an interview with a union of the workers in a State establishment on the subject of the employment of women. The representative of the union asked him to remember how for years they had been successfully struggling against the use of women in their shop. Nevertheless, the union agreed to their admission, and the Minister of Munitions thought it necessary and natural at the same time to say that equal pay should be given for equal work. (Hear, hear.) In that way it was possible to send a certain number of women workers immediately to the national factory at S. Etienne.

If the workers had such a high ideal of their duties towards the State, the Government considered it had also great duties. The officers in charge of these places under the Government where munitions of war were made had to remember that all the men were workmen who had become soldiers for the time being whose interests must not be jeopardised. Every military officer in charge of the workshop or factory was under strict orders to be frequently in conference with local trade unions on technical and other questions, and to come to an understanding with them whenever it was found desirable to make any change. Was it not strange to see that the men who represented authority and military discipline worked hand-in-hand with the men who represented the freedom and the rights of the working classes? That, however, was natural in a country which had become a soldier country, just to fight for her soil, her freedom, the future of her democracy. (Cheers.)

A Natural Paradox.

The paradox of bringing together men of such different education and habits became quite natural, and so it must be. The workman had become a soldier; the soldier had become a workman. The workman fought for his own liberty, and the soldier brought his technical knowledge and his ability, and placed them at the disposal of the working classes for their own cause.

Was it not astonishing to see a nation which once sent to the Labour congresses the most uncompromising anti-militarists, and the most revolutionary minds against anything like the present state of things, working whole-heartedly in the war? "Is it we, the men who spoke like that in congresses," said Mr. Thomas, "is it we who are now working solely for the war in that spirit? Yes, we are the men, and we are conscious that we are working for the same ends."

What was the end before the war? It was, by the struggles of the working classes by labour organisation, perhaps by Socialism, to secure greater welfare for the working-men and more freedom for the whole world and for all classes. The end was peace—peace in the nation and peace between the nations. (Cheers.) It was peace for a happier mankind, able to think, able to live the real higher life, and to ascend higher and higher towards an ideal condition of humanity. That was the goal, and it is now.

"Why was the French workman enthusiastic when he was called to arms in August, 1914? There was hardly one who did not think that he was going to war

STRIKES AT AN END

M. THOMAS ON THE SPIRIT OF FRENCH WORKERS.

NO SACRIFICE TOO GREAT.

Fighting the Boches in Factory as in Field.

During his visit to this country M. Albert Thomas addressed a meeting of British Labour leaders at the office of the Ministry of Munitions. Mr. Arthur Henderson, President of the Board of Education, presided. M. Thomas addressed the gathering in French, his remarks being interpreted by Professor Mantour.

Mr. Thomas said: In the course of the conversations which my English colleague, Mr. Lloyd George, and myself have had with regard to our different supplies, and the mutual assistance which we can give to each other, by the exchange of machinery or of materials, our thoughts have often turned to those who are assisting us in manufacturing and increasing day by day the production of munitions. Mr. Lloyd George has often been invited by me to come to France, and to speak to our French workers, and to see with what sympathy, with what enthusiasm, they welcome the efforts made for months in England to increase supplies. And he knows how, for my part, it would have been a real pleasure to me if I could speak English, to address a mass of English workers, and to speak to them, from heart to heart, of our plans and of our hopes. In default of the great masses, which I am not able to address, I have welcomed very heartily the invitation which he was good enough to extend to me to speak to you, authorized representatives of the great English industrial organizations engaged on war work.

Several days ago we had at our Ministry of Labour in Paris Mr. Hodge and Mr. Roberts, who came to tell us of the efforts made by the British working classes to attain the maximum output of munitions. I now wish to tell you very plainly of the admirable efforts of our French workers. On the day of mobilization the workshops were almost completely emptied. All the strongest men, all those who were the muscle and brain of the workshops, were mobilized, and the greater number of the workshops were closed.

Munitions Need Revealed.

But at the end of only a few weeks the enormous consumption of munitions at the Battle of the Marne revealed the necessity of organizing in the midst of war an industrial programme which surpassed everything which until then had been thought necessary for the needs of the country. That is how it came about that workers, who had set out to fight on the battlefield, were suddenly called back to the workshops and summoned afresh as soldiers to industrial pursuits. They came back in the same frame of mind; they came back with the knowledge that there in the shops lay their duty to the nation. They came back with the idea that in the shops also, as they put it, "they would continue to fight the Boches," . . . and it is with this idea that they have used all their strength to multiply the output of munitions. I have known some who died at their work. I have known of admirable foremen spending their days and a great part of the nights in reorganizing the workshops which were disorganized by mobilization. I have known of men who remain constantly at their task, prolonging their daily spell by hours, sacrificing their customary rest. In all the workshops of France from September to May there were neither weekly rest days nor holidays. So long the machinery was running the workers remained in the shops without rest or holiday. One day, however, they had to stop. Their energy was not gone, but the machinery was tired—even before the will of the workers had broken down. And now, to take care of human energy, which has its limits, the men rest one day every fortnight, or on Sunday mornings. They have then a moment's rest—a moment's respite.

Workers' Single Aim.

Our workers were accustomed to meet in their syndicates and to discuss and assert themselves in many matters. To-day they have one single aim, a single ideal. Need I tell you English Trade Unionists, whom I have so often admired—need I say that if in times of peace you brought about methodical, organized strikes to obtain new advantages, with us in France strikes also multiplied on questions of honour and of amour propre? We had in France small strikes on account of disagreements; we had sympathetic strikes. Since the war I affirm, with full knowledge, that there has not been a single strike in France, not even one of those little twenty-four-hour strikes by means of which workpeople show their discontent. If here and there a disagreement arose, it was sufficient to send to the place a Government representative or a friendly member of Parliament, or even one of the Trade Unionists who every day are collaborating with us in national defence, and the movement instantly stopped. We might have given orders; we could have introduced into the shops the military discipline which existed in principle, but the cases in which it has been necessary to

M. ALBERT THOMAS, the French Minister of Munitions.

fourteen months. They are co-operating without wavering in the organization of national defence.

The Goal of Peace.

Such is the picture which I am anxious to place before you, side by side with that of my friend, Mr. Roberts, M.P. It shows you the efforts made by the working classes of France since the beginning of the war. These efforts, these hopes may surprise you. And why? It was we who yesterday at our Congresses were the keenest critics of militarism. It was we who were the most unwilling to support the burden of a permanent Army. It was we who seemed the least resigned to the obligation of military service imposed upon us. We protested against it in all our Labour and political organizations. And it is we who to-day voluntarily impose upon ourselves all these burdens. We are conscious of what they mean, but know that in working for them we are working for a common end. This end is, English workers, an end which we have always had in common in our workers' battles, and in our Trade Unionist and Syndicalist struggles, to secure greater welfare to the working classes and greater liberty to the entire world. We seek to realize that universal peace for which we have hoped. Our end is a living humanity, freed from economic oppression, a liberty of thought assured to the human spirit in its progress to higher ideals. To this end our united efforts are to-day directed.

No Sacrifice Too Great.

At the hour of mobilization the French working classes went forward with enthusiasm. Their thoughts were the same in every case, that they must fight with their whole energy in this war which was to be the last of all wars. They must make the fullest sacrifices to gain liberty for the whole world to win a happier life, and a greater freedom for the proletariat. Such was the deepest thought of our workers as they set out in August of last year; it has remained in their hearts ever since. Recently a meeting took place in Paris of one of the sections of our party. Amongst the workmen there was one who had grown discouraged and complained. While he was speaking there were signs of astonishment and protest. At the back of the hall in which the meeting was held was a soldier who was home on four days' leave, and, as a member of the same party, had come to the meeting with his wife and son, a youngster aged twelve. Hearing the complaints made by the man of little faith the soldier said:—

"Comrades, I am surprised to hear what is now being said. We who have been with the colours know all about the fatigue, the suffering and demoralization of trench warfare, but we are to-day in the same mind as we were on the day of mobilization. I went to fight in order that my son here might never have to go to war. If I am to die, then I shall die, but I do not want him to see war. To avoid this we will make every sacrifice—our liberty, our blood, our life."

This man was prepared to sacrifice himself to obtain that which we all desire—a humanity which lives at peace, which is no longer menaced, as it has been for the last forty years by German militarism—a humanity which can realize its dream of emancipating the working classes and of liberating the whole world. It is this emancipation of which I have tried to tell my English comrades; it is this higher aim that we are striving to attain. We have one single idea, to make every sacrifice in the certainty that it is made to secure an ideal which will never be taken away from us.

GETTING UNDER WAY.

Valuable Results of Minister's Visit to London.

Paris, Saturday.

M. Albert Thomas relates in the "Matin" the following impressions of his visit. He says: "It was the third time in four months that I had met Mr. Lloyd George. I could not express the feeling of growing confidence which has marked those interviews. In our relations with the British there is a point at which our friends give proof of a depth of sincerity and a warmth of sympathy which surprise foreigners as [illegible]

number of the workshops were closed.

Munitions Need Revealed.

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Rules Put Aside.

One fact. As Minister of Munitions, I have received complaints from workers, who have said to me: "Such and such a foreman threatens to send us back to the front, but this is not a punishment; we will not permit him to speak of it as a punishment. We do our duty to the nation equally in the shops. If we are sent back to fight, we shall accept the order as an honour." These are some features which illustrate the spirit of our French workers in munitions factories and workshops. All restrictions which they might have enforced, all syndicalist rules and customs which they could have set up against us, especially in State factories, all were put aside. Some days ago, at St. Etienne, in a friendly meeting which I had with the members of the Syndicate of State Workers, I told them of the necessity of introducing female labour into the national factories. They reminded me of how, for fifteen to twenty years, they had resisted the entry of women into the factories, and had even fought to prevent it. But now, with the guarantee which I gave them that for equal work there should be equal pay—to use the old syndicalist formula—they consented to the entry of women into the St. Etienne workshops, and to-day several hundred women are already to be found employed there.

Normal Wages Maintained.

In these circumstances we do not, and cannot, forget the duty of the Government with regard to Labour. I have written to my officers, to those who have control of works, that they must remember at all times that they are the guardians of the soldier-workers, and that, as in the case of the Trade Unionist concessions, it was their duty to maintain them with the authority of the State and to make them respected.

Thus, some days ago I had to make some manufacturers in the west of France observe agreements which they tried to break on account of the war. Also I have ordered that there shall be exhibited in factories a list of wages paid in order that we may be assured that the wages of the mobilized workers and of military workers are paid at the normal rates. I have also recommended that if hereafter the syndicates are not able to meet us as before, if syndical life can no longer remain the same, my officers are to take the advice of the syndicalist workers and to enter into daily relations with them and seek their assistance in the organization of Labour. That is why, at the present moment—a thing hitherto unknown in France—the intimate collaboration of those who are representatives of discipline and authority, and of those who were known as the defenders of the liberty of the working man, has been closely established in a country which is profoundly convinced of the necessity of defending its soil and its threatened liberties. These two opposing elements are now united, and have been so in France for the last are to-day directed.

No Sacrifice Too Great.

At the hour of mobilization the French working classes went forward with enthusiasm. Their thoughts were the same in every case, that they must fight with their whole energy in this war which was to be the last of all wars. They must make the fullest sacrifices to gain liberty for the whole world to win a happier life, and a greater freedom for the proletariat. Such was the deepest thought of our workers as they set out in August of last year; it has remained in their hearts ever since. Recently a meeting took place in Paris of one of the sections of our party. Amongst the workmen there was one who had grown discouraged and complained. While he was speaking there were signs of astonishment and protest. At the back of the hall in which the meeting was held was a soldier who was home on four days' leave, and, as a member of the same party, had come to the meeting with his wife and son, a youngster aged twelve. Hearing the complaints made by the man of little faith the soldier said:—

"Comrades, I am surprised to hear what is now being said. We who have been with the colours know all about the fatigue, the suffering and demoralization of trench warfare, but we are to-day in the same mind as we were on the day of mobilization. I went to fight in order that my son here might never have to go to war. If I am to die, then I shall die, but I do not want him to see war. To avoid this we will make every sacrifice—our liberty, our blood, our life."

This man was prepared to sacrifice himself to obtain that which we all desire—a humanity which lives at peace, which is no longer menaced, as it has been for the last forty years by German militarism—a humanity which can realize its dream of emancipating the working classes and of liberating the whole world. It is this emancipation of which I have tried to tell my English comrades; it is this higher aim that we are striving to attain. We have one single idea, to make every sacrifice in the certainty that it is made to secure an ideal which will never be taken away from us.

GETTING UNDER WAY.

Valuable Results of Minister's Visit to London.

Paris, Saturday.

M. Albert Thomas relates in the "Matin" the following impressions of his visit. He says: "It was the third time in four months that I had met Mr. Lloyd George. I could not express the feeling of growing confidence which has marked these interviews. In our relations with the British there is a point at which our friends give proof of a depth of sincerity and a warmth of sympathy which surprise foreigners so agreeably. I am now at that point with the eminent Minister of Munitions, and I daresay that we are at that point with the whole British people. At my two first meetings with Mr. Lloyd George we only really made each other's acquaintance and talked generalities; yesterday we drew up the conditions of a closer co-operation and we signed arrangements.

A Vital Agreement.

"I can say that the two countries pledge themselves mutually to devote all their raw material to manufactures for the national defence, relegating to the second place manufactures for private industry. This agreement is vital to France, for we are a country of the finished product, and we lack raw material and the half-finished article. It was a great error on the part of Germany to think that the loss of our northern departments was the coup de grace to our military industries. Our great mechanical workshops are intact, thanks to the co-operation of Great Britain and America, and their production will increase constantly. Such is the first result of the interview in London.

"The second result is the friendly settlement of all the little disputes which are constantly arising between departments most cordially connected. Mr. Lloyd George had his dossiers; I had mine. In a few hours all misunderstandings were removed. But we went further in our friendly goodwill. We pointed out to each other mutually the economies that might be effected in our respective manufactories, while taking the experience gained into account. We have taught a lot of things to the British since August, 1914, but they in turn have valuable lessons to impart to us. We have endeavoured to derive from the collaboration of the two countries, pending its speedy extension to other countries, its maximum effect with the minimum of economic wastage."

In conclusion, M. Thomas describes the output of British workshops and psychology of the workers, using, as he says, "a nautical or sporting expression which will please our friends." "England is getting under way"—Reuter.

677/3 677

The Observer – 10.10.15.

THE UNITY OF FRANCE.

M. THOMAS'S SPEECH TO ENGLISH TRADE UNIONISTS.

VERBATIM TRANSLATION.

We are asked to publish the following verbatim translation of the fine speech delivered by M. Albert Thomas, French Under-Secretary of State for War, to a meeting of trade unionists at the Ministry of Munitions on Wednesday last. A verbatim report of the speech in French was taken, but it was found impossible to obtain a translation and a full report in time for publication in the daily papers :—

Gentlemen,—In the course of the conversations which our English colleague, Mr. Lloyd George, and myself have had with regard to our different supplies and the mutual assistance which we can give to each other by the exchange of machinery or of materials, our thoughts have often turned to those who are assisting us in manufacturing and increasing day by day the production of munitions.

Mr. Lloyd George has often been invited by me to come to France and to speak to our French workers, and to see with what sympathy, with what enthusiasm, they welcome the efforts made for months in England to increase supplies. And he knows how, for my part, it would have been a real pleasure to me if I could speak English to address a mass of English workers and to speak to them, from heart to heart, of our plans and of our hopes. In default of the great masses which I am not able to address I have welcomed very heartily the invitation which he was good enough to extend to me to speak to you, authorised representatives of the great English industrial organisations engaged on war work.

Several days ago we had at our Ministry of Labour in Paris Mr. Hodge and Mr. Roberts, who came to tell us of the efforts made by the British working classes to attain the maximum output of munitions. I now wish to tell you very plainly of the admirable efforts of our French workers.

On the day of mobilisation the workshops were almost completely emptied. All the strongest men, all those who were the muscle and brain of the workshops, were mobilised, and the greater number of the workshops were closed. The men had been mobilised, called to that military service of which so many of them had been accustomed to complain at our Conference, at our meetings, at our Congresses. They had been mobilised—they, the keenest of anti-militarists, the most active members of the International Labour Confederation. They had been mobilised, and were setting out to war with enthusiasm, in the knowledge that their country had been attacked. Those who would never have tolerated aggression against another country, who would never have consented to provoke a war, were ready to sacrifice their lives for the defence of their country.

THE DUTY OF "THE SHOPS."

They went to fight with this sentiment, knowing as we all do that the provocation was unjustifiable, and that they must all give their blood, their life, for the defence of the nation. But at the end of only a few weeks the enormous consumption of munitions at the battle of the Marne revealed the necessity of organising in the midst of war an industrial programme which surpassed everything which until then had been thought necessary for the needs of the country.

That is how it came about that workers, who had set out to fight on the battlefield, were suddenly called back to the workshops and summoned afresh as soldiers to industrial pursuits. They came back in the same frame of mind, they came back with the knowledge that there in the shops lay their duty to the nation. They came back with the idea that in the shops also as they put it, "they would continue to fight the Boches." . . . and it is with this idea that they have used all their strength to multiply the output of munitions.

I have known some who died at their work. I have known of admirable foremen spending their days and a great part of the nights in reorganising the workshops which were disorganised by mobilisation. I have known of men who remain constantly at their task, prolonging their daily spell by hours, sacrificing their customary rest. In all the workshops of France from September to May there were neither weekly rest days, nor holidays. So long as the machinery was running, the workers remained in the shops without rest or holiday.

One day, however, they had to stop. Their energy was not gone, but the machinery was tired, even before the will of the workers had broken down. And now, to take care of human energy, which has its limits, the men rest one day every fortnight or on Sunday mornings. They have then a moment's rest, a moment's respite. Our workers were accustomed to meet in their syndicates and to discuss and assert themselves in many matters. To-day they have one single aim, a single ideal.

"NOT A SINGLE STRIKE."

Need I tell you English trade unionists, whom I have so often admired—need I say that if in times of peace you brought about methodical organised strikes to obtain new advantages, with us in France strikes also multiplied on questions of honour and of amour propre? We had in France small strikes on account of disagreements; we had sympathetic strikes. Since the war I affirm with full knowledge that there has not been a single strike in France, not even one of those little twenty-four hour strikes by means of which workpeople show their discontent.

If here and there a disagreement arose, it was sufficient to send to the place a Government representative or a friendly member of Parliament, or even one of the trade unionists who every day are collaborating with us in national defence, and the movement instantly stopped. We might have given orders; we could have introduced into the shops the military discipline which existed in principle, but the cases in which it has been necessary to threaten with the police all soldiers brought back from the Colours to the workshops trade have been very rare.

One fact. As Minister of Munitions I have received complaints from workers who have said to me: "Such and such a foreman threatens to send us back to the Front, but this is not a punishment; we will not permit him to speak of it as a punishment. We do our duty to the nation equally in the shops. If we are sent back to fight we shall accept the order as an honour."

These are some features which illustrate the spirit of our French workers in munitions factories and workshops. All restrictions which they might have enforced, all syndicalist rules and customs which they could have set up against us, especially in State factories, all were put aside.

FEMALE LABOUR.

Some days ago, at St. Etienne, in a friendly meeting which I had with the members of the Syndicate of State workers, I told them of the necessity of introducing female labour into the national factories. They reminded me of how for 15 to 20 years they had resisted the entry of women into the factories and had even fought to prevent it. But now, with the guarantee which I gave them that for equal work there should be equal pay, to use the old syndicalist formula—they consented to the entry of women into the St. Etienne workshops, and to-day several hundred women are already to be found employed there.

In these circumstances we do not and cannot forget the duty of the Government with regard to labour. I have written to my officers, to those who have control of works, that they must remember at all times that they are the guardians of the soldier-workers and that, as in the case of the trade unionist concessions, it was their duty to maintain them with the authority of the State and to make them respected.

Thus, some days ago I had to make some manufacturers in the West of France observe agreements which they tried to break on account of the war. Also, I have ordered that there shall be exhibited in factories a list of wages paid in order that we may be assured that the wages of mobilised workers and of military workers are paid at the normal rates. I have also recommended that if hereafter the syndicates are not able to meet as before, if syndical life can no longer remain the same, my officers are to take the advice of the syndicalist workers and to enter into daily relations with them and to seek their assistance in the organisation of labour.

NATIONAL CO-OPERATION.

That is why at the present moment—a thing hitherto unknown in France—the intimate collaboration of those who are representatives of discipline and authority and of those who were known as the defenders of the liberty of the working men has been closely established, in a country which is profoundly convinced of the necessity of defending its soil and its threatened liberties. These two opposing elements are now united, and have been so in France for the last fourteen months. They are co-operating without wavering in the organisation of national defence.

Such is the picture which I am anxious to place before you, side by side, with that of my friend, Mr. Roberts, M.P. It shows you the efforts made by the working classes of France since the beginning of the war. These efforts, these hopes, may surprise you. And why? It was we who yesterday at our congresses were the keenest critics of militarism. It was we who were the most unwilling to support the burden of a permanent Army. It was we who seemed the least resigned to the obligation of military service imposed upon us. We protested against it in all our labour and political organisations. And it is we who to-day voluntarily impose upon ourselves all these burdens. We are conscious of what they mean, but know that in working for them we are working for a common end.

"THE LAST OF ALL WARS."

The end is this, English workers, an end which we have always had in common in our workers' battles, and in our trade unionist and syndicalist struggles, to secure greater welfare to the working classes and greater liberty to the entire world. We seek to realise that universal peace for which we have hoped. Our end is a living humanity, freed from economic oppression, a liberty of thought assured to the human spirit in its progress to higher ideals. To this end our united efforts are to-day directed.

At the hour of mobilisation the French working classes went forward with enthusiasm. Their thoughts were the same in every case—that they must fight with their whole energy in this war, which was to be the last of all wars. They must make the fullest sacrifices to gain liberty for the whole world to win a happier life and a greater freedom for the proletariat. Such was the deepest thought of our workers as they set out in August of last year; it has remained in their hearts ever since.

A SOLDIER'S SPEECH.

Recently a meeting took place in Paris of one of the sections of our party. Amongst the workmen there was one who had grown discouraged and complained. While he was speaking there were signs of astonishment and protest. At the back of the hall in which the meeting was held was a soldier who was home on four days' leave and, as a member of the same party, had come to the meeting with his wife and son, a youngster aged twelve. Hearing the complaints made by the man of little faith, the soldier said :—

"Comrades, I am surprised to hear what is now being said. We, who have been with the Colours, know all about the fatigue, the suffering and demoralisation of trench warfare, but we are to-day in the same mind as we were on the day of mobilisation.

"I went to fight in order that my son here might never have to go to war. If I am to die, then I shall die, but I do not want him to see war. To avoid this, we will make every sacrifice—our liberty, our blood, our life."

This man was prepared to sacrifice himself to obtain that which we all desire—a humanity which lives at peace, which is no longer menaced, as it has been for the last 40 years, by German militarism, a humanity which can realise its dream of emancipating the working classes and of liberating the whole world.

It is this emancipation of which I have tried to tell my English comrades; it is this higher aim that we are striving to attain. We have one single idea, to make every sacrifice in the certainty that it is made to secure an ideal which will never be taken away from us.

Daily Telegraph.
11. 12. 15.

WAR WORK IN GERMANY.

THE UBIQUITOUS WOMAN.

The complete failure of the German military leaders to bring their disastrous campaign to an end within the short time calculated by the General Staff has led to an unlooked-for change in the business life of the country. It has become necessary in the last few months to call out every available man and youth, with the result that many industries, offices, and municipal services have been serious y disorganised. Where it was possible to appoint them women were urged to take the places of men, and an exhibition showing examples of women's work in war-time has just been opened at the Philharmonic Hall, Berlin. In the course of her inaugural speech, fully reported in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, Frau Elizabeth Ichenhäuser, one of the organisers, gave some particulars of what had been accomplished. On the ancient principle that it is wise to learn even from a foe, it may be of interest to see how problems similar to, but more urgent than, our own are being handled in an enemy country. The speaker said:

"Thanks to the adaptability of women to the needs of industry, the economic crisis which has necessarily followed on the outbreak of war has not been so severely felt as it might have been. When the first shock was over the buying power of the people revived, and women were installed in many places previously occupied by men. In September, 1914, there were 248 male applicants for every 100 situations vacant; but by September, 1915, the proportion had fallen to 89. Where women are concerned, unfortunately, the figures are not quite so favourable. In August, 1914, there were 202 female applicants for every 100 situations, and by September, 1915, there were still 170. The reason is no doubt to be sought in the fact that women hitherto have not had adequate facilities for becoming familiar with skilled labour in industry. So far industries requiring highly-skilled labour have been able to employ only 45 per cent. of women.

VARIOUS INDUSTRIES.

"Even in time of peace 4,500,000 women are employed on the land in the German Empire, and these brave women have worked with a will through the trying period of war. More gardening and similar work could be performed by women, but they have lacked facilities for learning this trade.

"In the underclothing and ready-made clothing industries there was a great deal of unemployment at the beginning of the campaign; but the enormous demands of the army soon enabled the women employed in these industries to resume their labours. At first there was some doubt as to the ability of women to undertake new branches of work; but any doubts that existed have been removed. Even working-class women are now filling positions in the metal and engineering industries formerly occupied by men. Women are now largely employed by Krupps for machine work requiring delicacy and precision. In the last year the Central Labour Bureau in Berlin alone has appointed more than 80,000 women and girls to positions of every kind in the engineering, leather-making, electrical, and chemical industries.

"Even the printing trade, which might before the war have been described as hermetically sealed to women, is now employing many female compositors. Working-class women who are physically fit for the labour are being extensively used in the transport services and for handling coal; and, of course, large numbers are being employed as street-cleaners and as tram drivers and conductors. Many women, again, have taken the places of barbers and bakers. Women who before the war had been engaged as photographers have found their services in demand at base hospitals, where their experience in handling chemicals has enabled them to be trained quickly as bacteriologists and as skilful users of the X-rays.

"In commercial houses women have almost everywhere taken the places of men as stenographers and bookkeepers. In the postal services our sex is now represented largely as telegraphists, sorters, and clerks.

677/5 67

The Standard.
1-1-16

WORKING FOR VICTORY.

INTENSE PATRIOTISM SHOWN BY FRENCH ARTISANS.

BRITISH LABOUR REPORT.

With the concurrence of Mr. Lloyd George and the hearty approval of M. Albert Thomas, the French Minister of Munitions, Lord Murray of Elibank, Director-General of Labour Recruiting, appointed a mission to visit the industrial districts in France and report on the causes which have contributed to the enormous increase which has taken place in the production of munitions in that country. That such an increase has taken place is remarkable when it is kept in mind that one eighth of the country and five-eighths of the former metallurgical productivity are in the hands of the enemy.

The mission consisted of Messrs. J. T. Brownlie, chairman of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and member of the National Advisory Committee and the Central Munitions Labour Supply Committee; Alexander Duckham, Ministry of Munitions; Dr. J. Shackleton, Labour Adviser, Ministry of Munitions; and Allan M. Smith, secretary of the Engineering Employers' Federation and member of the Central Munitions Labour Supply Committee.

The report of the mission, which has now been presented, contains much data of a valuable nature, and also observations and conclusions on the position generally. As information of this character cannot fail to be of the greatest interest, especially at the present juncture, a report has been issued for publication.

In this report it is stated that the mission visited 23 establishments engaged in production of munitions. It says:—

The mission endeavoured to ascertain what circumstances had led up to the greatly increased production of munitions in France. Three factors appear to have contributed to this increase: (a) Increasing intensity of production; (b) erection and equipment of new factories and extension of existing munitions factories; (c) adaptation of existing factories to the manufacture of munitions.

With regard to the increasing intensity of production, it was evident to the mission that as the war has proceeded the French nation has settled down with a determination and feeling of set purpose to the fulfilment of the task allotted to it. Women, of whom many thousands are employed in munition factories, work with a good will which is most impressive; this spirit is also evident in the case of male workers. The men have apparently welcomed the introduction of women into the factories, and are doing everything they can to instruct and co-operate with them in increasing the output of munitions.

PATRIOTIC ENTERPRISE.

The erection and equipment of new factories has been resorted to in great measure. It is remarkable that this effort is due to private enterprise. No factories have been subsidised by the Government, nor have loans of any kind been made to the owners. The owners have, at competitive prices, taken orders from the Government, and on the strength of these orders have purchased land, built factories, procured machinery, and now depend on the contract prices for reimbursement of their outlay and for gaining the profit to which they are entitled.

Remarkable success has attended the efforts of a number of employers who have abandoned their normal manufacture and adapted their machinery for the output of munitions.

A feature of the French system is the fostering of the small producer for machine operations. Of these there are about 1800 in the Paris district. In such cases it is found that for reasons of administration, inspection, etc., it is better that small producers should be working under sub-contract and not under direct contract from the Government. The work let on sub-contract is paid for at the price the main contractor receives from the Government, and no profit is made by the main contractor out of the work sub-contracted.

Many small shops are manned by various members of a family, and work day and night shifts. In one case visited, for example, the day shift was superintended by the father and daughter and the night shift by the mother and son. Although the shop was of meagre proportions and the equipment poor, very satisfactory output was effected. In another case, a very small shop, the work had been superintended by the wife of the owner, who was serving in the Army. The woman worked herself to death, and the husband was ordered back from the Army to continue the work she had been doing.

Practically all the factories run night shift as well as day shift. In some cases the hours are divided into three shifts. Those on the two shift system have one break in the day. The usual starting times are 6.0 a.m. to 7.0 a.m. A engaged on night shift. Where three shifts are worked the women are, of course, engaged during the night.

There is no restriction on the work which a woman may do. The only processes which are confined so far to men are setting up and tool making, though with regard to the former the women may qualify for some part of it, and with regard to the latter some women are actually grinding the edges of cutting tools for machines.

The opinion in the French factories is that the output of females on small work equals, and in some cases excels, that of men, and in the case of heavier work, within certain limits, women are of practically the same value as men. It has to be kept in mind that physical considerations limit the range of work which may be done by women. It was noticed, however, that part of the work done by women involved greater strain than might be thought reasonable in this country.

GOOD TIMEKEEPING.

A remarkable feature in the French factories is the almost entire absence of lost time. The time lost by the workpeople owing to avoidable causes does not exceed on the average one per cent. of the total time. At St. Etienne, for example, where 10,000 are employed, on the day of the visit of the mission ten to 20 were to be punished for culpable absence, of whom two or three were the worse for drink. On the same day 60 persons made a late start in the morning. On many days, however, not a single late start takes place. In cases of loss of time the usual punishments for civilians are:—Reprimand for the first offence; in some cases a fine for the second offence, but generally the workman is dismissed. It is, however, not usual for the second offence to take place within such a short period as would not justify its being dealt with by a further reprimand. In the case of military workers, the man is sent to his depot and dealt with under military law.

Although prior to the war the usual labour troubles were experienced, no strike has taken place since the commencement of hostilities. No applications for general advances in wages have been made by the workpeople since the commencement of the war.

There is not uniformity of opinion as to the desirability of having women superintendents of discipline, etc., as distinguished from superintendents of manufacturing operations. Some employers prefer female, and others male.

The general conclusions at which the mission have arrived are:—(a) The people of France realise that they are at war. (b) The one idea in the mind of all is to bring the war to a successful issue. (c) The spirit which dominates the nation has prevented difficulties arising in the manufacture of war material. (d) Loss of time is practically negligible. (e) No trade union restrictions exist at the moment. (f) Everything is done to increase production. (g) No limitation of profits exists, and no question in this respect has been raised by the workpeople. (h) The manner in which the employers in France have been able to acquire machinery, and the initiative and energy displayed by them are beyond all praise. (i) In conclusion it appears to the mission that the increase of production in France is due to one cause, and one only, and that is the patriotic enthusiasm which exists there.

Society of Engineers and member of the National Advisory Committee and the Central Munitions Labour Supply Committee; Alexander Duckham, Ministry of Munitions; Dr. J. Shackleton, Labour Adviser, Ministry of Munitions; and Allan M. Smith, secretary of the Engineering Employers' Federation and member of the Central Munitions Labour Supply Committee.

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Practically all the factories run night shift as well as day shift. In some cases the hours are divided into three shifts. Those on the two-shift system have one break in the day. The usual starting times are 6.0 a.m. to 7.0 a.m. A break of one to two hours (averaging one and a-half hours) takes place at noon, and the day shift continues until 6.0 or 7.0 p.m. The long break in the middle of the day enables the women to look after the meals and comfort of their children at home, and is highly valued on this account. On night shift usually ten hours are worked, one hour is generally allowed for a meal, but this is usually taken at the machines, and where the period is half an hour it is paid for, and in few cases is the machinery stopped. In most cases the shifts change over every fortnight, and on the change the workpeople get 24 hours off. No difference is made in the case of Saturdays, the same hours being worked as on other week days. In some cases no work is done on Sundays after noon. This gives an additional time for carrying out necessary repairs, etc.

WOMEN WORKERS.

In practically all cases, women have been introduced since the commencement of the war. They have been drawn from all kinds of occupations. In most cases the women work the same hours as the men, but where tramway journeys are undertaken the women start usually fifteen minutes later and leave fifteen minutes earlier than the men, to vaoid congestion on the tramcars.

The production on night shift appears to equal that on day shift. In some cases it is better owing, as was stated, to there being less interruption at night. Not much female labour is at present employed on night shift. So far, the tendency is to have a female day shift and male night shift. This, however, is being modified, and probably women will, to a large extent, be

three were the worse for drink. On the same day 60 persons made a late start in the morning. On many days, however, not a single late start takes place. In cases of loss of time the usual punishments for civilians are:—Reprimand for the first offence; in some cases a fine for the second offence, but generally the workman is dismissed. It is, however, not usual for the second offence to take place within such a short period as would not justify its being dealt with by a further reprimand. In the case of military workers, the man is sent to his depot and dealt with under military law.

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The general conclusions at which the mission have arrived are:—(a) The people of France realise that they are at war. (b) The one idea in the mind of all is to bring the war to a successful issue. (c) The spirit which dominates the nation has prevented difficulties arising in the manufacture of war material. (d) Loss of time is practically negligible. (e) No trade union restrictions exist at the moment. (f) Everything is done to increase production. (g) No limitation of profits exists, and no question in this respect has been raised by the workpeople. (h) The manner in which the employers in France have been able to acquire machinery, and the initiative and energy displayed by them are beyond all praise. (i) In conclusion it appears to the mission that the increase of production in France is due to one cause, and one only, and that is the patriotic enthusiasm which exists there.

The Daily Chronicle.
1-1-16.

THE SHELL-WOMEN OF FRANCE.

FAMILIES' DAY AND NIGHT SHIFTS.

HEROIC SOLDIER'S WIFE.

"*The people of France realise that they are at war.*"

This is the first conclusion arrived at by the mission appointed by Lord Murray, Director-General of Labour Recruiting, to investigate the enormous increase in France's production of munitions. Other general conclusions, summarised in the report of the mission, issued last night, are:—

The one idea in the mind of all is to bring the war to a successful issue.

The spirit which dominates the nation has prevented difficulties arising in the manufacture of war material.

Loss of time is practically negligible.

No trade union restrictions exist at the moment.

Everything is done to increase production.

No limitation of profits exists and no question in this respect has been raised by the workpeople.

The manner in which the employers in France have been able to acquire machinery, and the initiative and energy displayed by them are beyond all praise.

It appears to the mission that the increase of production in France is due to one cause and one only, and that is the patriotic enthusiasm which exists there.

WOMEN EQUAL TO MEN.

The mission, which consisted of Messrs. J. T. Brownlie, chairman of the Amalgamater Society of Engineers; Alexander Duckham (Ministry of Munitions); D. J. Shackleton (Labour Advisor, Ministry of Munitions), and Allan M. Smith, secretary of the Engineering Employers' Federation, commenced its investigations on November 30, and visited twenty-three munitions establishments in various parts of France.

Practically all the factories run day and night, states the report. On the day shift the hours are 6 or 7 a.m. till 6 or 7 p.m., with a break averaging an hour and a half at noon. The night shifts work 10 hours, workers taking their meals at the machines, which are rarely stopped. There is no holiday on Saturday, but in some cases Sunday work ceases at noon.

Women, of whom many thousands are employed, work the same hours as men, and the report mentions the opinion, in the French factories that their output on small work equals, and in some cases excels, that of men, while in the case of heavier work, within certain limits, women are of practically the same value as men.

A feature of the French system is the fostering of the small producer for machine operations. Of these there are about 1,800 in the Paris district. Many small shops are manned by various members of a family and work day and night shifts.

NO STRIKE SINCE THE WAR.

"In one case visited, for example, the day shift was superintended by the father and daughter and the night shift by the mother and son. Although the shop was of meagre proportions and the equipment poor, very satisfactory output was effected, due no doubt to the spirit which dominated everyone employed in it.

"In another case, a very small shop, the work had been superintended by the wife of the owner, who was serving in the army. The woman worked herself to death and the husband was ordered back from the army to [illegible] work she had been doing."

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The introd[illegible] female labou[illegible] culties [illegible] a single [illegible] commenc[illegible]

Daily Mail
1-1-16

WOMAN'S LIFE FOR SHELLS.

FRANCE'S GREAT EXAMPLE.

NO TANGLING RULES AND NO LOST TIME.

The remarkable patriotism and spirit of self-sacrifice in which France has tackled the work of making munitions have greatly surprised the members of a British mission appointed to inspect the industrial conditions of our Ally.

The report of the members, Mr. J. T. Brownlie, chairman of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers; Mr. Alexander Duckham, Ministry of Munitions; Mr. D. T. Shackleton, and Mr. Allan M. Smith, secretary of the Engineering Employers' Federation, speaks of the great increase of production and the causes for the increase.

A feature of the French system is the fostering of the small producer for machine operations. Of these there are about 1,800 in the Paris district; they work on sub-contract, paid for at the price the main contractor receives from the Government. Many small shops are manned by various members of a family and work day and night shifts.

A WOMAN'S SACRIFICE.

In one case, a very small shop, the work had been superintended by the wife of the owner, who was serving in the army. The woman worked herself to death, and the husband was ordered back from the army to continue the work she had been doing.

The opinion in the French factories is that the output of women on small work equals and in some cases excels that of men, and in the case of heavier work, within certain limits, women are of practically the same value as men. It was noticed that part of the work done by women involved greater strain than might be thought reasonable in this country.

The period of training for machine operations for women is, on the average, one week. In some cases it extends to a fortnight, while in others it is less than one day. The work of teaching the unskilled is done in each factory. In some cases a man will teach a woman, who will then take his place and teach another woman, and thereafter be promoted and be replaced as a teacher by her pupil. In a few cases men originally objected to this system, but that objection has long since disappeared.

The introduction of unskilled male and female labour has not presented the difficulties experienced in this country. It was ascertained from representatives of the trade union movement in France that *trade union conditions as regards wages and labour had been practically suspended.*

A remarkable feature in the French factories is the *almost entire absence of lost time.* No strike has taken place. No applications for general advances in wages have been made.

The Times

1-1-16

WORK FOR WOMEN ON THE LAND.

LORD SELBORNE'S PLAN FOR A CANVASS.

A ROLL OF HONOUR.

Lord Selborne, President of the Board of Agriculture, occupied the chair at a conference of representatives of county committees on the question of women's labour for the land at the Middlesex Guildhall yesterday. He outlined a scheme for a canvass of women in agricultural parishes and the preparation of a register of all who are willing to help in farming.

LORD SELBORNE said that on the solution of the question of the employment of women depended whether agriculture was to rise triumphantly over its difficulties in the coming year. All other difficulties would be small compared with the solution of the labour problem. This matter had already been taken up and strenuously dealt with in some counties, but what had been done was as nothing compared with what ought to be done.

OUTLINE OF ORGANIZATION.

He asked the War Agricultural Committees in each county, if they had not already done so, to organize a body of women who would be responsible to them, and in cooperation with the lady inspectors of the Board of Trade to organize women's labour in every parish in every county in England and Wales. That could only be done by a canvass of women for the work, just as there had been a canvass of the men to get them to join the Army. He wanted a regular canvass of all the women in every agricultural parish and a register formed of all those who were prepared to help in agriculture. Meetings would be necessary to appeal to the women and put the case properly before them.

There were still farmers who were reluctant, or shy, or sceptical about the use of women in agriculture, but these feelings were very much less manifest to-day than they were three months ago. Unless farmers were prepared to utilize women's labour to the utmost possible extent to which it was procurable in many parts of England and Wales they would not be able to surmount their labour difficulties.

He was told that the women in agricultural districts would not be willing to work on the land—that many of them were already well off owing to the receipt of separation allowances. But who a year ago would have believed it possible that three million men would join the Army under the voluntary system? If the same pains were taken to touch the imagination of women, and they were made to understand that the maintenance of agriculture was essential to victory, he believed they would respond to the call. What was required was a crusade, and it was in nothing less than a crusade that he would ask the women of England to engage.

BADGES AND CARDS.

It had been suggested that in every parish there should be a roll of honour for women working on the land. The idea had been adopted in one county, and he commended the suggestion to other counties. There was also a suggestion that some distinctive badge or card which might be hung in a window should be issued to these women. He hoped the Board of Agriculture would be able to give help in showing what kind of clothing was suitable and where it was to be got. Besides the women already living in the country, on whom they must mainly depend, and in regard to whom he urged the crusade, some help could also be given by town women who were willing to undergo training. Experience had shown that such women, being mostly of superior education, could be trained rapidly. Hundreds of them were already on farms, and in almost every case he had heard nothing but unqualified praise of them.

The difficulties of women who not having independent means must earn their livelihood during training he hoped would be met locally. The farmer might advance money or landowners and others arrange for the women's accommodation and maintenance.

In a discussion which was taken part in by many women some interesting points were raised. Several speakers said that women belonging to the well-to-do classes consented more readily to do dirty farm work than women from the humbler classes. The question of suitable clothes was discussed. Mr. TRUSTRAM EVE remarked on the extreme unsuitability of the cloth-topped boots of the "flapper" for work on the land; and said that the places of cloth and leather in women's clothing seemed recently to have been reversed.

Miss LA MOTHE, Agricultural Inspector for Women's Labour under the Board of Trade, recommended a short skirt, strong boots and gaiters, and a knitted cap. It was most important, she said, that women who had to deal with animals should not use a hat-pin. A girl wearing a costume for agricultural work stood on a chair to show it to the conference. To facilitate cheap manufacture Miss La Mothe suggested that every county should adopt some uniform costume.

LORD SELBORNE, in his reply, said arrangements were being made for the information on the registration forms of women to be made available. He

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Lord Selborne, in his reply, said arrangements were being made for the information on the registration forms of women to be made available. The major part of the organization of women must be done through and by women. He hoped example and precept would overcome the fastidiousness shown by some women in regard to dirty work. He believed the idea that it was impossible for horses to be managed by women to be a heresy, and he hoped the experiment of setting women to this work would be tried. He must have assured success in the provision of labour by March, or they would begin to miss the weeks for work essential to the harvest.

Dundee Advertiser

1-1-16

MUNITIONS IN FRANCE.

How Unskilled Workers are Trained.

TOUR OF BRITISH MISSION.

The Ministry of Munitions last night issued the report of a mission appointed to visit industrial districts in France. The mission consisted of Messrs J. T. Brownlie, Chairman of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers; Alexander Duckham, of the Ministry of Munitions; D. J. Shackleton, Labour Adviser, and Allan M. Smith, Secretary of the Engineering Employers' Federation. Attached to the mission were two engineers.

On November 30th last the mission were received by M. Albert Thomas, Minister of Munitions in France, who placed every facility at their disposal. The mission visited 23 establishments. Their report says:—Three factors appear to have contributed to the increase of production—the increasing intensity of production, the erection and equipment of new factories and extension of existing munition factories, and the adaptation of existing factories to the manufacture of munitions.

With regard to the increasing intensity of production, it was evident to the mission that as the war proceeded the French nation had settled down with determination and a feeling of set purpose to the fulfilment of the task allotted to it. There is no question but that the nation is at war, and the dominant sentiment of the men and women is to carry the war to a successful termination. Everything else is subordinated to this determination. Men have apparently welcomed the introduction of women into the factories, and are doing everything they can to co-operate with them in increasing the output of munitions.

A feature of the French system is the fostering of the small producer for machine operations. Of these there are about 1800 in the Paris district. Many small shops are manned by various members of the family, and work day and night shifts. In one small shop the day shift was superintended by a father and daughter, and the night shift by the mother and son. Although the shop was of meagre proportion, and the equipment poor, a very satisfactory output was effected, due no doubt to the spirit which dominated every one employed in it. In another case in a very small shop the work had been superintended by the wife of the owner, who was serving in the army. The woman worked herself to death, and the husband was ordered back from the army to continue the work she had been doing. In most cases women work the same hours as men.

Female Labour.

Not much female labour is at present employed on the night shifts. The tendency is to have a female day shift and a male night shift. Where three shifts are worked, the women are engaged during the night.

There is no restriction on the work which women may do. The opinion in French factories is that the output of females on small work equals that of men. In most cases good locker, washing, and sanitary accommodation is provided. Practically all the work is done on piece. The same piece work prices are paid to women as to men.

There does not appear to be any arrangement made by the Government for technical instruction of unskilled men or of women. This work is done in each factory. In some cases a man will teach a woman, who will then take his place and teach another woman, and thereafter be promoted and be replaced as teacher by her pupil. In a few cases men originally objected to this system, but that objection has long since disappeared, and no difficulty is placed in the way of unskilled male and female labour being enabled to acquire all the skill necessary for their work.

It was ascertained from representatives of the Trade Union movement in France that Trade Union conditions as regards wages and labour had been practically suspended. In France there does not appear to be any recognised system of apprentices, except in the higher branches of engineering. Trade labour is being specialised, and workpeople are permitted to specialise in more skilled operations as they show ability. The time lost by workpeople owing to avoidable causes does not exceed on an average 1 per cent. of the total time. At St Etienne, for example, where 10,000 are employed, on the day of the visit of the mission ten to twenty were to be punished for culpable absence, of whom two or three were the worse for drink. On the same day sixty persons made a late start in the morning. Although prior to the war the usual labour troubles were experienced, no strike has taken place since the commencement of hostilities. No applications for general advances in wages have been made by workpeople since the commencement of the war.

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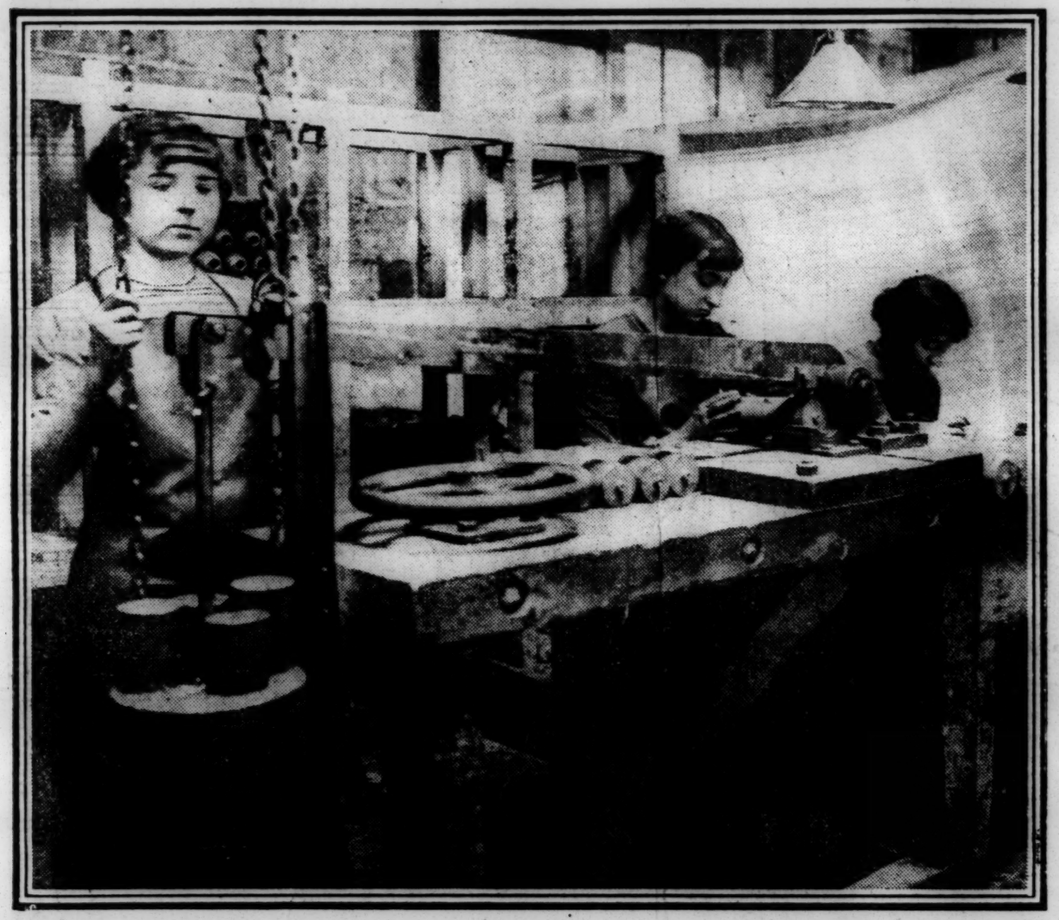
Thousands of new machines have been installed. These are mainly from America, but in many cases are of British and Swiss make. Representatives were sent to America provided with cash, and instructed to purchase all the machinery available for munitions work, and if any machinery available was not exactly what was required, if it was to be useful it was to be purchased. By this means there has been a steady flow of most valuable machinery from America to France.

The general conclusions at which the mission have arrived are:—(1) The people of France realise that they are at war; (2) the one idea in the minds of all is to bring the war to a successful issue; (3) the spirit which dominates the nation has prevented difficulties arising in the manufacture of war material; (4) the loss of time is practically negligible; (5) no Trade Union restrictions exist at the moment; (6) everything is done to increase production; (7) no limitation of profits exists, and no question in this respect has been raised by the workpeople; (8) the manner in which the employers have been able to acquire machinery and the initiative and energy displayed are beyond praise; (9) the increased production is due to one cause only—patriotic enthusiasm.

SPUR TO CLYDE WORKERS: FRENCH WOMEN'S SPLENDID EXAMPLE



To-day we publish the first instalment of the report of the British Mission which recently returned from a visit to the industrial districts France. The Mission found that the French people are working like one man in a single cause. The one idea in the mind of all is to bring the war to a successful issue, and we commend the article to every Clydeside worker. In France, as on the Clyde, women are doing splendid work. In most cases they work the same hours as the men, but where tramway journeys are undertaken the women start usually 15 minutes later and leave 15 minutes earlier than the men. Our pictures show French women engaged in various departments of the manufacture of munitions.

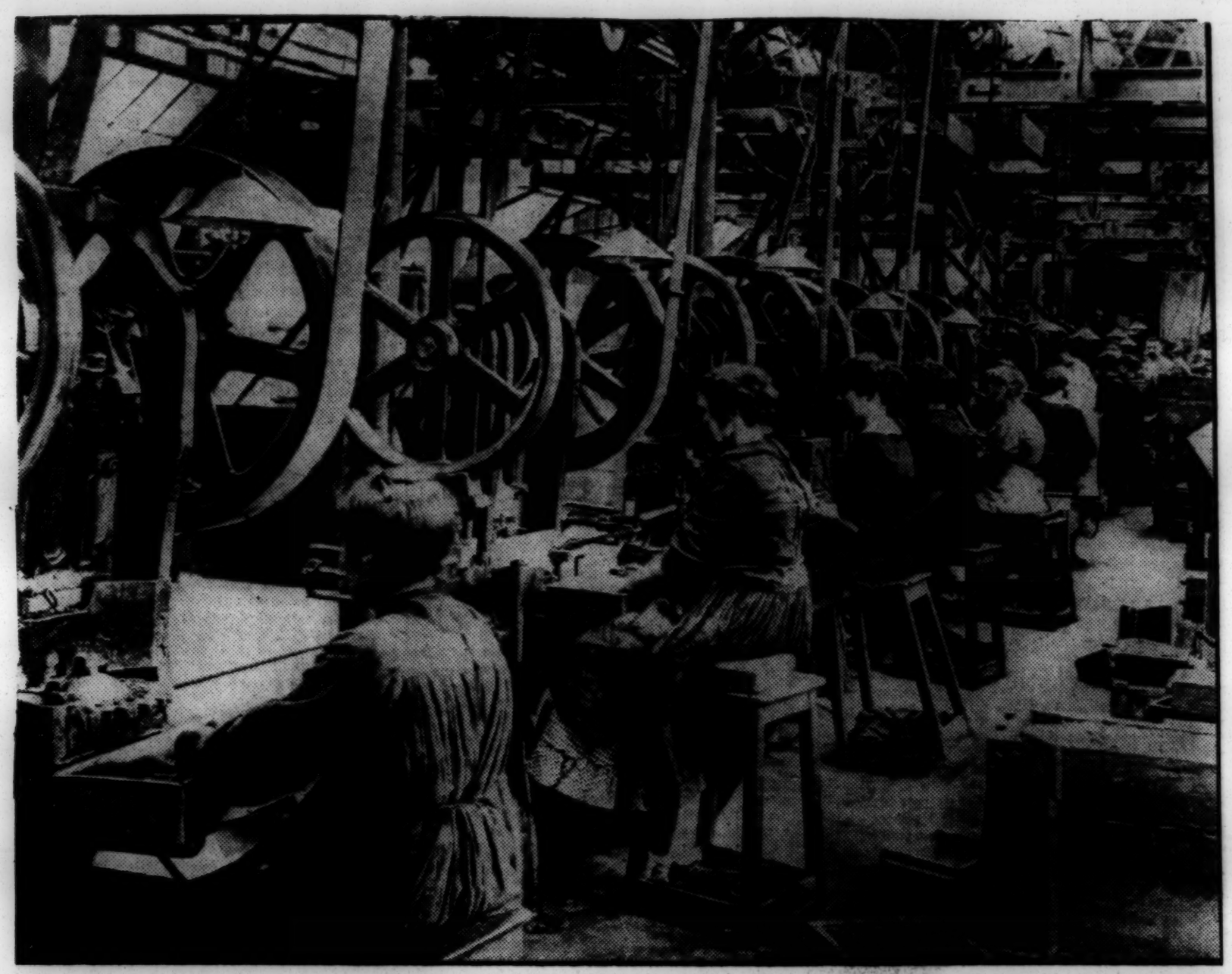
THE OPINION IN THE FRENCH FACTORIES IS THAT THE OUTPUT OF FEMALES ON SMALL WORK EQUALS AND IN SOME CASES EXCELS THAT OF ME.

The report of the British Mission which visited the French munition factories states:—"Not much female labour is at present employed on night shift. So far, the tendency is to have a female day shift and male night shift. . . . There is no restriction on the work which a woman may do. The only processes which are confined so far to men are setting up and tool-making, though, with regard to the former, the women may qualify for some part of it, and, with regard to the latter, some women are actually grinding the edges of cutting tools for machines." Our pictures show:—(1 and 2) Young women working machines, and (3) The shells being packed.

Edinburgh Evening Dispatch
14-1-16.

677.

677/12



Women are taking a prominent part in helping France to win the war by working night and day in the munition factories in the place of men. The workshop illustrated is typical of many.

Board of Trade Gazette
- - 1-1916.

LABOUR CONDITIONS IN THE MANUFACTURE OF MUNITIONS IN FRANCE.

A REPORT has now been issued embodying the conclusions of the mission charged with the investigation of labour conditions in the munitions factories of France. The mission consisted of Messrs. J. T. Brownlie, Chairman of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and member of the National Advisory Committee and of the Central Munitions Labour Supply Committee; Alexander Duckham (Ministry of Munitions); D. J. Shackleton, Labour Adviser (Ministry of Munitions); and Allan M. Smith, Secretary of the Engineering Employers' Federation and member of the Central Munitions Labour Supply Committee. The preamble to the report points out that the increase in the output of munitions which has taken place in France is remarkable when it is considered that one-eighth of the country and five-eighths of the former metallurgical productivity is in the hands of the enemy.

The mission visited 23 factories, and it is stated that on the evidence thus gained it is clear that the primary means by which the enhanced output of munitions has been achieved is by increasing intensity of production, by the erection and equipment of new factories and the extension of existing munitions factories, and by the adaptation of existing factories of other kinds to the manufacture of munitions. In connexion with the increased intensity of output it is stated that "women, of whom many thousands are employed in munition factories, work with a good will which is most impressive; this spirit is also evident in the case of male workers. The men have apparently welcomed the introduction of women into the factories, and are doing everything they can to instruct and co-operate with them in increasing the output of munitions."

With regard to the erection of new factories, it is remarkable that this is due entirely to private enterprise, no factories having been subsidised by the Government or loans of any kind made. In such cases the Government has paid, on the equipment of the factory, one-third of the contract price of the contract taken, the remaining two-thirds being paid as the munitions are delivered. The report states that the mission were much impressed with the extent to which the owners of factories have been able to import machinery. Thousands of new machines have been installed, mostly from America, but in many cases also of British or Swiss make. The mission were also much impressed with the lay-out in the new shops, where, owing to the amount of free space and the mechanical devices for transport, no congestion or difficulty in handling products is met with.

A feature of the French system is the small producer, of whom there are about 1,800 in the Paris district alone. These producers, for reasons of administrative convenience, work under sub-contract; but the work is paid for at the price received by the main contractor, who, therefore, makes no profit. Many such small shops are manned by the various members of a family, and work goes on day and night. An instance is cited where the day shift was superintended by the father and daughters and the night shift by the mother and son. Practically all the factories run night as well as day shift. In some cases three shifts are worked. Where the two-shift system is in force the hours are from between six and seven a.m. to six or seven p.m. There is a long break, averaging one and a half hours, in the middle of the day, and this enables women to look after the meals and comfort of their children at home. On night-shift ten hours are worked, one hour being allowed for a meal, which, however, is usually taken at the machines. The shifts generally change over every fortnight, and on the change the workpeople get 24 hours off. The same hours are worked on Saturdays as on other days, but in some cases no work is done on Sundays after noon, and this allows additional time for carrying out repairs, etc.

In practically all cases women have been introduced since the beginning of the war. They have been drawn from all sorts of occupations. In most cases they work the same hours as the men, but so far they have not been employed much on night shift; this is being modified, however, and in the future women will probably be largely so employed. There is no restriction as to the work which women may do. The only processes so far confined to male labour are setting up and tool-making; with regard to the former, however, women may qualify for some part of it, and with regard to the latter, women are already grinding the edges of cutting tools for machines. A long list of occupations on which women are engaged is given in the Report, and instances of complete manufacture by women include a 75 mm. shell complete, a 120 mm. shell complete, and fuses complete.

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The introduction of unskilled labour is stated to have been facilitated by the specialisation in output of each factory; thus one factory will specialise in fuses, another in 75 mm. shells, and so on, according to the varying circumstances of each. It is stated to be the general opinion that on small work the output of female labour equals, and in some cases excels, that of male labour; while in heavier work, within limits, women are of practically the same value as men.

Practically all the work, except tool-room work, setting up, and floor labouring, is done on piecework. The premium bonus system is unknown. In the case of women there is no recognised time rate other than that paid during the period of training, which is usually recognised as a guaranteed minimum rate. The same piecework rates are paid to women as to men.

The period of training for machine operations for women is on the average a week; in some cases, however, it extends to a fortnight, and in others again it is less than a day. There is no Government arrangement for instruction, this work being done separately in each factory. In many cases a man teaches a woman, who then takes his place and teaches another woman, and so on. It is stated that in a few cases men objected to this system at first, but such objections have long ago disappeared.

The Report states that the introduction of unskilled male and female labour has not in France presented the difficulties experienced in this country. Trade Union conditions as regards wages and labour have been practically suspended, and workpeople who show ability are permitted to specialise in the more skilled operations. No strikes have taken place since the beginning of the war, and there have been no applications for general advances in wages. A large proportion of the male labour employed, however, is military, many of the men being those who have been mobilised but found unfit for active service. Time-keeping is remarkably good, the time lost owing to avoidable causes not exceeding on the average 1 per cent. It is stated that there is no evidence of fatigue due to the long hours worked either by day or night, although the temperature of the shops is usually very high; it is considered that this is largely due to the long break in the middle of the day and to the absence of overtime beyond the usual hours.

The Report concludes by remarking that "it appears to the mission that the increase of production in France is due to one cause, and one only, and that is the patriotic enthusiasm which exists there."

Standard
8.2.16

Engineer
7.17.16

6

OVERWORKED WOMEN.

CONDITIONS IN AUSTRIAN AND GERMAN FACTORIES.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT IN SWITZERLAND.)

Interesting evidence regarding the extent to which woman labour is being employed in Germany is contained in a report issued by the trade union of German metal workers, in which it is stated that "improved machinery has facilitated the substitution of women for men. In many factories only a few men are left to superintend the work of women, who form 99 per cent. of the hands. Even physically strenuous work is undertaken by women. As an example, a factory may be mentioned in which women lift and carry shells weighing 80lb.; one woman deals with 36 of these heavy projectiles every day. The employment of women for such purposes must give rise to grave anxieties, because it cannot continue without very injurious effects to the health of the nation. The same danger exists in many branches of work of a less laborious character, inasmuch as the women engaged in them are constrained to be strenuously active for eleven and twelve hours per day, often for seven days in the week. It is most desirable that women should not be required to do work for which they are physically unfitted."

In a report published by the Austrian Socialist, Mme. Adelheid Popp, it is declared that the employment of women in laborious and unsuitable occupations has become very extensive in Austria. Both the German and Austrian Socialists demand that women inspectors shall be appointed to supervise the employment of women, and to restrict female labour to occupations which do not endanger their health.

WOMEN'S WAR WORK AT KRUPP'S.

(From our Swiss Correspondent.)

BERNE, June 8th.

THE immensely increased importance of women's labour in Germany is nowhere better shown than by figures of the number of women and girls employed by the firm of Krupp, of Essen. For instance, on August 1st, 1914, their number was only 1241, all being either mere charwomen or sellers in the various canteens and shops specially intended for the use of Krupp's workmen. The number of men employed at the outbreak of war was 36,880. By April 1st last the number of women employed had risen to 13,023, the great majority being, of course, ammunition workers, while the number of men employed had increased to 55,949. By now it is safe to assume that Krupp's female workers number fully 14,000.

In 1914, 8114 of Krupp's male employees were called up, and in 1915, 7500. The total number of employees, men and women, was on April 1st 68,972. They worked double shifts of twelve hours each, including an hour and a-half for meals. It will be seen that the number of employees, taking both sexes together, has almost doubled since the beginning of the war. As a result partly of the long hours of labour and doubtless also of inferior and insufficient food, the number of cases of sickness among the women is enormous—76.60 per cent., while among the men it is also extremely heavy—62.31 per cent.—these figures being taken from the sick fund report of Krupp's workers. The average duration of illness among the workers was in 1915 14.85 days, taking them all together. Taking the men alone, however, it was 15.18 days, and taking the women alone 12.02 days. It is singular at first sight that the average number of days' illness should have been less in 1915 than in any of the three preceding years. It was, for example, 17.49 days in 1914, 18.33 in 1913, and 18.63 in 1912. This, however, is easily explainable by the fact that, working as they do under exceeding pressure and obsessed by concern caused by the increasing dearness of living, the employees, whether men or women, do not go on the sick list until absolutely compelled to do so. The women, it must be remembered, are very frequently either widows or the wives of men serving at the front, and in both cases they have oftener than not children to support. It is significant that the effect of the workers keeping at work until obliged by exhaustion to desist has been to cause a notable increase in the mortality figures, which in 1915 were much higher than in 1914—5.84 per 1000 members of the sick fund members as compared with 4.12 in 1914.

The women employed in Krupp's and in all engineering and ammunition works in Germany are supplied with suitable costumes such as will not endanger their lives by catching in machinery and will not impede their movements. There are several of these costumes, one with knickers and puttees made in one and worn with a loose sack coat made to come down over the hips. This coat can be worn open or closed, but when the wearer is at work she usually removes it and puts on instead a sleeveless overall, so designed as to cover the legs and whole body, and fastening on the shoulders. For women doing work necessitating constant movements of the upper part of the body a special dress has also been devised to allow the freest possible movements while keeping the blouse in place.

The number of women now employed in engineering works throughout Germany is enormous, being in some cases as much as 80 per cent. There is even a movement both in Germany and in Austria-Hungary in favour of introducing some form of compulsory service for women—that is to say, the obligation for every woman directly to serve her country in one way or another by doing war work, unless, of course, physically incapacitated or prevented by motherhood.

One complaint of the women factory workers in Germany at present, especially of those who are married and have young children at home, is that, working as they do mostly from six in the morning till six in the evening, with perhaps only an hour's interval at mid-day, they have absolutely no time or opportunity to buy provisions. At noon they have no time to make purchases, and after 6 p.m. there is virtually nothing more to be had. Another complaint is that soldiers' widows are worse off than soldiers' wives. A soldier's wife with three children, for instance, and a soldier's widow with three children each receive M. 75 a month, but the latter must pay taxes upon this sum, while the former need not.

Furthermore, there is a general feeling that the women are being altogether unduly exploited and their work underpaid, particularly in view of the immense profits earned by ammunition works and almost all enterprises supplying either the requirements of the army and navy or any indispensable commodities, such as coal. Take the twenty-six leading German mining companies, for example. Their total surplus rose from M.7,158,823 in the first quarter of 1915 to M.13,868,377 in the last quarter of the same year, or a rise of 96 per cent. This is attributed to the increases in the price of coke, coals and briquettes, to keen demand and to comparatively small output owing to scarcity of labour, despite the number of prisoners of war employed. In Prussia alone early this year there were 669,000 prisoners of war employed, not all of them in mines, of course, while in other parts of Germany 250,000 to 300,000 prisoners of war are now at work. This utilisation of prisoners of war may possibly account for the slight increase of wages during last year—only 12 per cent.—despite the great increase in relative output.

Standard
15.2.16

OUTPUT OF MUNITIONS IN FRANCE.

NATIONAL ENTHUSIASM.

REPORT OF THE BRITISH MISSION.

Towards the end of last year, with the concurrence of Mr. Lloyd George, and with the approval of M. Albert Thomas, the French Minister of Munitions, Lord Murray of Elibank, the Director-General of Recruiting for Munitions Work, appointed a mission to visit the industrial districts in France and report on the causes which have contributed to the enormous increase which has taken place in the production of munitions in that country, notwithstanding that one-eighth of the country and five-eighths of the former metallurgical productivity are in the hands of the enemy.

The mission was composed of Mr. J. T. Brownlie, chairman of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and member of the National Advisory Committee and the Central Munitions Labour Supply Committee; Mr. Alexander Duckham, Ministry of Munitions; Mr. D. J. Shackleton, Labour Adviser, Ministry of Munitions; and Mr. Allan M. Smith, secretary of the Engineering Employers' Federation and member of the Central Munitions Labour Supply Committee. Attached to the mission were two engineers of wide experience in the manufacture of war munitions in this country.

On November 30, the mission, accompanied by Colonel Le Roy-Lewis, our Military Attaché in Paris, were received by M. Thomas, who placed at the disposal of the members the necessary facilities for their work. Through the courtesy of M. Thomas the mission was able to visit 23 munition factories, and as a result of their investigations have submitted a report, which has just been published by the Ministry of Munitions as a White-paper.

"In conclusion it appears to the mission that the increase of production in France is due to one cause, and one only, and that is the patriotic enthusiasm which exists there."

That is the given result of the investigations conducted by the mission, and it is led up to by the following striking sentences:—

The people of France realise that they are at war.

The one idea in the mind of all is to bring the war to a successful issue.

The spirit which dominates the nation has prevented difficulties arising in the manufacture of war material.

Loss of time is practically negligible.

No trade union restrictions exist at the moment.

Everything is done to increase production.

No limitation of profits exists, and no question in this respect has been raised by the workpeople.

The manner in which the employers in France have been able to acquire machinery and the initiative and energy displayed by them are beyond all praise.

The report states that in regard to the increasing intensity of production, it was evident to the mission that as the war has proceeded the French nation has settled down with a determination and feeling of set purpose to the fulfilment of the task allotted to it. There is no question but that the nation is at war, and

the dominant sentiment, not only of the men, but also of the women, is to carry the war to a successful termination. Everything else is subordinated to this determination.

Women, of whom many thousands are employed in munition factories, work with a good will which is most impressive; this spirit is also evident in the case of male workers. The men have apparently welcomed the introduction of women into the factories and are doing everything they can to instruct and co-operate with them in increasing the output of munitions.

THE SMALL PRODUCER.

A feature of the French system is the fostering of the small producer for machine operations. Of these there are about 1800 in the Paris district. In such cases it is found that for reasons of administration, inspection, etc., it is better that small producers should be working under sub-contract and not under direct contract from the Government. The work let on sub-contract is paid for at the price the main contractor receives from the Government, and no profit is made by the main contractor out of the work sub-contracted.

Many small shops are manned by various members of a family and work day and night shifts. In one case visited, for example, the day shift was superintended by the father and daughter and the night shift by the mother and son. Although the shop was of meagre proportions and the equipment poor, very satisfactory output was effected, due no doubt to the spirit which dominated every one employed in it.

In another case, a very small shop, the work had been superintended by the wife of the owner, who was serving in the army. The woman worked herself to death, and the husband was ordered back from the army to continue the work she had been doing.

DILUTED LABOUR.

There is no restriction on the work which women may do. The only processes which are confined so far to men are setting up and tool making, though with regard to the former, the women qualify for some part of it, and with regard to the latter some women are actually grinding the edges of cutting tools for machines.

One consideration which has made the employment of unskilled male and female labour satisfactory is that in most cases the factory has specialised on a single product, or at least a small range of products. For example, many factories specialise in fuzes, others in gaines, others in 75 mm. shell, and so on, with the result that the repetitive nature of the work is increased and the tool-room and inspection work is proportionally decreased. The specialisation has been arrived at after due regard has been paid to the nature and capacity of the machinery employed.

The Government has paid great attention not only to the desires of employers in this matter, but also to the capacity of each factory and its plant.

PIECE WORK AND INSTRUCTION.

On the subject of piecework, the report states that practically all the work, except tool-room work, is done on this system. The premium bonus system is not known. In the case of women there does not appear to be any recognised time-rate other than that paid during the period of training—these rates are usually recognised as guaranteed minimum rates. The same piecework prices are paid to women as to men.

It did not appear to the Mission that any arrangement was made by the Government for technical instruction of the unskilled. This work is done in each factory, and in some cases a man will teach a woman, who will then take his place and teach another woman, and thereafter be promoted and be replaced as a teacher by her pupil.

In a few cases men originally objected to this system, but the objection has long since disappeared, and no difficulty is placed in the way of unskilled male and female labour being enabled to acquire all the skill necessary for their work. The introduction of unskilled male and female labour has not presented the difficulties experienced in this country. It was ascertained from representatives of the trade union movement in France that trade union conditions as regards wages and labour had practically been suspended.

A remarkable feature in the French factories is the almost entire absence of lost time. The time lost by the workpeople owing to avoidable causes does not exceed on the average 1 per cent. of the total.

Although prior to the war the usual labour troubles were experienced, no strike has taken place since the commencement of hostilities. No applications for general advances in wages have been made by the workpeople since the commencement of the war.

Evening Stand 10
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WOMEN AND WAR.

Visit to a Large Munition Factory in France.

This article, contributed by our Paris Lady Correspondent, has been written by special permission of the French Authorities.

Of the first few minutes that I passed within the door, I remember nothing. The noise produced by thirteen millions of francs worth of powerful machinery stunned me as effectually as a blow on the head! When I recovered my sangfroid and capacity for observation, I saw that I was in a sort of shed, so vast that the opposite end was hardly visible. How the roof—a glass one—remained on was a mystery, especially as it was not helped by any pillars or columns. Under my feet was an irregular earth floor, often broken by light rails on which ran low cars bringing up or taking off different sorts of munition material. In this gigantic hive of labour, nearly 8000 people were at work, and of these two-thirds were women!

"Do you find women make satisfactory workers?" I asked the manager of the place, who was showing me round—not on my own merits, I will admit, but on those of a much greater personage.

"Perfectly," he replied, without a second's hesitation. "They learn quickly and are as steady as time!"

I had visited innumerable workrooms in Paris, where girls and women sew and chatter and chatter and sew from morning to night, turning out marvels of taste and skill. This Government munitions workshop bore not the slightest resemblance to any of them. Conversation was out of the question. The machinery saw to that. Often one noisy monster was served by three, four, or more pairs of hands, but the co-operation seemed to be as automatic as the movement of pistons, levers, and joints. No one asked or gave directions: all seemed thoroughly to know what they were about. I wondered how they stood the roar and rumble.

"Does the noise give you a headache?" I shouted in the ear of a pleasant-looking young woman with a heavy shell in her hands. She shook her head, which was very neatly dressed, the hair well brushed and coiled, and uncovered. "Get used to it," were the only words I caught of her reply. And the manager said the same thing. "I am in and out all day. I cannot make a complete round of the works under two hours—you see the vastness of the buildings—but I don't notice the noise." Still, I observed that when he asked for anything it was in a single word, accompanied by an expressive gesture. The human voice does not carry in such an atmosphere.

Strength and Light Fingers Both Necessary

A few of these women wore caps; they were those occupied with the machinery that makes fine curls and filings of metal. The rest donned only a thick leather apron, with high bib, tied close round their persons. Some were slips of girls—there are some operations that call only for light fingers and attention—others were matrons, over forty, and of largely developed figures. One of these latter had the arms of a blacksmith, and she spent the livelong day turning a huge and heavy lever, putting a weighty shell-case into a certain machine and taking it out again with even, deliberate movements and a quiet mastery of the whole operation that amazed me.

This factory is one of the biggest in the country, and soon there will be ten thousand men and women working there, in two shifts, of ten hours each, a day and a night shift. For some time past the double shift has been the rule. They come on at six in the morning, and go off at four in the afternoon, with an hour off for lunch. The men wore an arm band having a black grenade on a white ground to show they were employed in Government work. Some were young, others were over forty. Quite a number of lads were also working there, fetching and carrying, and waiting on workers gathered round the machines. All are under a close and strict surveillance, and all, I may mention, looked upon me as on an "event," as they say in Paris. Obviously a woman visitor is something so out of the common that it marked the day. And rightly too. It is no place for idle curiosity. It is a demonstration of a force so stupendous, of creative ingenuity so impressive in its directness, that you feel you have to re-adjust yourself anew to the ethical problem of war. For all the force is destructive, and here are women—the mothers of the race, holding in their hands

the stoutest of them I noticed, too, had light deft movements, and passed in and out of the limited free space in the area of her bit of machinery without brushing against grease sticks or rocking wheels. Perfect order and discipline prevailed. For a few seconds I watched a group of both sexes occupied with molten steel, comparing its glowing colour with the pattern set up before their eyes on a stand, and manipulating the liquid objects with their long scissors as calmly and neatly as though they had been dressmakers' hot irons or curling tongs.

French Pay for Women Munitioners.

I inquired about the pay. It compares very advantageously, of course, with that earned in ordinary trades, demanding apprenticeship and experience. The highest seems to be eight francs for the day of ten hours, the scale being slightly less for some of the quite simple operations, performed by girls of eighteen or so. There are fifteen processes to produce an obus, or shell, and the final ones are the easiest—those which concern the small brass

fittings. Thousands and thousands of these

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In Normal and War Times.

The city where this gigantic factory is situated is a busy centre of intensive production in normal times, and even now, in the twentieth month of the war, there is more life and movement in its streets than there is in the capital. This shell factory and the military hospitals remind us of the war that is raging in the distant theatre of the north-east provinces. These outward signs and the fact that the division drawn from this district has distinguished itself in the hottest of the fighting are all the inhabitants know of war risks, for they are out of reach of aerial attacks and beyond the fear of possible invasion.

Contrasts in Dress.

It was very characteristic of the dress-sense of the women of France that all these feminine workers, young or old, were plainly clothed in neat black frocks. In England, workers of this class go out to their labour in any cast-off clothes that come their way, reserving some of their wages for holiday finery, with the lamentable æsthetic results we know. In France, just the opposite is the rule. Mademoiselle or madame buys the neat black working suit, and adapts for exceptional holiday wear any gifts of clothing she may receive. Under the shiny leather apron she is extraordinarily neat in this noisy Turkish bath. Even fittings. Thousands and thousands of these pass through the fingers of the employees in a small, cool room at the end of the huge machinery shed. You might have taken them for brass buttons, as they were being packed and rolled like golden sovereigns in a mint. I came away with the feeling that it is a very happy thing that our sex has been enabled to render a really signal service to the country in a crisis that calls for every strong arm, together with the whole and harmonious effort of every individual belonging to the nation as it is straining towards the goal of Victory and Liberty.

Star
26.7.16

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Women Engineers.

Our Russian allies have given English women a lead which would have helped our munition supplies immensely if we had followed it. Scores of highly skilled women engineers hold high positions in Russian industry, and it is, I am told, quite usual to come upon engineering gangs working under women supervisors on railroads and in shipbuilding yards. It is even said that they do their work better than men! And this was going on before the war.

Glasgow Herald
22.7.16.

COMRADES IN ARMS.

THE MUNITION WORKERS OF FRANCE AND BRITAIN.

VISIT OF SCOTTISH WOMEN TO PARIS.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

A deputation of Scottish women munition workers and others, representing industrial interests, has just returned from France, where they have been visiting munition factories, chiefly in the district of Paris. The deputation, which had been organised by suffrage workers, was in charge of Miss Irwin, and included Mrs Kerr, Miss Blair, and Miss Prentice (three munition workers from large firms in Glasgow); Mrs Buchan, ex-president, and Mrs Hunter, ex-secretary of the Women's Co-operative Guild of Scotland. They were joined by Mrs Cameron Swan, superintendent of the high explosives department, Woolwich. The visit was arranged under the auspices of the French Ministry of Munitions, and had also the approval of the Ministry of Munitions for Britain. It extended over several days, and the party were personally convoyed to the various places of interest by officials of the French Ministry of Munitions.

The investigation was conducted from the general point of view of possibly increasing the British munitions output. Careful note was made of the number of women employed at the factories visited, the processes they were performing, and, in particular, methods of economising time, energy, and motor power, and thus increasing production.

The Scottish deputation took with them the proud consciousness that our own women workers here are doing their bit in munition factories, as elsewhere, faithfully and well. They have brought back this consciousness unimpaired, and in addition they feel strengthened for future effort by the knowledge that they form part of a great international army of women who are putting their very best into their work for the defence of their homes, their liberty, and their men at the front. It has been an additional inspiration, if such were needed at all, to our Scottish women workers to see the fervour with which their French sisters are also doing their share in the munition factories, and doing it so cheerfully. "Do you find your work tiring?" we asked sometimes as we went through the factories, and were always met with the response, "No, no, not at all," accompanied by a smile and an emphatic shake of the head. It was all "pour la patrie." In France, too, as in Scotland, employers and managers alike speak in the highest terms of the enthusiasm, reliability, and adaptability of their women workers. "Nous sommes très contents," was the reply made in every case by employers and managers to inquiries regarding the work of the women.

INTEREST IN CANTEEN SYSTEM.

Some of the new factories were splendidly equipped in respect not only to machinery and ventilation but in other provisions for the workers' comforts. One feature the French factories propose to copy from us very soon is the canteens. Managers were eager to hear about our arrangements, and we were delighted to give them the names and addresses of Glasgow ladies who have done such splendid work in this direction, and whom they are anxious to consult. The deputation were delighted by the great cordiality shown them on every hand, and the readiness with which information was placed at their disposal. In one factory the French workers had devised the pretty compliment of wearing small Union Jacks on the day of the deputation's visit. It seemed to be well understood in France that the present comradeship in arms was not a new bond but a revival of "the Auld Alliance" which had existed between France and Scotland since the seventeenth century. The deputation were much impressed by the extent to which labour-saving appliances had been adopted in French munition factories and the excellent organisation which prevailed. These two points were, in fact, the outstanding features of French munition factories.

INTERESTING INCIDENTS.

In addition to the visits paid to munition factories, certain other incidents met with during their visit will always remain vividly in the minds of the Scottish delegation. One was the National Military Review, held on the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille. Another was a visit paid to one of the devastated villages which in the early days of the war had suffered a brief occupation from the Germans. One of our official guides on this occasion was a distinguished historian and a professor of the Sorbonne. He had three boys at the front, and, like many other sons of France, he had given up his own post to do responsible work at the Ministry of Munitions. He had taken part in the work of re-establishing the fugitives in their own homes.

Paris is already busy with schemes of reconstruction. An interesting exhibition, to which Professor Geddes, of Edinburgh, has largely contributed, is now open in the Place de la Concorde, showing what may be described as "life-sized" models of houses, schools, and other edifices suitable for replacing those which have been so wantonly destroyed.

The concluding incident of the visit was a reception accorded to the delegates by M. Thomas, Minister of Munitions. Mature judgment and forcefulness might be regarded as the keynote of the munitions staff, of which M. Thomas is the centre. These men, one felt, had looked realities in the face, had counted the cost, and were going forward without either vainglorious boasting or expressed bitterness towards the enemy, but with a quiet determination to see things through.

The sustained fervour of the workers, the comradeship of all classes, the resolution of the great leaders of State, the ruined homes of the people, and the gallant bearing of the men from the front who had seen and faced the worst alike conveyed the eloquent message—"Carry on, carry on."

THE WOMEN OF FRANCE AND THE WAR.

REVISING UNJUST ESTIMATES.

By MARCEL PREVOST,
Of the French Academy.

"DAILY POST" AND "DAILY CHRONICLE" SPECIAL.

Before the coming of the Great War how often have I not deplored in silence the fact that England—a land in which I have often lived, a nation that I love and admire—should so little understand the women of France! The untiring propaganda of Germany had succeeded in making the English believe that the French people were a frivolous and pleasure-loving race without any national ideal, and quite ready to give up, for the sake of ease and amusement, all pretensions to a dominating influence in Europe. Those Englishmen, and there were many, who still felt some sympathy with us, even a sort of affection, would express it in the half-pitying tone in which one speaks of a man of genius who drinks, takes cocaine, or is otherwise going to the dogs.

To bring her English neighbours to revise this summary and unjust judgment France has already paid a heavy price in heroism, blood, and toil. The revision has been prompt and striking, and France is proud of her success. England has not hesitated to acknowledge she was wrong yesterday, and does not spare the expression of her clear-sighted admiration to-day.

ETHNICAL RESULTS.

You have at last, dear English people, looked at things with your own eyes, instead of through the deforming glasses fashioned for you across the Rhine. The sight of the abnegation, the tenacity, the courage, the spirit of self-sacrifice displayed by the soldiers of the Third Republic has conquered your hearts; and this fact is not the least of the ethnical results of the war which is going to modify all the races on earth.

For the future the English will understand the French; above all, the Frenchman under arms, the Frenchman at the front—next, and as a consequence, he will understand those who remain behind and, by means of a labour and an ingenuity which partake of the miraculous, manage to make good our previous want of preparedness.

But I cannot convince myself that the English as yet do real justice to the mothers, wives, and daughters of the soldiers they so cordially admire. The current prejudices against the Frenchwoman, prejudices which the Germans worked so strenuously to keep up—I wonder are they yet quite got rid of in England? I don't feel sure. I know, of course, that at least in war time you no longer condemn every Frenchwoman as a dressed-up doll, in short, wide skirts, tottering along on cloven hoofs, wearing a mad hat at a mad angle, thinking of nothing but smart clothes, restaurant teas, and music halls. But I cannot help thinking that the immense help given by the women of France to France at war is not yet altogether appreciated by you.

MOTHER LOVE.

If you want to understand in how great a proportion the Frenchwoman has contributed to the nation's self-sacrifice, I ask you to recall all that you have read, all that you yourselves have written, concerning the maternal passion which possessed the women of France during the long years of peace. Without exaggeration the Frenchwoman has more of the "mother" in her than have any of the other women of Europe. With fewer children as a rule, she concentrates on these a love which is more intense. The contrary of many other European women, she is a better mother than a wife. I don't say she is right in this, I simply state the fact. I need not remind you of the number of sons whom the women of France mourn to-day—an infinitely greater number than those lost to England. And still Death continues to take his toll, and the mothers of France foresee no end to their anguish. Yet ardent and exclusive as they are in their love for the

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The mothers of France, you may take it from me, could have crippled, had they wished it, and might even have broken down altogether, the national will to conquer. It is their stoicism which has rendered possible the long-drawn-out defence, and which will sustain it until the barbarians are overthrown. In this lies the powerful aid which the women of France contribute to the liberation of the modern world. No one can deny their especial merit in this, because their excess of "mother" feeling has been considered a fault. They have been reproached for it over and over again, above all in England, when French and British mothers were compared.

Those who before the war were the most devoted to dress and amusement, who appeared to think of nothing but bridge, tango-teas, and "first nights," flung themselves—the word is no whit too strong—into charitable work with the same enthusiasm which they showed yesterday for pleasure. All of these women—all, you understand—are among the best of our hospital nurses; I would even go so far as to say that these Society women are of all nurses the very best.

TAKING THE MAN'S PLACE.

To conclude, let us enter to the credit of the Frenchwoman her unremitting effort to replace, in the economic life of the nation, the men drained from it by the war. In our munition factories, just as in those of England, and perhaps even in a higher percentage, skilful feminine fingers bring us a much-prized help. I do not know whether in England, as in France, women have undertaken work needing manual strength. To-day in our foundries a great number of women swing the hammer and beat the iron. As for the peasant women, they simply stepped straight into the shoes of the husband, father, brother, called to arms. They plough, sow, reap, and gather in the vintage instead of the men. Thanks to them, France was able, after the first moments of stupor, to resume her daily task and carry on her industries. If the Germans imagine they have "bled us white," or have any chance of doing so, it is because they have not seen the Frenchwoman at work.

And now for a little story from my own province of Gascony, a mere trifle, yet with pathos in it, too. The last time I was there—I don't go often, as I am mobilised—I met the brave and good young wife of one of my peasant neighbours. I asked after her husband, who had been home on leave the previous week, and had now gone back to Hill 304, where the famous Gascony regiments have received much praise in General Petain's despatches.

"Well, Marie," said I, smiling, "you and he must have had a fine time together, eh?" She looked at me with a proud melancholy, in which love and vexation were curiously blended. "Ah, don't talk of it, Monsieur!" she answered. "The only time he cares for now is the time he gives to France!"

Could you add to these words the tone of voice in which they were uttered, I think you would have a suspicion of tears in your eyes, just as I had in mine.

Birmingham Post.
14.8.16.

French and English Women Munitioners.

I am told that French women munition workers are viewing with much interest the influx of English girls who, it is said, are, to the number of several thousands, to come to their assistance. The immediate occasion for this movement is understood to be the disinclination shown by unmarried women in France to engage in some of the processes involved in the manufacture of explosives, on the ground that it leads to a temporary discolouration of the skin. English girls, who have observed the same result, are apt to console themselves with the knowledge that they are earning more than ever previously. The presence of English side by side with French labour in the munition and other factories of North-West France already, however, has brought about an interchange of ideas which may have a far-reaching effect on the international industrial relations of the future.

Scotsman
19-12-16

THE FRENCH ARMY OF WOMEN WORKERS.—Professor Garnier, Paris, of the Lycée Henri IV. and the Ecole des Ponts et Chaussées, last night gave the first address of the winter course of the Franco-Scottish Society in Edinburgh. His subject was "The Work of French Women during the War." France, he said, had found her women prompt to answer the call to work. The energy and perseverance required during this gigantic struggle had far surpassed anything necessitated in former armed conflicts. The lecturer described the prominent part played by women in their new war-created occupations, where they filled places left vacant by men in nearly every walk of life—transport work, farming, management of shops, factory work, war industries, labour organisation, municipal work, administrative committees. He cited statistics supplied to him by the French Government Munitions Department of the number of women directly employed, which now exceeded 300,000, and referred to cases where large farms were wholly worked by women. There was an instance in Paris where a lady completed contracts for public works of 20 million francs, and now makes 3000 shells daily at her workshops. Before the war French women were not behind their foreign sisters in industrial, commercial, or intellectual work; but public opinion and legal recognition were slow to do them justice. The war and the splendid record they had achieved had forced the admiration of the public, and had already quickened the lagging step of the law, which hesitated at first to acknowledge the share which women could take in the work of the nation. Miss Lumsden, LL.D., occupied the chair, and urged that this country should not be behind France in discarding prejudice and enlisting all its available womanhood.

Daily Sketch.
1.1.1917

EIGHTPENNY LUNCHES.

French Government's Scheme for Feeding Women Workers.

From Our Special Correspondent.

PARIS, Sunday.—The French Government is taking charge of the feeding of its employees. The increasing price of food makes this very necessary.

Not satisfied with making provision for munition workers, the Government is now caring for the well-being of women workers in Ministries and other public offices. Arrangements have been made for clerks, typists and others employed in Government offices to obtain cheap meals. An hotel has undertaken to supply them with a simple lunch at 8d. per head.

At the office of the Ministry for Munitions a large number of women are employed. Since the beginning of this month they have been treated as soldiers. That is to say, they receive the same food as the troops: a plate of soup or a hors d'œuvre, meat, vegetables and dessert. They have no choice in meat. It is beef, always beef, cooked in different ways.

Daily Graphic. 2.7.1917 677/20

WOMAN-POWER.

THE EXAMPLE—AND THE DIFFERENCE—IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

BY CHRISTOBEL ELLIS.

What struck me the most on my return to England from Russia and the Balkans were the innumerable appeals for women workers, not only in the Press, but placarded about the streets. In no other country have I seen anything like it. In Russia, Serbia and Rumania everyone works in war-time as a matter of course, and the women know that their country requires their services. They do not wait to be asked to work and they do not wait to be canvassed. It is only just beginning to dawn upon us in England what it means for the men to be "fetched" and for the women to be "left" to carry on the work at home. A Serbian man can be exempted from taxation, but never from military service. In this country it is the opposite. When war breaks out in Serbia the men leave their farms and homesteads at a moment's notice. There is no quarrelling and bickering over tribunals and exemptions and classes and groups. As they go, the women automatically step into their places, pick up the tools, put their hands to the plough, and harness the oxen. The work goes on, and the industry of the country is maintained without a break, and, more than that, without a murmur. Serbia is essentially an agricultural country, more so really than any of the other Balkan States; so the work of the Serbian women affords us an interesting lesson when our own agriculture is being to some extent threatened by the shortage of labour.

Carrying-on as Usual.

I think I am right in saying that up to 1915, in spite of nearly four years of war, there was in Serbia hardly one acre less land cultivated than in 1911. Serbia was short of many things; even necessities (tea, sugar, matches, etc.) became almost worth their weight in gold; but the harvest of 1915 was above the average.

As far as I know, no one has ever asked the women of the Balkans to "release" the men. It is their natural instinct, for which one cannot find a better name than patriotism. It would seem to have been lost in this country through over-education, if we are compared with the semi-civilisation of Serbia. Perhaps if we broaden our ideas, and do not grudge learning a lesson from a small nation, it will revive.

The work of the women in Russia is perhaps less remarkable, as it is a far more enlightened country, and the standard of education is high. Here, again, in Russia, there is no need to appeal for workers. There may be, and I think there undoubtedly is, a lack of organisation; but the workers are there ready and eager for employment.

The Leisured Classes.

In the large towns in Russia the women are doing much the same as they are in England, only there is no outcry against the men going, and the necessity for general economy is more readily understood and is accepted as a matter of course. Probably no city in the world can boast of finer and more expensive shops than Moscow; but now, in war-time, the comparison between one of its world-famous arcades, where over 1,000 shops are found under one roof, and the shops in London, is startling. In London the shops are crowded beyond endurance, and at all times of the day young women are to be seen in hundreds, idly sauntering from counter to counter, discontentedly fingering the goods displayed, and complaining about the lack of novelties; whereas in Moscow the purchasers are few and far between: they hurry in and out during the luncheon hour, or while going to or from their work, to buy the few meagre necessaries of life. There is no lack of money in Russia, any more than there is here; but women of the class idling in England are working in other countries. The work of the women in Russian factories would fill many pages, and would not compare very favourably with the similar work done by Englishwomen; but it is the moneyed middle classes who have risen to the occasion (or shall we say to their responsibilities?) better in foreign countries than they have in England.

ITEM 677/21

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FRENCH MUNITION WORKERS' SACRIFICES AND AIMS.

A Message to British Workers from the French Minister of Munitions,

M. ALBERT THOMAS,

Delivered at the British Ministry of Munitions,

October 6th, 1915.

Published by the

MUNITIONS PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE,
6, Whitehall Gardens, London, S.W.

NOTE.

M. Albert Thomas, the French Under Secretary for War, is a typical son of French Democracy, which has " found itself " during the present crisis. A sturdy, thick-set figure, he has all the French " élan " and go, coupled with that sound common-sense and cheerfulness which is characteristic of the class that is born without any silver spoon in its mouth.

M. Thomas is the son of a baker, and was born in 1878 at Champigny-sur-Marne. To a remarkably quick intelligence he joined unremitting application, so that he was able at school and the university to take the highest possible degrees. He won many prizes, some of which took the form of money, which enabled him to gratify his passion for travel. He visited Siberia, Smyrna, and Constantinople, and then took a course of lectures at the University of Berlin.

Returning to Paris, he joined the staff of *L'Humanité* under Jaurès, with whom he worked in full agreement and close friendship; Jaurès being the undisputed leader of the French Labour Party both in Parliament and in the country. Young Thomas was considered as one of the coming and most promising men of French Socialism. Afterwards he became editor-in-chief of the *Revue Syndicaliste*. In the meantime he had become a Member of the Municipal Council of Champigny and then Mayor of his native town. In 1910 he became Deputy to the French Chamber, and at once took a prominent position in the Socialist Party.

When the War broke out, M. Thomas joined the Army as Lieutenant in a territorial regiment, which had to protect Paris before and during the Battle of the Marne. As early as February, 1915, he was asked by the Minister of War to help him in organizing and inspecting War Industries, and since May, 1915, he has been Under Secretary for Munitions. The collaborateur of Jaurès, the opponent of the Three Years' Law, and the personal friend of Bernstein and the German Revisionists, he was chosen above all others as most competent to look after the supplies of those deadly engines of destruction upon which so much depends. And right well has he justified the confidence placed in him by his fellow countrymen.

The representatives of Labour who were present to meet M. Albert Thomas, on the occasion referred to in this pamphlet, included the Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P. (President of the Board of Education), who presided; Mr. W. Brace, M.P. (Under Secretary of State for Home Affairs); Mr. G. H. Roberts, M.P. (Lord Commissioner of the Treasury); Mr. G. N. Barnes, M.P., Mr. C. Duncan, M.P., the Members of the Munitions Labour Supply Committee, the National Labour Advisory Committee, Representatives of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, and of the General Federation of Trade Unions. Sir H. Llewellyn Smith, K.C.B. (Secretary of the Ministry of Munitions) was also present.

TRANSLATION OF A SPEECH DELIVERED BY M. ALBERT THOMAS, THE FRENCH MINISTER OF MUNITIONS, AT THE MINISTRY OF MUNITIONS, ON THE 6th OCTOBER, 1915.

GENTLEMEN,—In the course of the conversations which my British colleague, Mr. Lloyd George, and I have had with regard to our different supplies and the mutual assistance which we can give to each other, by the exchange of machinery or of materials, our thoughts have often turned to those who are assisting us in manufacturing and increasing day by day the production of munitions.

Mr. Lloyd George has often been invited by me to come to France and to speak to our French workers, and to see with what sympathy, with what enthusiasm, they welcome the efforts made for months in England to increase supplies. And he knows how, for my part, it would have been a real pleasure to me, had my knowledge of English permitted it, to address a crowd of British workers, and to speak to them, as a friend—open-heartedly—of our thoughts and of our hopes. But though I cannot address a big meeting, I have welcomed very heartily the invitation which he was good enough to extend to me to speak to you, authorised representatives of the great British Labour organisations engaged on War work.

Efforts of French Munition Workers.

Several days ago we had at our Ministry of Public Works in Paris Mr. Hodge and Mr. Roberts, who came to tell us of the efforts made by the British workmen to attain the maximum output of munitions. I now wish to tell you very plainly of the admirable efforts of our French workers. On the day of mobilization the workshops were almost completely deserted. All the strongest men, all those who were the muscle and brain of the workshops, were mobilized, and the greater number of the workshops were closed. **The men had been mobilized, called to that military service which so many of them had been accustomed to criticise at our meetings and conferences. They had been mobilized, they the keenest of anti-militarists, the most active members of the International Labour Confederation. They had been mobilized, and were setting out to war with enthusiasm, in the knowledge that their country had been attacked.** Those who would never have tolerated aggression against another country, who would never have consented to provoke a war, were ready to sacrifice their lives for the defence of their homes and country. They went to fight in that spirit, knowing as we all do that the provocation was unjustifiable, and that they must all give their blood, their life, for the defence of the nation.

Without Rest or Holiday.

But at the end of only a few weeks the enormous consumption of ammunition at the Battle of the Marne revealed the necessity of organising, in the midst of war, an industrial programme which surpassed everything which, until then, could have been imagined necessary for the needs of the country. That is how it came about that workers who had set out to fight on the battlefield were suddenly called back to the workshops and are now doing their share as soldiers in the industrial army. They came back in the same frame of mind, they came back with the knowledge that there in the shops lay their duty to the nation. They came back with the idea that in the shops also, as they put it, "they would continue to fight the Boches," and it is with this idea that they have used all their strength to increase the output of munitions. I have known some who died at their work. I have known of admirable foremen spending their days and a great part of the nights in reorganising the workshops which were disorganised by mobilization. I have known of men who remained constantly at their task, beyond the usual

overtime, sacrificing their customary sleep. In all the workshops of France, from September to February, there were neither weekly rest days nor holidays. So long as the machinery was running the workers remained in the shops without rest or holiday. One day, however, they had to stop. Their efforts did not relax, but the machinery was tired, though the spirit of the workers was unbroken. And now, to take care of human strength, which has its limits, the men rest one day every fortnight or on Sunday mornings. They have then a moment's rest, a much needed respite.

Not a Single Strike in France.

Our workers were accustomed to meet in their Unions and to discuss and assert themselves in many matters. To-day they have one single aim. Need I tell you British trade unionists, whom I have so often admired —need I say that if in times of peace you brought about methodical organised strikes to obtain new advantages, we also had our strikes, and they were often sympathetic strikes, strikes on points of principle and *amour propre*? But since the War I affirm, with full knowledge, that there has not been a single strike in France, not even one of those little twenty-four hour strikes by means of which workpeople show their discontent. If here and there a disagreement arose it was sufficient to send to the place a Government representative or a friendly member of Parliament, or even one of the trade unionists who every day are sharing in the work for national defence; and a peaceful settlement was brought about at once.

We might have given orders; we could have introduced into the shops the military discipline which existed in principle; but that has not been found necessary or advisable, except in a few cases of quite insignificant character, where refractory workmen brought back from the front to the factory had to be threatened, as soldiers would be, with the practical joke of a night in the guard room. As Minister of Munitions I have received complaints from workers, who had said to me, " Such and such a foreman threatens to send us back to the front, but that is not a punishment; we will not permit him to speak of it as a punishment. We do our duty to the nation equally in the shops. If we are sent back to fight we shall accept the order as an honour." These are some features which illustrate the spirit of our French workers in munitions factories and workshops. All restrictions which they might have enforced, all Trade Union rules and customs which they could have insisted upon, especially in State factories, all were put aside.

Female Labour.

Some days ago, at St. Etienne, in a friendly meeting which I had with the members of the Union of State Workers, I spoke of the necessity of introducing female labour into the national factories. They reminded me of how for fifteen to twenty years they had resisted the introduction of women into the factories, and had even fought to prevent it. But now, with the guarantee which I gave them that for equal work there should be equal pay, to use the old Union claim, they consented to the entry of women into the St. Etienne workshops, and to-day several hundred women are already to be found employed there.

In these circumstances we do not, and cannot, forget the duty of the Government with regard to labour. I have written to my officers, to those who have control of works, that they must remember at all times that we are the guardians of the soldier-workers, and that, as in the case of the trade unionist concessions, it was their duty, with the authority of the State, to guard their interests and see that they were respected. Only a few days ago I had to make some manufacturers in the West of France observe agreements which they tried to break on account of the War.

Workers' Interests Safeguarded.

Also, I have ordered that there shall be exhibited in all factories a list of wages paid, in order that we may be assured that the wages of mobilized workers and of military workers are paid at the normal rates. I have also recommended that if hereafter the Unions are not able to meet as before, if Trade Union life can no longer remain the same, the military officers, some of them being Union men, should keep in daily touch with the local Trade Unions, and consult with them, whenever possible, on any questions connected with the organisation of the work.

That is why at the present moment—a thing hitherto unknown in France—a close co-operation between those who are representatives of discipline and authority and of those who were known as the defenders of the rights of the working classes has been closely established in a country which is profoundly convinced of the necessity of defending its soil and its threatened liberties. These two opposing elements are now united, and have been so in France for the last fourteen months. They are working harmoniously together in the organisation of national defence.

Such is the picture which I am anxious to place before you side by side with that shown to us in Paris by my friend, Mr. Roberts, M.P. He also has told you of the efforts made by the working classes of France since the beginning of the War. These efforts, these hopes, may surprise you. Are we really the same men who appeared in former days at the labour congresses as the most stubborn opponents of militarism, who protested against the heavy burden of the great regular armies, and were by no means reconciled to all the trying obligations imposed by universal military service, using both labour and political organisations for criticism and protest? Yes, we are the same men who to-day voluntarily impose upon ourselves all these burdens. We are conscious of what they mean, and know that in working for them we are working for what had been the constant end of our efforts before the war. **The end is this, British workers, an end which we have always had in common in our workers' battles and in our trade unionist and socialist struggles, to secure better conditions for the working classes and greater liberty for the entire world. We seek to realise that universal peace for which we have been striving with such fervent hopes. Our end is a living humanity, freed from economic oppression, a liberty of thought assured to the human spirit in its progress to higher ideals. To this end our united efforts are to-day directed as in the past.**

French Sacrifices for Humanity.

At the hour of mobilization the French working classes went forward with enthusiasm. Their thoughts were the same in every case—that they must fight with their whole energy in this War, which was to be the last of all wars. They must make the fullest sacrifices to gain liberty for the whole world, to win a happier life and a greater freedom for the proletariat of all countries. Such was the deepest thought of our workers as they set out in August of last year; it has remained in their hearts ever since. Recently a meeting took place in Paris of one of the sections of our Union. Amongst the workmen there was one who had grown discouraged and complained. He said that the War was long and painful, that grief and mourning were increasing around him, and that at all costs they must return to a policy of international agreement. While he was speaking there were signs of astonishment and protest. At the back of the hall in which the meeting was held was a soldier who was home on four days' leave, and, as a member of the Union, had come to the meeting with his wife and son, a youngster aged twelve. Hearing the complaints made by

the man of little faith the soldier said: "Comrades, I am surprised to hear what is now being said. We who have been with the colours know all about the fatigue, the suffering and demoralisation of trench warfare, but we are to-day in the same mind as we were on the day of mobilization. I went to fight in order that my son here might never have to go to war. If I am to die, then I shall die, but I do not want him to see war. To avoid this, we will make every sacrifice—our liberty, our blood, our life." This man was prepared to sacrifice himself to obtain that which we all desire—mankind living at peace, and no longer menaced, as it has been for the last forty years, by German militarism, mankind at last able to realise its dream of emancipating the working classes and of liberating the whole world.

It is that emancipation, that high ideal, that we must reach. There must be but one thought in our minds—one only—to make every sacrifice, with the certainty that we are doing so in order to gain our ideal, which no evil power will henceforth be able to wrest from us.

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WOMEN'S WORK IN WAR TIME.

ACTION TAKEN IN DERBY.

With the object of forming a local Women's Volunteer Reserve, a meeting was held in the Guild Hall, Derby, on Monday evening, when there was a very large attendance of ladies, and the enthusiasm shown augurs well for the success of the movement.

In opening the meeting, the Mayoress (Mrs. Joseph Hill), who presided, said the formation of a Women's Volunteer Reserve had found great favour throughout England, and they in Derby did not want to be left behind in this matter. Personally she felt that if a battalion was formed in this town it would be a good thing for the girls, for they would be taught discipline, and be less a source of anxiety to their mothers, who were anxious about their daughters walking up and down the streets. There would be room in the battalion for every section of women and girls in the town, and she took it that the large attendance that evening proved that they were already interested. She had received letters from a number of ladies who were willing to help, and also encouraging letters from people who were willing to act as instructors, and she hoped the movement would be successful. (Applause).

Mrs. Beatty (of London), who was attired in a smart khaki costume similar to that worn by members of the Women's Volunteer Reserve in London, then addressed the meeting upon the objects of the movement and the necessity for the formation of such bodies throughout the country. They were passing through such a terrible national crisis, she said, that there was no room for any decent man who could possibly get away to be in England now, and it was for the women to be ready to do something more than they had done already to assist their country and help the men to go and do their duty. She referred to the work which had already been done by the Women's Emergency Corps, and said the Women's Volunteer Reserve was organised very much in the same way as the men's, and they trained very much on the same lines. Women as a rule were not used to discipline, but she assured them that drilling would make a wonderful difference to them in many ways, especially in the matter of health, and they would find that the thin ones would fill out and the fat ones thin down by regular drilling and route marching. (Laughter). It was very necessary that every woman should know something about nursing and be able to render first-aid assistance, and it was up to the Women's Volunteer Reserve to have

A NUMBER OF WOMEN TRAINED

so as to be able to assist the nurses who were so nobly doing their duty. She spoke of the value of camp sanitation classes, of the importance of learning how to keep a camp healthy, of the pleasures of trench digging, the value of carpentry for training the eye and the hands, and added that women could also be most useful as signallers and telegraphists in case of emergency. As more and more men were being called up women would inevitably be required to fill their places, and they could best prepare themselves to do this by a proper course of training. The way the women could assist in case of invasion was clear, and there was no doubt that if they had had trained women in Belgium to keep order some of the ill-advised things that occurred in that country would not have happened. They wanted women trained to be useful in case of emergency, and by belonging to such a corps girls could work off their superfluous energy, and at the same time be taught self-respect, self-control, obedience to duty, and discipline. (Applause).

Forms of the condition of enrolment were then handed round, and the Mayoress stated that those who did not fill them up that night could do so at their leisure, and forward them to her either by post or hand during the next few days. They hoped in a few days to have proper headquarters, and secretaries in assistance, and they already had an instructor and an honorary medical officer.

Questions having been invited, Miss Petty asked if recruits had to provide their own uniforms, and if so what was the cost.

Mrs. Beatty replied that this depended upon conditions, and when funds permitted allowances were made in exceptional cases. They did not find the provision of a uniform by the girls any hindrance to their joining. In some places the coat and skirt could be obtained for 23s. 6d. Answering another question, she explained how a company was formed, and said that officers would be chosen for

THEIR ABILITY TO DRILL

and to handle a number of girls. The call upon the time of a member was two hours a week, but more if they could spare it.

Answering Miss Petty, Mrs. Beatty denied that she had advocated the training of women to take the place of actual soldiers, or that the movement inculcated the spirit of hate. That had never been in her mind, and she hoped she had not left that impression in any other mind. Shooting was practised as a recreation, and not to be used against other people. They did not want women going about doing silly things, but to know how to control themselves and other people (Applause).

Miss MacArthur, by invitation of the Mayoress, referred to the war service for women movement, and said they were forming a register at the Derby Labour Exchange of girls and women over 17 years of age who would come forward as willing subjects to do work to enable men to go into actual war work. Men would be required more and more to go to the front, and to provide munitions of war, and women would be required to take up and carry on the business of the nation. They wanted in Derby to show Lord Kitchener that they were loyal, and they wanted to register the names of all women who were prepared to give up part of their time to help in the work. While they might not be called up to do anything, she hoped they would show willingness to assist and do their best to make the register as large and representative as possible.

The Mayoress expressed the hope that the women of Derby would come forward and show their desire to help the country in the present great struggle, and that both the forms for the Volunteer Reserve and the War Service for Women would be extensively signed.

A number of forms were signed and handed in at the close of the meeting.

WOMEN AND THE WAR.

VOLUNTEER RESERVE FORMED AT DERBY.

The desire of the women of Derby to take a more active part in coping with the emergency created by the war was brought to fruition last evening in the formation of a battalion of the Women's Volunteer Reserve, which is a counterpart of the Home Guards. A meeting for the purpose, held at the Guildhall, was both largely attended and enthusiastic.

Wearing the khaki uniform of the London corps, Mrs. Beatty explained the objects and working of the Reserve, and laid stress on its utility not only to the individual member in improving her health and physique and bringing her under discipline, but also to the nation in providing an organised body capable of useful service in the event of invasion and in freeing men as far as possible for military duties.

The chair was occupied by the Mayoress (Mrs. J. Hill), who recognised in the movement a valuable means of promoting self-control and discipline, and of removing the anxiety which many women, especially those who were mothers, were feeling in regard to the girls who spent their leisure in the streets to their own detriment and the benefit of no one. There was room in it for girls of every class.

The services of drill instructors have already been obtained for the battalion, and it is hoped to secure headquarters in the centre of the town, with outlying centres for the different companies.

At the close of the meeting Miss MacArthur, of the Labour Exchange, was given the opportunity of inviting additions to the register of women willing to undertake war work, which register, she said, was at present of only small proportions.

North Mail.
30 III. 15.

WOMEN'S VOLUNTEER RESERVE.

Sir,—You published recently a letter from the organising secretary of the Women's Volunteer Reserve in London. I would have replied to that letter sooner than this had I not been out of town.

I am glad to have at last received a definite reply to my query as to whether it is the intention that members shall be employed abroad in the lines of communication; it is stated that there is no question of this happening as the W.V.R. was raised for service in England.

The secretary thinks that first-aid, nursing, sanitation, signalling, and despatch riding are well within a woman's scope. I agree, for instance, that nursing is, but it is only hindering the authorities if these nurses are not properly trained with a thorough whole time training. This has been pointed out several times in the leading medical journals. Signalling and despatch riding are not within a woman's scope, because they are carried out mainly on service in the field.

Why, may I ask, is rifle shooting practised? This cannot be put to any use well within a woman's scope.

I do not sneer at the uniform, but am sorry that there is no other form of workmanlike kit except on very much the same lines as the military uniform.

The Board of Trade have published a notice inviting all women who are prepared, if need be, to take employment of any kind—industrial, agricultural, clerical, etc.—to register their names as being so prepared. Here, then, is an opportunity for war service; whilst waiting for this service members could be trained in nursing and first aid, and then offer themselves individually. In this way there would be far more chance of their services being accepted than there ever will be if they wait for sanction from the War Office to the Women's Volunteer Reserve.—Yours, etc.,

WILFRID G. C. LAMBERT.

Newcastle, March 29, 1915.

Derby Telegraph
30/3. 15

WOMEN AND THE WAR.

VOLUNTEER RESERVE FORMED IN DERBY

Women between the ages of 18 and 50 who are willing to serve their country in the hour of need were invited to attend a public meeting held at the Guild Hall on Monday evening, with the object of forming a Women's Volunteer Reserve in Derby, and the response was so gratifying that the success of the movement is assured. The attendance was very large and representative, and consisted entirely of members of the fair sex (with the exception of two representatives of the Press) whilst considerable enthusiasm was evinced in the proceedings.

The Mayoress of Derby (Mrs. Joseph Hill) presided, and in opening the meeting said the formation of a Women's Volunteer Reserve had found great favour throughout England, and they in Derby felt that they did not want to be left behind in this matter. Personally she felt that if a battalion was formed in the town it would be a good thing for the girls. If these joined they would be taught discipline, and it would be a good thing for their mothers who were anxious about their daughters walking up and down the streets. Some of them seemed to spend all their leisure hours in the streets to their own detriment, and it was desirable that an effort should be made to get these to take an interest in the movement. There would be room in the battalion for every section of women and girls in the town, and she took it that the large attendance that evening proved that they were already interested. She had received letters from a number of ladies who were willing to help, and also encouraging letters from people who were willing to act as instructors, and she hoped the movement would be successful. (Applause.)

Mrs. Beatty (of London), who was attired in a smart khaki costume similar to that worn by members of the Women's Volunteer Reserve in London, then addressed the meeting upon the objects of the movement and the necessity for the formation of such bodies throughout the country. They were passing through such a terrible national crisis, she said, that there was no room for any decent man who could possibly get away to be in England now, and it was for the women to be ready to do something more than they had done already to assist their country and help the men to go and do their duty. She referred to the work which had already been done by the Women's Emergency Corps, and said the Women's Volunteer Reserve was organised very much in the same way as the men's, and they trained very much on the same lines. Women as a rule were not used to discipline, but she assured them that drilling would make a wonderful difference to them in many ways, especially in the matter of health, and they would find that the thin ones would fill out and the fat ones thin down by regular drilling and route marching. (Laughter.) It was very necessary that every woman should know something about nursing and be able to render first-aid assistance, and it was up to the Women's Volunteer Reserve to have a number of women trained so as to be able to assist the nurses who were so nobly doing their duty. She spoke of the value of camp sanitation classes, of the importance of learning how to keep a camp healthy, of the pleasures of trench digging, the value of carpentry for training the eye and the hands, and added that women could also be most useful as signallers and telegraphists in case of emergency. As more and more men were being called up, and those who had "slacked" so far would not be able to do so much longer, women would inevitably be required to fill their places, and they could best prepare themselves to do this by a proper course of training, remembering that if they could give up some of their time

their duty. She spoke of the value of camp sanitation classes, of the importance of learning how to keep a camp healthy, of the pleasures of trench digging, the value of carpentry for training the eye and the hands, and added that women could also be most useful as signallers and telegraphists in case of emergency. As more and more men were being called up, and those who had "slacked" so far would not be able to do so much longer, women would inevitably be required to fill their places, and they could best prepare themselves to do this by a proper course of training, remembering that if they could give up some of their time to enable a man to assist his country they were doing their duty to their country. (Applause.) The way the women could assist in case of invasion was clear, and there was no doubt that if they had had trained women in Belgium to keep order some of the ill-advised things that occurred in that country would not have happened. They wanted women trained to be useful in case of emergency, such as a bombardment, and they felt that if men saw women banded together prepared to do their part, it would incite the men to do theirs. (Applause.) She ridiculed the suggestion that they had adopted a khaki costume in order to ape the men, and said they had chosen that colour because it was more serviceable than blue, and said that by belonging to such a corps girls could work off their superfluous energy, and at the same time be taught self-respect, self-control, obedience to duty, and discipline, adding that they must put the best of them in the corps to get the best out of it. (Applause.)

Forms of the conditions of enrolment were then handed round, and the Mayoress stated that those who did not fill them up that night could do so at their leisure, and forward them to her either by post or hand during the next few days. They hoped in a few days to have proper headquarters, and secretaries in assistance. They already had an instructor and an honorary medical officer, and so they were going on.

Questions having been invited, Miss Petty asked if recruits had to provide their own uniforms, and if so what was the cost.

Mrs. Beatty replied that this depended upon conditions, and where funds permitted allowances were made in exceptional cases. They did not find the provision of a uniform by the girls any hindrance to their joining. In some places the coat and skirt could be obtained for 23s. 6d. Answering another question, she explained how a company was formed, and said that officers would be chosen for their ability to drill and to handle a number of girls. The call upon the time of a member was two hours a week, but more if they could spare it.

Miss Petty: Are you careful to eliminate the war spirit from the movement?

Mrs. Beatty: What do you mean?

Miss Petty: You referred to the slackers. It is a difficult thing to get men to carry on the civilian life of the country, and that is quite as necessary as to get men to go out and kill their enemies. You spoke as though it were necessary to train women to take the place of actual soldiers, and if this movement inculcates the spirit of hate I am afraid I do not quite approve of it.

Mrs. Beatty: If I have given that impression my speech has utterly failed. That has never been in my mind, and I hope I have not left that impression in any other mind. We practise shooting as a recreation, and not to be used against other people. We don't want women going about doing silly things, but to know how to control themselves and other people. (Applause.)

At this stage Miss MacArthur, by invitation of the Mayoress, referred to the war service for women movement, and said they were forming a register at the Derby Labour Exchange of girls and women over 17 years of age who would come forward as willing subjects to do work to enable men to go into actual war work. Men would be required more and more to go to the front, and to provide munitions of war, and women would be required to take up and carry on the business of the nation. They wanted in Derby to show Lord Kitchener that they were loyal, and they wanted to register the names of all women who were prepared to give up part of their time to help in the work. While they might not be called up to do anything, she hoped they would show willingness to assist and do their best to make the register as large and representative as possible.

The Mayoress expressed the hope that the women of Derby would come forward and show their desire to help the country in the present great struggle, and that both the forms for the Volunteer Reserve and the War Service for Women would be extensively signed.

Forms were freely distributed, and a number signed and handed in at the close of the meeting.

The North Mail 31. V. 15

678/2 678

SKIRT AND SADDLE: NEWCASTLE WOMEN VOLUNTEERS IN TRAINING.

The khaki-uniformed members of the Newcastle Women's Volunteer Reserve made their first appearance in the city yesterday at riding exercise. The object of the ladies is to equip themselves to occupy posts which may release men for military duty, and one part of their preparations is to accustom themselves to riding and grooming horses. The side-saddle, it will be noted, has been vetoed, with the result that much more rapid progress in handling the horse has been made than is usually the case when ladies are the pupils. In the third picture is Mr Colin Forbes, the riding master.

The Birmingham Daily Post. 30/6/15

WOMEN AND FARM WORK

DEMANDS FROM ALL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY.

INFLUENTIAL MEETING IN BIRMINGHAM.

A largely attended meeting was held at the Birmingham Council House, yesterday, under the auspices of the Women's Volunteer Reserve and the National Political League, to consider the best method of organising women's help to meet the shortage of labour on the land. The Lady Mayoress (Mrs. Bowater) presided, and amongst those present were the Countess of Warwick, Lady Isobel Margesson, the Earl and Countess of Dartmouth, the Earl of Craven, Mrs. Hopkins (colonel of the Women's Reserve), Lady Cobham, Miss Farquharson, Miss Hamilton, and Captain Pierson Webber.

Letters of apology were received from the Duchess of Rutland, Lady Deerhurst, Lady Denman, Lady Hindlip, Lord and Lady Willoughby de Broke, Mrs. Joseph Chamberlain, Miss Beatrice Chamberlain, and the Earl and Countess of Plymouth. Lady Plymouth wrote that her husband thought it a very good suggestion that landlords and others who could should give facilities for students, so that when they were needed a number of women would be ready to take up the work, and he would do all he could to help in the matter. (Applause.)

The Board of Agriculture reporter for North-west Warwickshire wrote that he had not yet found acute shortage of labour, but it undoubtedly existed in many districts. He thought the greatest difficulty would be the temporary housing accommodation.

The Lady Mayoress said she was most anxious that this work should be taken up very heartily. because she was quite sure it was necessary. At this time we ought to cultivate every bit of land we had, so as not to depend too much upon goods from abroad; and besides, it was a good thing to keep our money in England as much as we could. She thought the two points they ought to get information upon that day was how women could be trained, and to get the farmers' wives, if possible, to take up the matter of housing them and looking after them. If they could only get the farmers' wives on their side they would do very good work.

The Training Difficulty.

Miss Broadhurst (London) said unless great centres like Birmingham took up this matter, and unless they could have throughout the country a strong public opinion, much of the work that could be done would not be done, and England would be the loser. Land in this country was now left without the necessary labour, and we were faced with an actual shortage of food as well as other conditions. There was therefore a call to those who could perform this work. It was a call in a very real sense to women, because although boys had been called out to do the work, boys were unskilled and irresponsible, and could not do much of the work that had to be done. Although many of the older men were left on the land, there were not sufficient of them. How could women meet this call? When the call came women found themselves in a great difficulty. Some of them saw there would be a difficulty, and urged authorities to train women and look forward, but they would not do so. Their organisation had been training women since the beginning of the war to face the difficulty, but nevertheless they were not in any sense meeting it fully. The difficulty was far greater than they had been able to cope with. They had now demands from every part of the country for women workers. There was much work that they could send women to, but there was a great deal of work to be done that women were not trained to do, and she thought they had better face that squarely. Three or four weeks' training would have enabled thousands of women to handle farm machinery, but they could not get that training, and consequently were now faced with an enormous difficulty.

According to a recent compilation, there were 200,000 fewer head of cattle in the country now than this time last year, and there was an even greater deficiency of pigs. In Ireland the number of milch cows was less by 40,000 and the number of sows by 11,000. The farmers had been selling their cattle and pigs because of the labour difficulty, and to some extent because of the temptation of the high prices they could get. Some people said there was no shortage, but girls were engaged as a rule the very same day they concluded their training. Conditions were going to be far worse in the future. How were they going to cope with the situation when, at the end of the harvest, more labourers went from the land? They were bound to have women, and skilled women, or they could

difficulty would be the temporary housing accommodation.

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Short Training Discounted.

The Countess of Warwick expressed the opinion that three or four weeks' training would be of no use in getting women to handle farm machinery. Women could not go to farmers as skilled persons after four to six weeks' training; it was not possible. Real training would last for three years. She agreed that after three months' training a farmer would be able to teach women a great deal more; that was, if they had the groundwork and the love for the thing. She thought a love for the thing was a very important matter, but did not agree that a lot of unskilled labour was at all acceptable to farmers.

Lord Dartmouth said what they really wanted was training and education, and they must get rid of prejudices. They needed three things: getting the farmer to realise that his work would be well done; getting the man who went from the land to realise that if a woman took his place he was not going to be permanently ousted from his job; and getting a woman who took his place to realise that she was going to be treated fairly. (Applause.)

Miss Broadhurst, replying to the observations of the Countess of Warwick, said she had not meant to deprecate the value of training for farm work; but they were faced with an emergency, and in meeting that emergency had taken the only possible way.

The subject was discussed by the meeting generally, and one farmer expressed the opinion that the chief difficulty on the land now was the lack of that muscle and brawn necessary for the performance of heavy work.

Lady Isobel Margesson announced that the Lady Mayoress had formed a Land Council Centre for the Midlands, under her own chairmanship, and Mrs. Alfred Wiggin had consented to be the vice-chairman. The idea of the committee was that representatives of the districts around Birmingham should serve on it, and each do his or her best to advocate organisation in farming in those districts.

Farmers present at the meeting were invited to hand in their names if agreeable to take women for training on the land.

678/4

The Standard – 24. 8. 15.

WOMEN'S LEGION.

THE NEED FOR LEISURED VOLUNTEERS.

MANY FORMS OF WORK.

To the Editor of "The Standard."

Sir,—Just a year ago, when the war cloud had first descended on England and war work was in its infant days, the Women's Volunteer Reserve came into being. Mrs. Evelina Haverfield and Miss Decima Moore, realising the need for a quasi-military organisation, which would train and discipline women for all kinds of work, were the orginators of the scheme, and the object of the Reserve is now exactly what it was in August, 1914, "to provide a trained and disciplined body of women whose services can be offered to the State at any time."

From a small beginning the organisation has steadily increased its membership until there are more than 3000 recruits in England and 21 country branches. Nor has the Reserve confined its energies to England alone. Lady Inverclyde, of Castle Wemyss, has inaugurated a branch in Scotland, and already the recruits make an imposing number. In Vancouver and at Winnipeg flourishing centres are already formed, owing to the keenness and excellent work of Dr. Scarlett-Synge, Mrs. Haverfield's sister, and New York and Montreal are soon to follow suit.

During the past year several members have served abroad in various capacities; Mrs. Haverfield, Major Holme, and Dr. Scarlett-Synge are now in Serbia working in a hospital, while Second Lieutenant Miller, Miss Decima Moore herself, and a good many of the rank and file have assisted to run canteens in France. In the British Isles the work has been varied and useful, comprising canteens in London, Birmingham, Newcastle, and Glasgow (mainly run in munition centres), orderly work in various military hospitals, the driving of ambulances for the R.A.M.C. in Newcastle, the supply of tramcar drivers at Newcastle and Blackpool, the entire work of hospital gardens at Cheltenham, recruiting for the Army in almost every district where a branch is situated, helping to collect for the Red Cross National Penny Fund, and to work the National War Register.

On the departure of Mrs. Haverfield for Serbia Mrs. Charlesworth became colonel of the Reserve, and it is largely owing to her energy and capable management that so much success has been obtained. The offices and headquarters removed in July last to 15, York-place, Baker-street, and Lady Battersea has allowed us the use of the ball-room at Surrey House, Marble Arch, for drills and meetings.

UNIFORM AND SALUTES.

There has been a good deal of discussion in the papers lately with regard to women's uniforms and the question of saluting in the streets, and I should like to take this opportunity of making our position clear on this matter. The uniform is merely adopted because a serviceable dress of some kind which shall be the same for all is absolutely necessary in a large body of people, and the khaki colour was chosen as least likely to show dirt. The saluting question is easily disposed of, as none of the W.V.R. salutes Army officers in the streets, and would never do so unless ordered by the authorities.

The great need of the W.V.R. at the present time is for leisured women who can undertake canteen and orderly work, as so many of our girls are at business all day and can only give up their evenings.

In view of the fact that every day renders it more necessary for women to take the place of men at home, in order to release the men for service abroad, Lady Londonderry, who is the colonel-in-chief of the W.V.R., was most anxious to extend the scope of the organisation. At her request a general meeting of the corps was held at Londonderry House, and the result of this meeting led to the formation of the Women's Legion. It was felt that many people were able and willing to undertake various forms of work which could not be run on the same quasi-military lines—including regular drill—which forms an important part of the training of the Reserve. A constitution was drawn up and a Central Council appointed, which is responsible for the work of the whole organisation, with Lady Londonderry as president. Two honorary treasurers were elected, the Earl of Chesterfield and Mr. Frank Chaplin, of Robarts' Bank. Mrs. Charles Henderson is the acting treasurer.

WORK OF THE LEGION.

The work of the legion is divided into several sections. There is the original and parent body, the Women's Volunteer Reserve, which also carries on the canteen work, assisted by an auxiliary body of workers from the legion. These begin work at the end of this month at the London Docks with a motor kitchen, working under the auspices of the Y.M.C.A. Munition Workers' Canteen Committee. Lady Askwith is in charge of the dock area of this committee. The commandant of the canteen section of the legion is Mrs. Charlesworth, and the chairman Mrs. Maguire. Ladies of the Y.M.C.A. Canteen Committee are also co-operating with Mrs. Maguire in this section.

Other sections comprise an ambulance section, a cookery section, and a general working section. The cookery section has undertaken to supply trained cooks where wanted to replace men, these women having all volunteered for war service, and in most cases having signed the register at the Board of Trade Labour Exchange. Some of these women are already working at the military convalescent homes, and are paid for their services.

In view of the wide scope of the work undertaken, it is obvious that expenses are becoming increasingly heavy, and any addition to the funds would be more than welcome. All particulars of the Women's Legion can be obtained at headquarters, or by writing direct to the president at Londonderry House, Park-lane.—I am, Sir, yours truly,

E. D. SMITHETT, Organising Secretary.

Headquarters, 15, York-place, Baker-street.

Wadey Times & Leader.

24. 8. 15.

WOMEN'S WAR-WORK.

Activities of the Volunteer Reserve and Legion.

"I did my share" is the motto of the Women's Volunteer Reserve and its offshoot, the Women's Legion, the headquarters of which are at 15, York-place, Baker-street, W. The Women's Volunteer Reserve, among their many activities, are managing a hospital in Serbia, and canteens in London, Birmingham, Newcastle, and Glasgow. They have undertaken orderly work in various military hospitals, the driving of ambulances for R.A.M.C. in Newcastle, the supply of tram drivers at Newcastle and Blackpool, and the entire work of hospital gardens at Cheltenham.

The Women's Legion assist the Volunteer Reserve in canteen work. Work will be begun at the end of this month at the London Docks with a motor kitchen, working under the auspices of the Y.M.C.A. Munition Workers' Canteen Committee. There are also an ambulance section, a cookery section, and a general working section. The cookery section has undertaken to supply trained cooks, where wanted, to replace men, these women having all volunteered for war service. Some are already working at the Military Convalescent Homes, and are paid for their services.

The great need of the W.V.R. at the present time is for leisured women who can undertake canteen and orderly work. In view of the wide scope of the duties undertaken it is obvious that expenses are becoming increasingly heavy, and any addition to the funds would be more than welcome.

The Picture World - 9. 12. 15.

BIRMINGHAM SHELL GIRLS HELPING THE NATION.

Two thousand girls have their dinner together in the huge dining hall of a munitions factory.

Shell girls in their khaki and blue overalls waiting for their meals.

The members of the Women's Volunteer Reserve give their services.

These pictures, taken during a dinner-hour, show Birmingham shell girls happy and healthy. The works' kitchens are models, and are managed and conducted voluntarily by ladies of each district. The workers can have meals cheaper at the works than at home.

The Weekly Dispatch 5/3/16.

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THE PLACE OF WOMEN IN WAR.

Legion of Workers a National Necessity.

By the MARCHIONESS OF LONDONDERRY.

MODERN war, by dint of its modernism, is reverting to primitive conditions. It has already brought back the obsolete methods of attack and defence. On sea we have privateers as of old, and open cases of piracy are committed every day. On land we have the grenade, the dagger, and the helmet.

From our point of view, even more imoprtant, it is restoring those social conditions of the remote or barbaric past, when war called for every able-bodied man of the tribe or nation and none remained in village or city except the women and children in charge of the old men.

War to-day is not between professional armies; it is waged by the people themselves. More than that, it has come to be waged by the people irrespective of sex. The place of women in war has been revolutionised. Hers is no longer the lot of biding at home, waiting and weeping while the man fights; she has, as never before, an opportunity offered her to help them in a more tangible manner. It is not enough now that she should nurse, or sew; a hundred other spheres of national employment are opening for her every day. Women have to work at munitions, to fill the empty places in the offices, on the railways, 'busses, and trams, in the field; they have, in effect, to do man's work if they would not see the national machine stop running altogether.

The Marchioness of Londonderry.

HOW THEY MAY HELP.

When the war broke out, no one probably realised the extent to which the services of women would be necessary. None, outside a very few, thought that Britain would have to send five million men into the field. Yet, even in those early days, women were clamorous to be allowed to help. Lately things have altered; the cry now is to the women that they should help. What they asked for as a privilege fifteen months ago has now become an urgent national necessity.

I believe that, much as they deplore the reason of it, women are proud and glad that their help is wanted and that they can take an active part in the national scheme. Many are doing their share already, more are ready and willing to follow their example; but, and this the trouble, they do not quite know how to set about it. They are not sure in what direction their abilities point, nor where their help is needed, and even when these difficulties are solved they do not know to whom to apply for employment.

The Women's Legion, of which I am president, has been established to meet this difficulty. It exists solely to organise the energies of women. It is entirely non-political, and devoid of class distinctions or religious restrictions. Its object is to provide a capable and efficient body of women whose services can be offered to the State as required to take the place of men needed in the firing line or in other capacities. Women can join one or other of the four sections: 1. General. 2. Motor transport and ambulance. 3. Cookery and canteen. 4. Agricultural.

WORK IN SOLDIERS' HOMES.

The general section requires a little explanation. It was formed with the object of securing as members those women who have had no special technical training but who "want to do something," as well as those who can only give part of their time to the service of the country. Such women can help by providing food for canteens, by helping in the canteen an afternoon or two a week, and by working in the homes of soldiers, sailors, and munition workers.

In this latter direction I am now convinced there is a great work to be done, not only in the homes of the rank and file, but in those of officers as well. Many men have made great pecuniary sacrifices in order to fight; their wives are left badly off, servants have to be reduced or given up altogether. A little help in the housework will do much to relieve the strain on the housewife, overworked with unaccustomed toil. The wife of the soldier or sailor can add to her income by going out to work if she knows the children are being cared for, and thus the girl who minds them is helping her country. Without entering into detail regarding the other sections of the organisation, it may be pointed out that our object is not only to get work for women; we have it in our minds also to help the employer by sending to him women with some guarantee of fitness and qualifications for their work. It will not only lighten his task of selection of the most efficient. Time, money, and worry will be saved, and we can afford none of them.

AN EVER-WIDENING FIELD.

Our operations will be directed from London, but they will not be confined to London. Already we are working in other large centres, and new local branches are in course of formation. The prospects are encouraging; an ever-widening field of usefulness opens before us, and willing helpers are found to take their places in it. But there is room and to spare for more, and still more. Women who want to join one of our sections in order to find work to do, employers who want to find workers, all those who desire to help on the movement need only apply to the secretary at our headquarters, 72, Upper Berkeley-street, W.

It is, I suppose, impossible for anyone in these days to write on such a subject as this without concluding with an appeal for financial aid—in fact, begging. I beg those who want to work to become members. I invite those who have work to offer to give our members a chance. And lastly, I beg those who are in neither of these categories, but recognise the national necessities, to help us with money. But for the zeal of volunteer helpers we could not have gone so far as we have; to go further larger resources are necessary.

The Birmingham Post
27/2/15

THE INFLUENCE OF WOMEN IN WAR TIME.

CHURCH PARADE OF THE BIRMINGHAM VOLUNTEER RESERVE.

The existence of the Women's Volunteer Reserve has been fully justified. Though not actually on "war service," the members are in a variety of ways rendering valuable assistance in the prosecution of the war. Yesterday the Birmingham Reserve held a church parade. The women assembled at Curzon Hall, and, headed by the band of the 8th Warwickshire Regiment, marched to the Cathedral. Col. B. Hopkins was in command, and wore the order recently conferred upon her by the King of Serbia. Detachments were present from the districts surrounding the city.

The Bishop, in an address, said in the past a great many women had escaped from taking their full part in public life because the consensus of opinion was that it had no concern for them. One of the results of this terrible war was that in the future woman would take her proper part in public life, and it would not be possible for her t olead a comparatively useless existence. In a vague sort of way the world had recognised the position of women. If the powers of evil were to speak they would say, "Let us have the women and we shall bring the whole world to destruction." Women, it had been said, was either the best, the strongest, and the purest influence in the world, or she was the worst influence, and she had he rspecial power in that she was—though it seemed an absurd thing to say—the protecting influence, the strongest influence in the world. It was woman who strengthened spirituality. At critical moments in the world's history woman had, generally speaking, come forward either on the very best and most righteous side or on the lowest and most degrading side. Her influence had not always been duly recognised. Woman, as a sex, has been kept apart, though individually women had, of course, taken a strong and vigorous place in the world's history. It was said that woman's place was in the home; t was her kingdom, where she was to be supreme. Quite true. The higher the civilisation the more absolute in the home did the rule of the wife and the mother become, and the less did physical force become a determining factor. He hoped another result of this war would be that women who had homes would care more for those homes. One of the difficulties of to-day with regard to many women whose husbands were at the front was that they did not realise that upon them now rested the full responsibility of the home. He hoped the members of the Women's Volunteer Reserve would help to make such wome nunderstand that they ought to be father and mother. Woman was taking her place in the present crisis most admirably. She had sacrificed her best and given of her best in a variety of ways. She was now a more dignified person than hitherto; she was combining the qualities of Martha and Mary. He hoped the members of the reserve would be proud of their uniform, as it meant the women were working.

Glasgow Record
8/2/16

WOMEN IN GOVERNMENT OFFICES

Having occasion to visit the office of one of the leading insurance companies to-day, I was impressed by the elderly appearance of the clerical staff. Not a single one of the thirty or forty men in the office appeared to be of military age, and I learned that practically every enlistable member of the personnel has joined up, their places being filled by men above recruitable years.

Formerly a large number of girls and young women were employed to fill the vacancies, but these have been transferred to the offices administering the National Insurance Act. Here, I understand, female workers are now greatly in the majority, and another Government Department in which this is the rule is the Ministry of Munitions.

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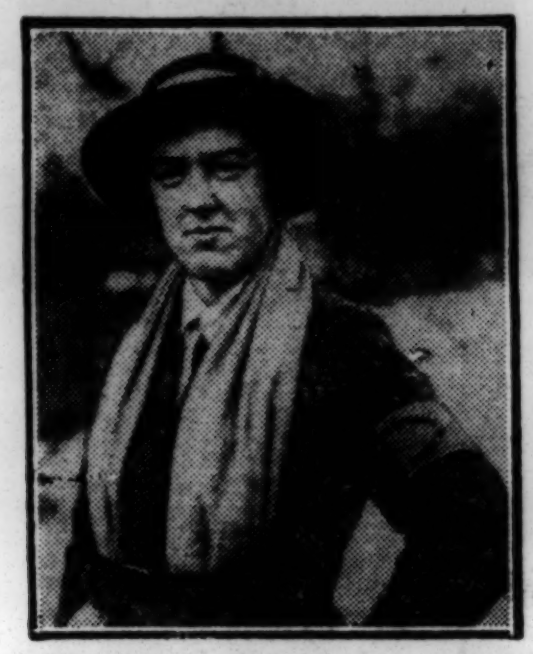
The Glasgow Record
7/2/16.

AN OFFICER'S ARMLET.



The Women's National Land Service Corps is forming an Officers' Training Corps of 5000 educated girls who are to be trained as captains and lieutenants. Our photograph shows the first khaki armlet worn by an officer of the Corps. (N.J. Co.)

The Glasgow Record
7/2/16

WOMEN VOLUNTEERS.

MEMBERS WANTED FOR THE GLASGOW RESERVE.

An earnest appeal is made for recruits for the Glasgow Branch of the Women's Volunteer Reserve, which now numbers about 300. This branch is already working in four canteens—in two of the largest shipbuilding firms in the city and in the free canteens opened for soldiers and sailors in the Central and Queen Street Stations.

They are also employed in connection with the Glasgow Corporation "Parcels Scheme," the Patriotic Food League, and various temporary forms of war work, but to make the work thoroughly efficient many more day-workers are wanted, as well as girls who are free for evening work only.

As soon as recruits can have uniform work is waiting for them, and it only remains for them to come forward.

The Rules of the Reserve are few and simple, discipline and obedience being the main essentials insisted on. The age limit is 18 to 50, and the only compulsory training is the weekly drill on the lines of the Infantry Drill Book.

Signalling, First Aid, Nursing, and other classes are held as occasion requires, and the uniform, which costs under £2, must be worn when on duty.

The Reserve already numbers nearly 6000 in the British Isles, and has branches in Vancouver and Canada. In London alone a huge amount of work is undertaken by the members, who voluntarily give up their leisure time to help their country in her hour of need.

We feel certain that the need for further help need only be known to receive a liberal response. Those who find it convenient to join the Reserve should communicate with the Hon. Mrs. MacGilchrist, 175 West George Street, Glasgow.

10/2/16

WAR WORK FOR WOMEN.

LADY LONDONDERRY'S APPEAL.

To the Editor of "The Standard."

Sir,—May I draw the attention of your readers to the work of the Women's Legion? This organisation, founded by me last year, and of which I am president, has already done much useful work in various parts of the country. It has lately been reconstituted in order to secure for its members a wider field of operation.

The object of the legion, which is entirely non-political and devoid of class distinctions or religious restrictions, is to provide a capable and efficient body of women whose services can be offered to the State as required to take the place of men needed in the firing line or in other capacities. Members have to pay an enrolment fee of 1s., and they receive a certificate of membership. A badge may also be obtained if desired at the price of 1s.

Women can join one or other of the four sections:—

1. General.
2. Motor transport and ambulance.
3. Cookery and canteen.
4. Agricultural.

In the first or general section are included those women who have had no special technical training, but who want to do something to help on the national machine. We also enrol in this section those who can only give part of their time to the service of the country. Such women can help by providing food for canteens, by helping in the canteens an afternoon or two a week, and by working in the homes of soldiers, sailors, and munition workers. In this latter direction I am convinced there is a great work to be done, not only in the homes of the rank and file, but in those of officers as well. Many men have made great pecuniary sacrifices in order to fight, their wives are left badly off, the servants have to be reduced or given up altogether; a little help in the housework, even taking the children out for a walk, will do much to relieve the strain of the overworked housewife.

Section 2 comprises motor drivers who are prepared to take up any class of motor transport work. In addition, to train suitable women in motor mechanism and driving. In this section there are also trained hospital workers.

In the canteen section we provide a paid staff of trained cooks to take charge of the catering, cookery, and management in huts or hostels, in munition works, or other places where regular meals are served to the workers. In addition we provide voluntary workers in canteens and buffets for supplying soldiers, sailors, and munition workers with meals and refreshments.

The military branch of the cookery section is responsible for providing trained cooks in the military convalescent camps, and has to furnish highly qualified women to instruct the soldier cooks either at the camps or in the various military schools of cookery.

In the agricultural section we enlist women to render assistance to farmers who are in want of labour, and we form committees of women in the counties to provide facilities for suitable women to be trained for dairy, poultry, and other agricultural work.

Our headquarters are in London, but already we are working in other large centres, and new local branches are in the course of formation. The prospects are encouraging, as ever-widening fields of usefulness are before us, and willing helpers are found to take their place in it, but there is room and to spare for more. Women who want to join one of our sections in order to find work to do, employers who want to find workers, all those who desire to help on the movement are invited to write to the secretary at our headquarters, 72, Upper Berkeley-street.

Those who desire to help us but cannot take an active part in our work are invited to become honorary members of the legion, and to assist us by donations to our funds.—Yours faithfully,

E. Londonderry.

72, Upper Berkeley-street.

Daily Express
18.3.16

WOMEN AND THEIR WORK.

CALL FOR 100 COOKS FOR HOSPITALS AND CAMPS.

The military cookery section of the Women's Legion, which provides cooks as required by the War Department for camps and convalescent hospitals, announce that they are immediately requiring at least a hundred cooks, and strong women and girls who wish to take up a most useful branch of war work will find that this offers an excellent opportunity.

The Government allowance is £20 a year, plus sixpence a week for laundry, and also rations and accommodation. Much experience of cooking is unnecessary, as the work is so simple that the women can very easily learn it within a week from the superintendents in charge of the camp kitchens. Strength and good health are, however, most important qualifications. The women selected will be taken on probation for one month, and if satisfactory they will be asked to sign on for one year or the duration of the war, should it end sooner. Third-class railway expenses incurred by the cooks on first joining the hospital or camp will be refunded to them.

On signing the agreement the women will be provided free of charge with the regulation uniform of the Women's Legion. All applications for these posts should be addressed to the hon. secretary, Women's Legion, Cookery Section, London Irish Headquarters, Duke of York's, Chelsea, S.W.

WOMEN'S WAR WORK.

The book entitled "Women's War Work," edited by Lady Randolph Churchill, which has just been published, is a wonderfully interesting record of the part which women of all nations have played, and are playing, in the great war. One reads with increasing admiration of the splendid work that women have accomplished, and no one can fail to realise that it marks an epoch in the history of womanhood. A new era has begun—an era in which women's abilities will be more fully recognised than ever before, and this record of heroic work stands as a lasting testimony to the courage and patient endurance of the women of to-day.

"Women's War Work" is published by C. Arthur Pearson, Limited, Henrietta-street, W.C., at 2s. 6d. net.

Glasgow Evening News
21-6-16.

"HAPPY DUSTWOMEN."

All our young ladies are not engaged tennising and golfing at nights. Reference has already been made to a patriotic band of the Women's Volunteer Reserve, who nightly assist the Cleansing Department in collecting waste paper—now recognised as a valuable material. Several weeks have now elapsed since these volunteers took up the role of "Happy Dustwomen," and the Department has voted results extremely good. The ladies work in the evenings from 6 till 9 p.m., and require no male assistance, not even for the horse, which must be pleasantly surprised at the strange, endearing terms used to jog it along on its journey! Copying the loyal example of the W.V.R., another local organisation known as the B.P. Girl Guides have taken up similar duty in a residential area a few miles from the city.

Mark Lane Express.
25-9-16

EAST SUSSEX.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the East Sussex Farmers' Union was held at Lewes on Wednesday. Mr. E. J. Gorringe (Lewes Branch) presided, and there were also present Mr. W. Wood (Hassocks), vice chairman, Mr. J. M. Moubray (Lewes), Mr. J. E. Brand and Mr. A. Lemmon (Hailsham), Mr. A. Leggat (East Grinstead), Mr. W. Fry (Haywards Heath), Mr. F. E. Newnham (secretary), &c.

Women's Work on the Land.

A letter was read from the Women's Defence Relief Corps bringing to the notice of farmers the fact that they had many women ready for work on the land.

The Chairman remarked that if a few strong men could be sent on the land it would be a great advantage to agriculture. (Hear, hear.)

It was decided to leave members to apply for help if they wished.

Daily Express.
20.10.16.

WOMAN

The action of the British Censorship in ...nying to Mr. Hearst's pro-German International News Service, on account of its ...istortion of news, the use of all cable and ...ther facilities, has drawn from the manager of the International News Service in New York a reply in which the "facts" of the matter are set forth with the wholesale disregard for truth which is characteristic of this pro-German concern.

In a message to the equally mendacious Wolff Bureau in Berlin, he declares, according to the Wireless Press, that the International News Service has been denied the mails and cables "because it has not been willing to distort news."

"The action of the British Censor," he ... "is the greatest compliment that ...d be paid to the International News ...ice. The British censorship has been ...ews-suppressing institution and a news-...sifying institution from the beginning of ...e war. The British Government wants ...e American newspapers to print only such ...ews as will please and assist the British ...overnment. The British Government ...ants the American newspapers to print ...nly distorted news or lying news. The International News Service will not distort ...ews or falsify news to please the British ...overnment or anybody else."

THE REPLY.

In reply to this charge, the Press Bureau ...as issued the following account of the ...

that grocers must supply ...
who purchase other goods ...
At present the housewif...
she must spend 5s. on oth...
she can obtain sugar:—

To the Editor of the "...

Sir,—Since the publica...
in the "Daily Express" ...
the Sugar Commission ...
many letters on the sub...
impossible to answer the...
correspondents ask for a...
me which I believe wo...
fairer distribution of su...

It is, of course, quite c...
there must be some restr...
apportionment of such a...
sugar, but not to the ex...
purchaser to buy 5s. wort...
ever 2lbs. of sugar are ...
of what the commission ...
may say, the retailer in ...
can force on his custo...
ticular brand of article...
whatever price the trade ...

The Sugar Commissi...
rule that groceries need ...
the equivalent in value ...
chased.

Apart from enabling ...
purchase her goods whe...
would make conditions ...
number of people who, ...
keepers, find it necessa...
casionally in a pound ...

ELISABETH

After Mrs. Hyatt-Wo...
received by the "Daily ...

Daily Express.
2.10.16

678

678/11

THE WOMAN IN THE CAR.

PROBLEMS OF THE LADY CHAUFFEUR.

ROYAL FLYING CORPS' NEW AUXILIARIES.

By JANE RAMSAY-KERR.

A woman clad in official khaki, receiving Government pay for driving a Government car, and under military discipline, is the nearest approach to a female soldier that we can muster in England. Women have driven Government cars for the Ministry of Munitions for some considerable time, but the Army Service Corps have now twenty-two women chauffeurs and the Royal Flying Corps have ten.

These women have been provided by the transport section of that excellent organisation, the Women's Legion, and the ten who are now driving for the Royal Flying Corps have only been in harness for a little over a week. They have all been recruited from the "leisured classes," and their present mode of life presents a striking contrast to anything they have ever done before—a fact which enhances the value of their services from a sentimental point of view and entitles them to great praise.

There is something amusingly incongruous in the sight of a pretty young woman swathed in the voluminous folds of a Royal Flying Corps khaki overcoat, with the words "Royal Flying Corps" printed in white letters on the sleeve, sitting in a small waiting-room at Adastral House awaiting the signal that "A E 43"—the magic formula of the great car which is entrusted to her care—is required to take an officer to Brooklands or to some munition factory or other place of business.

LONG DAY'S WORK.

The routes to the different places are not easy to find, but the R.F.C. are anxious to assist their lady chauffeurs in every possible way, and there is no stigma attached to the chauffeur who has to ask the way to anywhere. There are night rides also to be negotiated, and piloting a heavy car through the Stygian gloom of London and suburban streets and across slippery tram lines needs some nerve, especially when the driver knows that she is transporting some of the brains of the Army in her car. The pace has to be good also, as time is valuable, and many of the R.F.C. officers have speed permits, so the khaki-clad girls must hustle along and not show any indecision or "funk" in their driving.

The day of a woman chauffeur in the Army is a long one. She must be at the garage by eight in the morning, ready to take out the car; may perhaps make a long journey, and then wait two or three hours in rain, cold, or sunshine, according to the vagaries of our mutable climate; meals may be at any time, and they are frequently of a very hasty nature, while the end of the day comes at no fixed hour, and often the car is not back at the garage till 10 or 10.30 in the evening, and the chauffeur, although of course she is not responsible for cleaning the engine or anything of that description, has to see that her petrol tank is left full, so that no valuable time is wasted in the morning.

The most agitating moments of the Government lady chauffeur are those which precede the inspection, which takes place once a week at 7.30 a.m. at the garage. Each chauffeur then stands by her car, with all appliances and implements of her work outspread, and they are checked. If anything is lost, or has been stolen, borrowed, or has vanished into space in the way small tools sometimes do in a large garage, the lady chauffeur has to make it good from her own pocket.

AWKWARD POINTS.

One is a trifle glad to learn that Government property is looked after with so keen an eye in at least one department of an authoritative description, and none of the "female soldiers" are anxious to spend any money in replacing lost tools, as the salary paid to them is not exactly princely, being 30s. a week.

...educated and cul-

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The difficulties of educated and cultured women taking the place of a "Tommy" have been much commented upon, but these difficulties really exist more in the imagination of narrow-minded and prejudiced persons than anywhere else. "Who," say the critics, "will open the door of the car—the officer or his lady chauffeur? Who will start the engine—the chauffeur or the passenger? How awkward it will be!"

These problems, however, resolve themselves. The chauffeur jumps into her car with a polite "Good-morning!" such as she would proffer to any friend with whom she was going to enjoy a day's golf in peace times. Most of the cars are self-starters, but if the engine has to be "wound up," the officer finds no awkwardness in starting it for his chauffeur. Why should he? The only "feeling" which a man might have would be that he did not like keeping a woman waiting for several hours, but when the woman is in khaki and in an official position the man can hardly find there is any awkwardness or difficulty in the situation, and as so many of the places to be visited are munition works, there is nearly always a workers' canteen where the lady chauffeur can wait and refresh herself with that meal so dear to the heart of every woman—a cup of tea and a bun or a bit of cake.

DISCIPLINE.

There is, however, plenty of military discipline and plenty of hard work connected with driving a Government car, and no flighty young thing who imagines that being chauffeur to the R.F.C. means nice joy-rides with handsome officers enlivened by mild flirtations with a flavour of war work, is advised to apply for the job of an Army chauffeur. Hard work, long hours, and one half-day off a fortnight is the rule for lady chauffeurs.

They are being given a trial to see if they can successfully replace men, and the work which they are doing is responsible and serious business which has in the past been done by men. They have offered to serve their country, and they are doing it with a single-hearted and purposeful spirit which is worthy of unstinted admiration. Every one should take off his hat to the girls in khaki who are acting as chauffeurs, and should wish them the best of luck.

Glasgow Evening news
21-6-16

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678/11

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Daily Express.
2.10.16

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The Chairman remarked that if a few strong men could be sent on the land it would be a great advantage to agriculture. (Hear, hear.)

It was decided to leave members to apply for help if they wished.

Daily Express.
20.10.16.

WOMEN AID THEIR WORK.

MORE FARM HANDS AND CAMP COOKS WANTED.

"The great object of the Women's Legion is to provide capable women for work which will release men who are needed for military service," said Lady Londonderry, president of the legion, at a meeting held yesterday afternoon to put before representatives of the Press the requirements and work of this splendid organisation.

In a brief outline of the work accomplished, Lady Londonderry told how the legion had trained and put into employment many hundreds of women for work on the farms, and was training more to be of use directly their services were needed. She described the excellent work of the motor section, which is sending out experienced women drivers to replace men for motor transport work under the military authorities, and stated that more than 2,000 women, also members of the legion, were now employed as military cooks at camps, hospitals, and messes all over the kingdom.

Mr. Walter Long, in paying tribute to the successful work that the Women's Legion has carried out, said that women were doing work now that experts had declared was impossible for them to do satisfactorily, and were doing it well, but that there was a great need for more of them to train for agricultural purposes, in view of the necessity for calling more men to the colours. He advised the use of temporary huts for women workers drafted to the farms from other districts, as at present the question of accommodation was a very difficult matter to solve.

Lord Crawford, President of the Board of Agriculture, urged the immense importance of keeping up the food supply of the nation, and stated that the greater the increase in home production, the greater the saving in money paid to other countries, on shipping and men's labour for porterage, etc. He said that the Women's Legion had the warm support of the Government, and he hoped they could increase the supply of motor tractors and mechanical devices for saving labour, such as the legion is now hiring out to the small farmers who cannot afford to buy them for themselves. The men now employed in important agricultural work will not be called up for a few months, but every effort should be made to ensure, he said, a future supply of women to take their places when they must leave in the early spring.

Lady Selborne, who is president of the agricultural section of the legion, said that in many cases she thought the farmers rather prided themselves on not employing women workers, and that when compelled to employ them at the last moment they were inclined to complain if their work was not as efficient as that of the men they had lost. She thought much could be done if the farmers would start employing women at once and let them learn the work gradually.

The legion is urgently in need of funds to pay for trainings for the women, to supply more motor tractors and labour-saving appliances, and for the erection of huts for temporary workers.

Lord Chaplin, who proposed the vote of thanks to Lord Crawford, said that where we used to feed twenty-five millions with our own produce, we now feed four millions and that the supply of home produce must be increased. He did not think there would be difficulty as far as the farmers were concerned as long as the Government would let them know exactly what was required of them.

Women are constantly required by the legion for agricultural work, canteen work, camp cooking, etc. Further information can be obtained from the secretary, Women's Legion, 72, Upper Berkeley-street, W.

SHIP CLEANING.

Apparently there is little that women cannot accomplish in the world of labour. Perhaps the most startling incident in connection with work taken up by women since the war is the overhauling of the dredger Richard Marsh in the Thames.

This dredger, which was sunk off Rainham about two years ago, has been raised, and the work of scraping, cleaning, boiler-scaling—in fact, all labour in connection with a general overhauling—is now being satisfactorily carried out by a staff of sixteen women and girls.

EXPERT ADVICE.

Free expert advice on all matters concerning women's employments, trainings, etc., can be obtained on writing to the Secretary, Women's Employment, "Daily Express," 23, St. Bride-street, E.C., enclosing stamped, addressed envelope.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

ANXIOUS TO IMPROVE HER COOKING (M. F. B.).—I think you are wise to consider the question of giving up your post as children's nurse, and I agree with you that your height (4ft. 8ins.) is a handicap in such work. You say you are good at cooking and would like to take it up professionally. It should be possible for you to work your way up in a private household under a good cook. In this way you would not have any expense. It is quite likely that this paragraph may attract the attention of some one who will be only too glad to help you. You might also write to Miss Massey, 10, Baker-street, W., who may know of such a vacancy.

WAR WORK FOR A DOMESTIC SERVANT (A. T., Nuneaton).—Please dispense with the idea that because you are in domestic service you are not helping your country. Domestic workers of all kinds are very much needed at the present time, and a skilled worker, whatever her branch of employment, is a national asset. You do not tell me what kind of domestic work you have been doing, but you say you would like to train as cook in a military camp or hospital. If, however, you have had no experience in cookery, I do not think you will find it easy to hear of this kind of post.

On the other hand, if you have a knowledge of cooking, it might be possible for you to obtain such employment, and in this case you should write to the secretary of the Women's Legion, Military Cookery Section, Duke of York's London Irish Headquarters, Chelsea, S.W. For hospital work you should apply to the special service department (V.A.D.) of the British Red Cross Society, Devonshire House, Piccadilly.

RECOGNISED MIDWIFERY TRAINING SCHOOL (L. H. O.).—You ask me to give you the name of a school of good standing where you can train as a midwife and gain a recognised certificate of efficiency. You could not do better than take the course of training at Queen Charlotte's Lying-In Hospital, Marylebone, N.W. Will you write to the secretary and ask him to give you a personal interview?

ADVICE AS TO CAREER FOR UNIVERSITY GIRL (L. D., Cambs.).—It would be more helpful if you would give me some idea of the plans you have in mind, and although you have sent me full particulars of the examinations you have passed you give me no indication of your tastes and the kind of things you like doing best. I shall be happy to advise you as far as I can if you will write again, giving me this information. In view of the fact that in future you will be absolutely dependent on yourself, I think you are wise to decide to take a recognised course of training now, rather than accept a temporary war time post.

The Daily Telegraph.
22.8.16

WOMEN'S WORK IN WAR TIME.

BREAKING DOWN PREJUDICE

We are now so accustomed to women doing man's work that it is difficult to realise that there was a time when it was looked upon with suspicion as an unwarrantable intrusion, and even regarded with contempt. Women were told, in language that had more of directness than politeness, that their place was in the home, and any disposition to activity outside the domestic sphere was somewhat resented. Even the shock of war did not bring down the walls of prejudice. War, women were told, was a man's business; they were enjoined, as before, to stay at home and keep the home fires burning. The only women who could be admitted to a small share of work on the fringe of the Great Adventure were those possessing full nursing qualifications. These alone could not be denied. Their privilege had been won by Florence Nightingale, and they were allowed to follow in the footsteps of the Lady of the Lamp.

With this exception, the exclusion of women from active war work remained for many months after the fateful Aug. 4, of 1914. Then, as it became necessary to reinforce the "contemptible little Army," whose obstinate resistance helped to foil the German plans of conquest, it was discovered that many things were wanted that could not be procured by writing out an order in the War Office, and it was conceded that women might usefully employ themselves in making socks, mufflers, and mittens. But they were told to do this at home. Anything so practical as setting up a small factory in each village for the purpose of turning out useful articles on a system would have been coldly disapproved. However, the women were not to be denied, and in many places useful work rooms were established. To show the value of communal rather than individual effort we may point to the splendid results of Queen Mary's Needlework Guild.

EXTENSION OF EMPLOYMENT.

As the war developed still further out of the expeditionary stage two circumstances arose to compel a change of view regarding women's part in the war. One was the shortage of trained men cooks to meet the demands of the rapidly growing Army; the other was the withdrawal of so many men with motoring experience from civil life. It became increasingly obvious that women's experience could be used in many respects with unquestionable advantage to the State. Women with high qualifications were set to work to train men cooks in the numbers required for the Army in the field and in training, while others were sent as cooks to the newly-formed large convalescent camps for soldiers. At the same time women motor drivers began to replace men in the private garage. When the first shock at this innovation had died down, business firms and shopkeepers began to think that, after all, it was possible that if women could drive a Limousine they could drive a tradesman's van.

It is curious to recall the days when the women commissionaire and lift-girl were regarded as daring innovations, meriting the attentions of the best descriptive writers and of the illustrated Press. From these partly useful, partly ornamental occupations we have advanced to the female omnibus and tramway-car conductors, the women ticket-collectors, and the women farm workers. In the meantime the State had taken a hint from the women's work-rooms that were springing up all over the country, and, finding that there was surely work that women could do in connection with munitions, opened the factories to them.

All along the line there has been prejudice to be overcome by the pioneers of each branch of women's labour; all along the line the prejudice has been broken down. In this pioneer work a foremost place must be given to the Women's Legion. This organisation, with Lady Londonderry at its head, has been the driving force of many useful movements.

THE WOMEN'S LEGION.

One writes of the objects of a society from habit. The Women's Legion has only one object—"To provide a capable and efficient body of women whose services can be offered to the State as may be required to take the place of men needed in the firing line or in other capacities." That is the object for which Lady Londonderry and her friends and workers

Daily Express 678.
20.9.16

678/1

Ten women chauffeurs have already been engaged for the Royal Flying Corps, and many more will be appointed if the experiment proves a success.

During the hearing of a case at Cardiff it transpired that the women at a local munition factory receive only 8s. a week after working eight hours a day.

Star.
20.9.16

FLYING WOMEN.

To release men for military duties, the Royal Flying Corps is now employing women as motor drivers, at 35s. a week and 5d. an hour overtime

Daily Mail
22-9-16

WOMEN CHAUFFEURS IN KHAKI

An experiment is being made at the headquarters of the Air Service, Adastral House, on the Embankment, by the employment of ten women motor-car drivers, with a view to economies in man-power.

These women began their duties on Saturday. They are enrolled in the Women's Legion. A khaki uniform is provided free. The rate of pay is 35s. a week and 5d. an hour overtime. If the women-drivers are efficient a number of soldier-drivers may be released for other work.

work a foremost place must be given to the Women's Legion. This organisation, with Lady Londonderry at its head, has been the driving force of many useful movements.

THE WOMEN'S LEGION.

One writes of the objects of a society from habit. The Women's Legion has only one object—"To provide a capable and efficient body of women whose services can be offered to the State as may be required to take the place of men needed in the firing line or in other capacities." That is the object for which Lady Londonderry and her friends and workers give their time and effort. Already much has been accomplished. The Legion has found the workers for canteens, from superintendents to washers-up and countermaids. It has found capable women cooks to replace men Army cooks, and—just as important—it has found women of high qualifications to train the men at camps and at military schools of cookery. The British Army has always been the best-fed army in the world, and there are now over a thousand Women's Legion cooks in its ranks who will help to carry on the same tradition. It expects to have double that number soon at work. The Legion has provided trained and experienced women to replace men as drivers of motor-cars of all descriptions. It has supplied a number of women drivers to the War Office for work in the London area, and a considerable number of women in training will also be employed by the War Office as soon as they are proficient.

The Legion has also supplied women for agricultural work, and is training many others who wish to help to gather the harvest and assist the farmer in his unprecedented difficulties. With this object in view the agricultural section of the Women's Legion purchased a 25 h.p. Mogul motor-tractor, which is now doing good work in Rutland. Several farmers have had their land ploughed and cultivated who would not otherwise have been able to do so this year on account of the shortage of labour. Many more of these tractors could be employed if the necessary funds were available. There is a long list of farmers who are all waiting eagerly for the hire of this machine, and it is one of the objects of the agricultural section to try to introduce some more of these machines into other districts.

WORKERS AND FUNDS WANTED.

Work and training for work—that is the mission of the Legion. It finds the work and the workers, and brings them together. It helps every willing woman to do what she feels she can do best. It supplies an outlet for boundless energy.

Workers and funds are urgently needed to extend the scope of the work, and all particulars of the aims and objects of the Women's Legion can be obtained by making application to the secretary, at the offices, 72, Upper Berkeley-street, W.

The Women's Legion has accomplished in one year what would have been thought before the war to be impossible. The value of its work has been recognised by the War Office, who are employing and paying some thousands of its members. The organisation is established. The initial difficulties have been overcome, and it only remains to consolidate and extend its efforts, so that no effort shall be spared which may lead to a decisive victory and a lasting peace.

Daily News & Leader.

29.9.16.

WOMEN COOKS FOR THE ARMY.

In view of the urgent need for women as Army cooks, the Marchioness of Londonderry appeals for women willing to train for this work. A school to train women for the military cookery section has been started at Dartford by the Women's Legion. The course of instruction lasts from three to four weeks, and there are vacancies for 30 pupils in each course. Free rations and quarters are provided at the camp, and when competent the women are drafted on, and receive pay at the rate of £20 per annum, with rations and accommodation. Over 1,200 cooks and waitresses have already been supplied by the Women's Legion. Applicants for training should write the Secretary, Pupils' Department, Women's Legion, Military Cooking Section, Room 4, Centre Block, Duke of York's Headquarters, Chelsea.

Daily Express
3.10.16

The Liverpool aeroplane factories are asking for women workers, who are offered 12s. a week during their seven or eight weeks' free training, and are then started at 22s. 6d. a week, with liberal increases for exceptional ability.

Weekly Dispatch.
8.10.16.

TRIBUTE TO WOMEN WAR WORKERS.

A HIGH tribute to women as war workers was paid yesterday by Major-General Sir Francis Lloyd, commanding the London District, who inspected at Wellington Barracks the National Motor Volunteer Squadron, composed of about 400 motor vehicles. A number of the cars were driven by women, all being under the command of Major-General D. C. F. Macintyre, C.B.

The drivers and mechanics, including two of the women, after the inspection were drawn up and addressed by Major-General Lloyd, who said he was greatly impressed by the completeness of the drill and discipline of the corps and its readiness to turn out for duty at a moment's notice. He particularly wished to say how much he appreciated the excellent services women were rendering in this branch of war work, for which they deserved to be thanked.

He would do everything in his power to see that the corps received full recognition at the hands of the authorities.

Daily News & Leader.
11.10.16.

Women between the ages of 18 and 45 who are willing to serve as Army cooks should apply to the Women's Legion, Military Cooking Section, Duke of York's Headquarters, London, S.W. Wages £20, with all found.

Daily Mail.
21.8.16.

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WOMEN ARMY DRIVERS.

A GREAT SUCCESS.

After we have wrestled in the throes of war for two years, one of the nation's most valuable assets has been realised—the employment of women as motor-car drivers for home service.

In April last the Women's Legion, under Lady Londonderry, prevailed on the Army Council to give some of the many eager women drivers a month's trial.

It needs no great imagination to picture the apprehension with which a grudging consent was given and the subsequent astonishment at the unexpected success which attended the experiment. As a result of this effective probation the motor transport of the Women's Legion is now officially recognised by the War Office as a civilian subordinate branch of his Majesty's Army.

Already a great many women are now employed in various directions, driving cars for the War Office in munition areas and conveying the wounded.

A khaki uniform, including a small Army overcoat of exactly the same type as those already supplied to the men, with Army Service Corps badges, is to be issued, for which a special grant will be made by the War Office.

The rates of payment are:—

Superintendents, 52s. 6d. a week and travelling expenses; head drivers or squad leaders, 40s. a week and overtime for those returning to the garage after 6 o'clock; mechanic drivers, 35s. a week and overtime; probationer drivers, 25s. a week (35s. when actually driving).

* * * * *

One of the chief arguments and difficulties which have always been suggested as an impregnable barrier to the successful employment of women has been the possible antagonism of the men with whom the women are necessarily thrown into contact. That fallacy has now been permanently destroyed by the evident welcome which has been extended to the new-comers.

When I recently visited a garage where a squad of women are employed there was no suggestion of resentment whatever; in fact, the attitude of friendliness was most apparent.

War has established a wonderful bond of sympathy and understanding between the sexes, and in no sphere has it shown itself more strongly than in the Army garage yards where women have been drafted. They have been accepted and warmly welcomed as comrades and fellow-soldiers. The men understand the true feelings which prompt a woman to answer the roll-call at 8 o'clock every morning for seven days a week and cheerfully endure the long hours of work. They admire the courage and resolution with which she undertakes her duties and silently express their appreciation of her assistance by many a kindly action.

* * * * *

The section is under the command of Miss Christobel Ellis, who has done a great deal of excellent work for the Red Cross in Serbia and Russia and has driven a motor-transport wagon for some time on the British front in France and Flanders.

The Women's Legion are endeavouring to establish motor-driving as a new profession for women after the war, and, in addition to supplying drivers for the Army, are constantly sending out women as "chauffeuses" to private owners and to large stores and contractors as drivers of light commercial and delivery vans.

That the work appeals to many women is obvious from the long waiting list of the Women's Legion at their headquarters, 72, Upper Berkeley-street, W., for they have been inundated with offers of service from experienced women in all parts of the country.

The excellent work the women are doing and their efficiency as drivers, of which our streets bear witness, will undoubtedly create the demand that the supply warrants. The prejudice and lack of confidence which have been serious bars of opposition to the woman driver are fast diminishing, and daily more men are being relieved for more urgent needs and their places being taken by women. The motor-car with two men on the box is becoming a thing of the past, and it is curious to note that one woman is replacing the two men.

Time was when a woman at the wheel was a unique sight. To-day man must fight and woman must work. The example of the Army in replacing men with women in their motor-cars is a splendid one, and the women are worthy of the confidence given to them. T.

Daily Mail.
14.10.16

GREEN CROSS.

The first ambulance to reach the scene of two of the worst accidents in the first London Zeppelin raid was one belonging to the Women's Reserve Ambulance. In recognition of the excellent services rendered that night by this plucky little band of voluntary women workers the society has been officially attached to the D Division of the Metropolitan Police for Air Raid Defence.

In the event of an impending air raid they are called up for duty and held in readiness to act as transport for the Red Cross. Always they are on the alert waiting for the call. and when the call comes they are ready and prepared for the long hours of strenuous duty which is required of them. This is but one of the many instances of the very valuable assistance that the members of the Green Cross Society—so called from the green Maltese Cross which constitutes their distinguishing badge—are rendering to their country.

A MILITARY FIGURE.

SUB.-COMMANDER MRS. KILROY KENYON

A little over a year ago the society was founded on lines laid down by the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, founder of the Women's Volunteer Movement and now the commandant-in-chief of the Green Cross, with the object of providing a trained, disciplined, and efficient body of women for use in hospitals, motor transport, orderly, or any other form of war work or national service that may be required. It has succeeded particularly in collecting and utilising the services of that vast body of women who, while prevented from giving the whole of their days to war service, are anxious to direct their spare time into a useful channel.

To-day over 400 members are engaged as night canteen workers, messengers, hospital orderlies; upon orderlies' work in soldiers' clubs and war-hospital supply depots; and as motor transport drivers and mechanics.

Some of them are able to give their whole time to the various kinds of work, others only a few hours a week, but the administration and organisation are so excellent, and the shifts of workers so carefully arranged, that every ounce of available energy is turned to account.

* * * * *

A few days ago I visited a soldiers' club accommodating nightly some 600 men of the overseas contingent, where a large shift of W.R.A. workers are kept busy from seven in the morning until eight at night washing dishes, serving meals, making beds, and, in fact, performing every one of the many duties, except scrubbing floors, necessary in such an establishment.

I watched them dispensing teas to the soldiers with the professional air of trained waitresses. Their serviceable khaki uniform—the attractiveness of which can be gathered from the photograph of Sub-Commander Mrs. Kilroy Kenyon—comprised soldier-coat and short skirt, and seemed particularly in keeping with their work among the men in khaki, who have learned to regard them as fellow-workers and not only show a keen appreciation of their efforts but display a very admirable respect for the uniform which makes them comrades in the ranks of the Great Army.

The adoption of this uniform has been the subject of much discussion and disapproval, yet the women all tell me that it has proved invaluable to them, inasmuch as it has enabled them to extend their services into places and spheres which otherwise would have been impossible to them.

The motor transport work of the corps is a very large and important branch of the society. They own six motor-cars and three ambulances and have the loan or services of about thirty more cars. An average mileage of over two thousand per week is accomplished driving wounded and conveying munitions for the Trench Warfare Committee, meeting leave-trains at night when omnibuses and trains have ceased to run, collecting limbless patients from the various railway centres and driving them to the Queen Mary Auxiliary Hospital, Roehampton House, three times a week, transporting wounded for "outings," and answering innumerable emergency calls from various hospitals every morning and night. The garage is run entirely by members of the society, who not only drive the cars but do all the running repairs and cleaning.

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Northern Daily Journal. 67

28/10/16

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THE DEMAND FOR WOMEN WORKERS.

Despite the number of women who have replaced men workers, there is a serious shortage of labour in every direction. The Minister of Munitions requires thousands of educated women in shell or aeroplane factories. Salaries begin at one pound or twenty five shillings per week during training, but in a few weeks much more can be earned. This Minister appeals not only to those educated women obliged to earn their living, but to those of independent means who desire to help their country in the hour of need. Philanthropic wealthy women, anxious to improve the conditions under which their working sisters live, can now gain personal experience of factory life. When peace comes, the industrial world will require reorganisation, and clever, earnest women of influence and leisure, who have responded to the call, will then be able to turn their knowledge to the best account.

THE MOTORISTS AND PLOUGHWOMEN OF THE LEGION.

The Women's Legion has received official recognition from the War Office, and from several other State Departments. The Army Council last April gave some of the women drivers a trial, and afterwards appointed them to the British Army, of which they now form a civilian branch for Motor Transport. These women drivers are as efficient as men in repairing, cleaning, and washing vehicles of every description. Their commandant, Miss Christobel Ellis, is a highly-skilled chauffeuse, and has worked as a driver in Belgium, Russia, Serbia, and France, as well as at the British front. The Board of Agriculture has also officially recognised the Legion which has over a thousand members working on the land in conjunction with the Country Farm Labour Committees. Miss Brocklebank, of the Executive Committee, advised the purchase of a motor tractor for ploughing. It was such a success that a friend of hers presented another to the Legion, and yet another has been promised, for thanks to the good work of the women and the motor plough, hundreds of acres of land have been brought into cultivation, and the prejudices of the farmers against female labour have been greatly overcome.

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There is no nonsense about the Green Cross women; they are out to work as earnestly as the men are out to fight and to win. The training they have imposed upon themselves is in every respect as stringent as that of the Army. They drill twice a week, and the discipline that marks them is martial to the backbone.

"Army discipline and strict control are essential to the successful organisation of a body of workers," the commandant, Mrs. Charles Beatty, told me on the occasion of a recent visit to their headquarters at 199, Piccadilly, W. "Every member of the W.R.A. is under strict orders, which she obeys implicitly. We do not ape the men," she continued as she rang a bell at her side, which was promptly answered by one of the staff of "privates"—who took her orders standing erect and at attention the while; with a "Yes, sir," and a salute she left to obey the command without question—"but endeavour to relieve them wherever possible for the business of fighting."

The admirable extent to which that object is achieved may be deduced from the splendid work they are doing.

G. IVY SANDERS.

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Evening News.
20.10.16

"LAND" LADIES WANTED

Mr. Walter Long and Fitness for War Work.

"Anyone not fit for the *lunatic asylum* is fit for war work."

This remark was made by Mr. Walter Long at a meeting called by Lady Londonderry, President of the Women's Legion, to encourage women to take the places of men on the land.

Mr. Long swept all difficulties away, even to suggesting that women should take their homes with them, as accommodation was scarce in the country. He pointed to the example of the Belgian Colony at Earl's Court, who live in movable huts.

Lady Selborne appealed for money for the Women's Legion to buy machines to hire out to small farmers.

"Agricultural work is no more difficult for women," she said, "than making 6in. shells."

Lord Crawford gave the time limit for women to make up their minds.

"No farmer's man," he stated, "will be withdrawn before January 1, and no milkman before March 1."

"Herb-growing," said Lady Londonderry, "has been added to the activities of the Women's League. Two counties have already been organised and drying sheds are being erected."

The Motor Transport Section of the Women's Legion now supplies drivers for the Army Service Corps and the Royal Flying Corps. Nearly 2,000 cooks and waitresses for the Army are also supplied.

Daily News and Leader
22.11.16

WOMEN MAIL DRIVERS.

Hopeful Prospects of a Bold Experiment

Beginning with the eleven o'clock shift on Monday night next women chauffeurs, wearing the uniform of the Women's Volunteer Reserve, will for the first time drive the Royal Mail vans.

Yesterday "Colonel" Charlesworth was hard at work at the Women's Volunteer Reserve garage at South Kensington testing the women drivers she had trained. The male expert who watched the testing said the women did considerably better than many of the men—"at least they give their engines a chance."

"They will be paid 35s. a week," Mrs. Charlesworth said, "with a bonus of from 3s. to 12s. 6d. a month, according to the way they drive the car, their punctuality, dispatch, etc. There is work for many more women. The places of many of the three hundred men now at the garage are open to women if they can prove themselves proficient to do the work necessary."

Large numbers of women grooms are also wanted to replace men in Messrs. McNamara's stables, where there are 700 horses to be cared for. The wages of the grooms, who will be on Government work, are £1 10s. a week.

Daily Dispatch
24-12-16

WOMEN COOKS FOR THE ARMY.

"The War Office will Want All They Can Get."

Early in the New Year every available soldier cook and waiter will be removed from his present employment for service over-seas, and the demand for women to take their places must be met.

The salary for assistant cooks and waitresses is now £20 per annum, board, accommodation, and free uniform provided, and there is a likelihood of the salary being raised in the near future.

The military cookery section of the Women's Legion, of which the Marchioness of Londonderry is chairman, is anxious to enrol a large number of women as cooks and waitresses, and application can be made to the Secretary, Women's Legion Military Cookery Section, Room 4, Centre Block, Duke of York's Headquarters, Chelsea, London, S.W.

Over 2,000 women are serving as Army cooks now, and they have made good. They are more economical than men cooks and they are cleaner and more efficient.

Yorkshire Herald.
21.10.16

WOMEN'S WORK IN THE WAR.

The women of this country are playing an important and noble part in winning the war. Their moral influence in stimulating and sustaining our men at the front has been immense and incalculable. No more can estimate be put on the value of the voluntary work they have rendered to men on service in the provision of comforts and to wounded in acts of kindness and mindfulness innumerable. The thousands of cases where women have gone into munition works and where in ordinary civil employment they have taken the place of the former male workers have been a material factor not only in ensuring that the supply of war material should be adequate for the successful prosecution of the war, but also that the productive industries of the country should be maintained and our financial stability thus preserved. Such forms of service as these, it is cheering to know, are being expanded daily.

Much has been done in this way by the Women's Legion, the organisation of which the Marchioness of Londonderry is the able and energetic President. Started only a little over a year ago, under its auspices no fewer than 900 women have been employed in the Army Service Corps, the Royal Flying Corps and in hospitals; 2,000 have been trained as cooks and are now engaged in camps and depots in all parts of the country; many other have secured work in farming, gardening and ambulance service. By these means a good many men have been released for the fighting line and most material military service rendered. These facts mentioned by Lady Londonderry at the "At Home" held at the headquarters of the organisation, justified the observation of Mr. Walter Long how such work proved that though we had been unprepared for war because we were trying to lead a life of peace we had been able to turn ourselves into a highly organised and wonderfully productive nation.

But, notwithstanding all that has been done, there is yet a call for more and more service of the same sort. Especially is there such a demand for more women workers on the land. The prejudice against this form of employment for women has already been largely broken down by the success that they have proved and now more are needed to follow the example of the pioneers. This was forcibly urged by the Earl of Crawford, President of the Board of Agriculture, at the meeting referred to, as well as by Mr. Long. The former once again pointed out the urgency of increasing agricultural production. Every quarter of corn grown at home, as he put it, strengthens us against our enemies because it helps us to avoid spending money abroad and sending ships and men for it. For that reason the Government have been desirous of showing every possible consideration for farmers in retaining their men, none of whom will be withdrawn from arable farms before 1st January or dairy farms before 31st March. That will give a little breathing space for agriculture, but it is being insisted upon by the military authorities as absolutely essential that young men under 30 should be released for the Army from all industries except in very special circumstances, and hence the need for making sure that the greatest number possible of women shall be trained to take their share in the important production of food in order that when these young men are withdrawn we may still be able to keep

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It is the case, as pointed out by the President of the Board of Agriculture, that we are now approaching the really critical months of the whole war. The need for men is indeed greater now than at any previous [illegible]

[illegible] powers, which change [illegible] are turning in our favour [illegible] slackening, but rather the reverse. If we are to make good our gains and push back the enemy still further till he is finally beaten to his knees it is necessary at all times to have strong reserves upon which to draw. What Lord Crawford added was therefore also true that the war will not only be settled on the plains of Flanders and France, but will likewise be settled on the agricultural land of our own country, and it is accordingly the duty of all to make every possible provision for meeting the coming contingency.

Daily Express.
8/11/16

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WOMEN AND THEIR WORK.

POSTS FOR 600 COOKS AND WAITRESSES.

The scheme inaugurated by the Women's Legion for supplying military camps and messes with women cooks and waitresses has proved so successful that the organisers constantly receive applications to staff various camps in all parts of the British Isles.

Practically all the suitable applicants who responded to a recent appeal for helpers with this useful war work are now in employment, and the secretary states that another 300 women cooks and 300 waitresses are urgently needed.

These women are employed as Government workers and receive a wage of £20 a year, also free board and lodging and sixpence weekly towards their laundry expenses. The selected applicants are required to serve for one month on probation, at the end of which time, if their work is satisfactory, they will be asked to sign an agreement to serve for one year or the duration of the war should it end sooner.

The women wear the regulation uniform of the Women's Legion, which is supplied free when the agreement is signed. The work is simple and is quickly learned under the direction of the superintendents in charge of the messes and camp kitchens, but good health and physique are necessary for those who wish to take up this kind of employment. The age limit is forty-five years, older women not being strong enough for the work required. It should be understood that the selected applicants may be sent to camps in any part of the country.

There is also a demand for girls who have completed their training in cookery at recognised polytechnics or training schools of cookery, and who hold first class diplomas in all training school subjects. If willing to serve one month's paid probation at the rate of £20 a year, these girls can be taken on and drafted into an Army camp kitchen to learn the work. At the end of the month, when they have become accustomed to Army methods and have proved suitable, they will immediately be promoted to posts as head cooks in other camps at the rate of £40 per annum, with free board and lodging and laundry allowance.

Applications for all posts as Army cooks, head cooks, or waitresses must be addressed to the Secretary, Women's Legion Military Cookery Section, Room 4, Centre Block, Duke of York's Headquarters, Chelsea, S.W.

EXPLOITS ON THE BATTLEFIELD.

That the fighting quality is not altogether lacking in the gentler sex and that women have played important rôles in warfare from the days of the Amazons to the present era are well known, but it is only the most erudite perhaps who have any idea as to who these women were and how and why they fought.

Mr. Francis Gribble gives a most interesting sketch of the doings of women warriors in ancient and modern history, in his last book, "Women in War," and it is a pity that space forbade him to enlarge on their exploits, as one lays down the book with a sense of unanswered questions lurking in the mind.

The conclusion drawn, however, is that women on the whole bring trouble rather than aid when they enter the battlefield, unless it be on some special mission of inspiration or mercy such as Joan of Arc's or Florence Nightingale's. There have been women who have held beleaguered castles and encouraged war-weary soldiers to victorious achievements, but too many great ladies have meddled and plotted and caused riots and insurrections with devastating results.

Queens have plunged whole nations into misery, and there are women who have fought for self-glorification—in Mlle. de Montpensier's case one might almost say for self-advertisement.

Many reasons have led women into combat, and most curious of all, perhaps, was a need for flannel petticoats, for which the women of Barcelona fought a fierce and vixenish battle a hundred years ago.

Russia has her women warriors, Great Britain adds a few names to the list. France provides the most, and, strangely enough, Germany not one, for, as the author says, "Germans have always been heavy-footed in their endeavours to confine even exceptional women to the domestic sphere of usefulness."

The last chapter, recounting the martyrdom of Nurse Edith Cavell, brings this volume of historical lives to our own days, and here in the twentieth century we have one of the finest women in war of all—the non-combatant, a victim of vile brutality, who to the end exercised her errand of mercy and laid down her life because she had saved others.

"Women in War." By Francis Gribble. (Sampson Low, Marston, and Co., Limited. 7s. 6d. net.)

The Star.
20/11/16

WOMEN COOKS FOR ARMY.

Hundreds Wanted to Release Men for Service.

Lady Londonderry, as chairman of the Military Cookery Section of the Women's Legion, is appealing through "The Star" for more women cooks and waitresses for the Army.

The experiment of employing women has been so successful that the Army authorities are making ever-increasing demands upon the Legion, and there is scarcely any limit to the number that could be enrolled.

"We have now found over 2,000 women for military depots, convalescent camps, and hospitals in different parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland," a lady at the Duke of York's Headquarters told a "Star" man, "still comes the cry for more.

Immediate Demands.

"Our immediate demands are for about 300 cooks and 300 waitresses, but the number we really require is indefinite.

"They should be between 18 and 45, and be prepared after a month's trial to sign on for twelve months, or for the duration of the war should it terminate sooner.

"The pay is £20 per annum and uniform—dark brown tweed dress, with light brown overalls and cap—and those who join have the satisfaction of very definitely helping on the war, for whenever they step in they allow soldier cooks and soldier waiters to step out for the front.

"Take, for instance, the Epsom Hospital, where there are 1,000 convalescents. There a lady superintendent, three head cooks, and 60 girls have been able to release that number of able-bodied fighting men.

Women Praised.

"The officers at the various camps and hospitals have been loud in their praise of women for their economy and cleanliness."

The women have nothing whatever to do with the canteens, and their work is confined to duties in the cookhouse and waiting at meals.

The hours in some cases, especially in summer time, have been rather long, but the work is pleasant and not very heavy. Butchers, of course, are retained to do the cutting up and heavy work.

It is interesting to know that domestic servants have hitherto taken a large share in this patriotic work, although many recruits have also came from the middle and upper classes.

The Star.
20/11/16

TO COOK FOR TOMMY ATKINS.

Women in training as Army cooks.

Cairo Press
15/11/16

678/17 678.

WOMEN AND THEIR WORK.

ANALYTICAL CHEMISTS IN FACTORIES.

By PROFESSOR J. O. ARNOLD.
(Professor of Metallurgy in Sheffield University.)

The war has brought about among other things a serious shortage in analytical chemists, and has, moreover, largely restricted the number of men being trained for analysts, especially in university laboratories.

For example, the War Office some little time ago requested the Chemical Department of Sheffield University to supply chemists for service abroad, but the department was unable to comply with this demand owing to many of its trained students having joined the colours.

More recently, owing to the urgent need of man-power at the front next spring, it became evident that there was danger that even the junior analysts in the numerous armament works at Sheffield might be called upon. To prepare for this emergency—which in many cases has become imminent—the Metallurgical Department of Sheffield University has instituted practical classes for rapidly training women assistant analysts, competent in a more or less mechanical manner to relieve the stress likely to be thrown in the near future upon the senior analysts and chemists of the steel works, and thus prevent any serious falling-off in the output of munitions.

Applications from young women for admission to the course already exceed 100. These, as required, will be trained in successive groups of about twenty-five for one month, to learn to carry out the estimation of the simpler and routine elements of steel—namely, carbon by colour, silicon, manganese, sulphur, phosphorus, and iron. Of course, such a very limited training cannot produce any approximation to a steel works chemist.

It is not generally realised that the chemistry of steel is almost infinitely complex, since over twenty elements may be involved in its constitution—namely, the simple and invariably present elements already mentioned, and possibly, in addition, the following also:—Aluminium, arsenic, chromium, cobalt, copper, hydrogen, molybdenum, nickel, nitrogen, oxygen, tantalum, niobium, titanium, tungsten, uranium, and vanadium.

Assuming a previous knowledge of inorganic chemistry, the university course necessary for training a graduate to deal analytically with the constitutional elements of the complicated solid generically known as steel, must last from three to six years according to the ability of the undergraduate.

Apart altogether from the present question of the rapid training of women to assist in making steel analyses to meet the emergency which has arisen, there seems to be no reason why women should not, for instance, take a degree or associateship in ferrous or non-ferrous metallurgy, and adopt the analytical chemistry of metals and ores as a profession. Indeed, many women are now employed analytically in junior positions, and on the whole the verdict concerning them has been favourable.

The laboratory work of women has been described to the writer by a chief chemist as "diligent, cleanly, and conscientious." But naturally, in common with men analysts, a woman would require much works' experience and post-graduate study before fully qualifying for the now fairly remunerative position of chief analyst in an industrial laboratory.

No Name given.

WOMEN TO DRIVE MAIL VANS.

The woman chauffeur has reached the height of her ambition—she is to be allowed at last to drive the royal mail vans. A start will be made in London next Monday, beginning with the eleven o'clock night shift, when six women drivers, wearing the uniform of the Women's Volunteer Reserve, will drive the one-ton lorries which convey the outgoing mails from the G.P.O. to the railway stations, where they will wait for the incoming mails.

These six are only the pioneers of a large number of women drivers wanted to drive the royal mail vans, in order to release as many as possible of the 300 men now employed by Messrs. McNamara, the Government contractors.

The women drivers will be paid 35s. a week, with a bonus of from 3s. to 12s. 6d. a month according to the way in which they drive their vans, their punctuality, and general ability.

Economist.
11/11/16

Women's Land Service.—Previous to the war there existed only one association, namely, the Women's Farm and Garden Union, which dealt with women's work on the land, and early in 1916, in view of the necessity for maintaining our home-grown food supplies, a grant was allowed by the Board of Agriculture to organise the training of women in farm work. The Women's National Land Service Corps, which has just issued its first report, was launched as a war offshoot of the society, to deal with the problem of emergency war work as opposed to permanent employment. Many prejudices on the part of farmers have had to be overcome, and as it is recognised that much harm may be done by sending out unsuitable women, the committee of the corps have taken considerable pains to prevent indiscriminate recruiting, and a point is even made of impressing on applicants the drawbacks of the work. There is an urgent need for more women to come forward to train for agricultural work, and the corps appeals for recruits to act as milkers, carters, &c. It arranges for six weeks' training at a cost of £1 per week, including maintenance, and applications are invited to the secretary at the headquarters of the corps, 50 Upper Baker street, N.W.

Burton Daily Mail.
Nov 15, 1916

THE WOM[illegible] ARMY.

A very interesting report just issu[illegible] the headquarters of the W[illegible] National Land Service Corps at 50, U[illegible] Baker Street, London, W., summarises t[illegible] results of eight months of most valuable work undertaken by the Corps and its directors up to September 30th, 1916. The organisation was first formed in February of this year, and its name and its operations have in the comparatively short interval achieved such wide repute and approval that it has already come to be regarded as a familiar national institution. The original aim of the foundation was to "speed up" the recruitment of all classes of women for work on the land, in response to the cry, which had become general throughout agricultural Britain, for female assistance to enable our greatest industry to meet the conflicting demands of the army for more fighting men and of the country for increased supplies of home-grown produce. The maintenance of the home-grown food supply was set before the first recruits of the Women's National Land Service Corps as a main object, and the question, without doubt, had already become serious. Herds of cows were being sold because of the difficulty of getting milkers; crops were unweeded or unharvested; the acreage of fallow increased, and the amount under corn decreased. The situation which confronted the organisers of the Women's Corps was not an easy one. It did not run on ordinary economic lines: "On the one hand," says the report, "farmers did not apply for the services of women, being sceptical as to their use, and this belief was unfortunately exaggerated in many districts by the unsuitable type of women sent out by various amateur agencies at the beginning of the war. On the other hand, village women did not offer their services in very large numbers, partly because they did not realise the necessity; while the financial inducement was absent owing to the lowness of the agricultural wage and the fact that many women were already better off with their separation allowances. The work was also in many places [illegible]

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WOMEN ALREADY IN THE ARMY.

THE BATTALION OF COOKS.

There are women who have been in the Army for eighteen months; they wear khaki; they are rationed; and they live in hutments with their unit.

They look upon it as "a good life." They are officered by women, and promotion is from the ranks. "Sergeant Fat" was a private until she showed particular aptitude in clarifying the enormous quantities of fat which have to be melted down in the cook-house.

The women's captain herself—Miss Thompson in private life—was head cook for many months. An old sergeant taught her her job, although she has a domestic science certificate. Cooking for the Army is a slightly different thing to a demonstration lesson to a dozen ladies.

One of the head cooks laughs now and says: "When I go home and start making a pudding I am afraid I shall be putting 75lb. of rice on to boil!"

Sixty-six women of the Women's Legion cook for 4,000 soldiers in this camp. Altogether there are now some 2,000 women Army cooks.

A DAY'S DINNER!

In one of three kitchens the following were the quantities for a day's dinner:—

600lb. stew
1,000lb. roast beef
300lb. beans
7½cwt. potatoes.
300lb. suet pudding
50lb. of sago
15 gallons of milk.

"I hate sheep!" said a head cook. She was thinking of the extra work involved in cutting mutton up. Beef is sliced by a machine after it is cooked. The men also have a grudge against sheep; they call them "Australian rabbits." They are each allowed 1lb. of meat, including gristle and bone, and sheep are rather bony.

But the women cooks have quite got the men out of "grousing." They like the women's cooking, and the attitude of the head cook is politely but firmly, "Take it or leave it." They generally take it—and come back for more. Over-rations are always served out if the mess-men want them.

It is a sight to see them arrive for the dinner at 12.30. The dining-rooms are quite a short distance from the cook-houses, but each man brings a large hot-water tin.

The men stand behind a long table which shuts them off from the rest of the cook-house. The Dining-room Sergeants are about to keep order, and the girls have to get 200 tins off and to re-fill many of them. They have been in the kitchen since 6.30, and are anxious to get finished up before their own dinner.

NO GRUMBLING.

It is no light task, this cooking for soldiers. A former cook-housekeeper who has only been a week at the work is a little taken aback with it. It is not exactly the kind of cooking to which she has been accustomed. Picking nets of potatoes out of steam boilers needs a little hardening of the fingers; tipping up a boiler holding many pounds of beans to strain them off is not done without knack.

Those boilers have to be cleaned as soon as they are emptied, for each cook is responsible for her own, and if she does not do it properly she knows she will earn the name of "Tank-tickler."

"Public opinion" is the all-prevailing influence in this camp. No one grumbles at the work, for everyone does the same. Besides, each woman is a soldier, and falls in with military discipline.

It is true that one girl wept at first at the magnitude of the task, but she soon got used to it. To a "general" domestic servant laying out 59lb of bacon was no small matter, and when she learned that even that was only a half-ration, it was enough to frighten her a little. Each girl has her own job One is head of the puddings. She is making puddings all day. Another does breakfast, and then gives a hand where she is wanted. And every week or so there is a "general post," so that no work shall become monotonous.

"DOING SOMETHING."

All kinds of women are in this unit. There are those with means of their own; there are those who have never done a day's work before; and there are workers of every sort. They put up with the heavy work because, as one girl expressed it, "I feel I'm doing something great"—she counts it great to serve the country.

And the domestic servants have never had such freedom before. They have developed a wonderful liking for country life. They wear boys' boots, hob-nailed, and they care so little for appearances that two head-cooks went to town in them one day. They found, however, that hob-nails did not grip pavements. One girl slid down the steps of the Strand Theatre, and the other landed in the street.

When they don't want to leave the camp they visit the Concert Hall in the evening. There is an entertainment every night. There are comedians among the soldiers, concert parties visit the camp, and they have their own kinema.

Cold weather is nothing to the women-soldiers. Colds they consider are due to carelessness.

LOOKING AHEAD.

Reveille means the same to them as it does to the soldiers, and at 6.30 a.m. they cheerfully tramp through the slush to the cook-house. They spend the day more or less in steam, for the cooking is all done by this means, but if they can stand the work, they can stand the steam. Very few girls give up. Their mess-room is comfortable, though a stranger might think it draughty, and they have cubicles in their sleeping huts. These they make as homely as possible. One girl has 100 photographs pinned up on the wall. The huts are inspected every day. They are what the Canadian soldiers they are with call "dandy" huts.

The girls know more Canadian slang than they care to confess. They find themselves talking of "poultice-wallopers"—the R.A.M.C. men—and "Daddy"—a long-legged man—and "Red"—one of tawny complexion.

There is a favourite cook-house with the men. Everything they want can be got in that kitchen. It is smaller than the others, and when supplies are short it is rationed first. And the head cook is very partial to her little cook-house. The men know it, and tell her that she needs to go for a "rest-cure" to the top kitchen, which is a trial to everybody.

What will happen when this woman's army is disbanded? What will these women do when the soldiers no longer need their cooking? Some of the women in this camp have already decided. They are going to Canada to cook for the men who will no longer be soldiers.

PEGGY SCOTT.

Daily Express 22.2.17

678/18

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MOTOR DRIVERS AND MECHANICS WANTED.

The Commandant of the Motor Section of the Women's Legion, whose headquarters are at 72, Upper Berkeley-street, W., states that at the present time the Legion has a large number of vacancies for women motor drivers and technical storekeepers, also for women engineers and experienced vulcanisers. They are all Government posts, and the pay is about 32s. weekly, sometimes more, according to the work and experience required.

WOMEN'S WORK FOR THE NATION.

MANIFOLD ACTIVITIES OF THE W.V.R.

The Lord Mayor (Alderman A. D. Brooks) presided at the annual meeting of the Midlands Women's Volunteer Reserve, at Birmingham Council House, yesterday.

Colonel Mrs. Hopkins presented the annual report, which stated that the past year had been busy, though perhaps less voluntary and more paid work had been done. The record of work accomplished showed a wide field of operations, including canteen work, provision of guard daily at the Art Gallery, gauging for the Ministry of Munitions, investigation of farmers' and dairymen's appeals for exemption from military service, and allotments work. In addition, a motor ambulance purchased by the W.V.R. street collection of 1915 had been sent to France, and a smaller ambulance bought from the 1916 collection was now working in Birmingham with W.V.R. drivers. The mending for the 1st Southern General Hospital had been done every week, and during four months 2,500 garments were repaired and 1,000 treasure bags supplied to the hospital. Over 5,000 magazines and books had been collected, repaired, and distributed to soldiers abroad and in hospitals at home, and 10,000 books were distributed to various works. Camps and rest cottages had been run at Barnt Green, Hendsworth, Selly Oak, and Burwarton; farm work and fruit-picking carried out at Bidford; and workers, both paid and voluntary, had been found for recruiting offices, substitution offices, Admiralty offices, Ministry of Munitions, canteens, welfare work, shell inspection, Post Office, factories, farm work, motor driving, lorry driving for the G.W.R., and as Boy Scout masters and gate orderlies for V.A.D. hospitals. Details were also given in the report of the activities of branches throughout the Midlands, one interesting item being that the Walsall Branch, in addition to gardening, had taken up carpentering and made cots for infants out of banana crates. The report further stated that the corps was the first body in Birmingham to form itself into a War Savings Association, and since August had subscribed £1,770, with a membership of 520.

NATIONAL SERVICE ANTICIPATED.

The Lord Mayor, in moving the adoption of the report, said one of the most remarkable features of the national effort in connection with the war had been the noble part played by women, and he was deeply impressed by the value and the manifold character of the work carried on by the corps. They had, in fact, undertaken a wonderful system of substitution. They no doubt realised that the country would require the active services of as many men as could be found for equipping the army, and carrying on munition work, and therefore they encouraged women to take over work previously done by men. In that way women had rendered extremely useful service to their country and the Empire. They had really anticipated some time ago the National Service scheme. By their effort they had undoubtedly released for the army many men engaged in industrial life, and in other directions they had enabled both men and women to engage in the production of essentials. From that point of view one could not too strongly applaud the great and patriotic efforts which had been made by the members of the corps and by the women of England generally. There were soldiers whose duty it was to fight; there were industrial soldiers; and further there were soldiers of mercy and good works, and he thought the members of the corps fell distinctly into the last category. (Hear, hear.)

Mrs. Beale, seconding the adoption of the report, emphasised the beneficial effect the training the women were receiving would have on the life of the city in the future.

The report was adopted.

Colonel Sturges proposed the re-election of officers, and expressed appreciation of the great assistance given by members of the Corps at Curzon Hall.

The Bishop of Birmingham, in seconding, drew a comparison between the Englishwoman and her French and German sisters, and complimented the Englishwoman on the possession of initiative not found elsewhere. The Bishop also expressed the opinion that the work women were now doing would make men more and more desirous of showing acts of chivalry.

The resolution was adopted, and on the proposal of Captain Matheson, seconded by Captain Rathbone, a vote of thanks was accorded the Lord Mayor.

Manchester Guardian.
2.-10.-17.

Women Guards for Forage Camps.

I hear the War Office has invented a new occupation for women. It is asking for a thousand women to act as guards at the big forage camps throughout the country. They are not to be drawn from the ranks of the Women's Army, but are to form a separate body. The task of recruiting them has been entrusted to that well-drilled and disciplined company the Women's Volunteer Reserve, whose commandant, Mrs. Charlesworth, has organised them very efficiently.

I believe the idea is that the guards shall be recruited as far as possible from the districts in which they are to be stationed, that they will have a special uniform and presumably rather special powers. They will, at least, know exactly what to do if they discover suspicious persons trespassing within the camps or loitering near them. Their duties will be rather arduous, and their hours will therefore be short—two hours on duty and two hours off. There will be double guards at night, and the sentry will always be within sound of the reserve guard.

The life will be healthy enough, and no doubt plenty of women will volunteer for it, even with the prospect of spending a winter in the open. One more masculine tradition will perish. These women guards of forage camps will have no fear of rats or mice.

THE GIRL IN BLUE.

WOMEN'S ROYAL NAVAL SERVICE.

The Admiralty have approved of the employment of women on various duties on shore hitherto performed by naval ratings, and have decided to establish a Women's Royal Naval Service for this purpose. The members of this service will wear a distinctive uniform, and the service will be confined to women employed on definite duties directly connected with the Royal Navy. It is not intended for the present to include those serving in the Admiralty departments, or the Royal Dockyards, or other civil establishments under the Admiralty.

At the request of the Board, Dame Katharine Furse, G.B.E., has accepted the position of Director of the Women's Royal Naval Service, and will be responsible, under the Second Sea Lord, for its administration and organisation, including the control of the members when off duty and the care of their general welfare. A further announcement will be made shortly as to the mode of recruitment for the service, and as to the branches of it for which immediate entries are required, and no applications or inquiries should be made until this announcement has been issued.

Dame Katharine Furse, one of the first ladies to receive the new Order of the British Empire, was until recently Commandant-in-Chief of the Women's Voluntary Aid Detachment.

Nursing Mirror
2-3-18

678 E

Sport and General.

L.C.C. AMBULANCE WOMEN, WHO WORK IN AIR RAIDS.

The Standard
8/9/15

ANTI-CONSCRIPTION DECLARATION.

TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

UNANIMOUS VOTE AT BRISTOL.

EMPHATIC PROTEST.

The Trade Union Congress, representing about three million workers, unanimously passed a resolution at Bristol yesterday protesting against "the efforts of a section of the reactionary Press to foist conscription on the country," stating that conscription would always prove a burden to the workers and would divide the nation at a time when absolute unanimity was essential and expressing the opinion that no reliable evidence had been produced to show that the voluntary system was inadequate to meet the requirements of the Empire.

The first business at the resumed meeting of the Trade Union Congress at Bristol yesterday was the consideration of the anti-conscription resolution, which was proposed by the president (Mr. J. A. Seddon). The resolution was:—

"That the delegates of this congress, representing three million organised workers, record their hearty appreciation of the magnificent response made to the call for volunteers to fight against the tyranny of militarism. We emphatically protest against the sinister efforts of a section of the reactionary Press in formulating newspaper policies for party purposes and attempting to foist on their country conscription, which always proves a burden to the workers, and will divide the nation at a time when absolute unanimity is essential.

"No reliable evidence has been produced showing that the voluntary system of enlistment is not adequate to meet the Empire's requirements. We believe that all the men necessary will be obtained through the voluntary system, properly organised, and we heartily support and will give every aid to the Government in their present effort to secure the men necessary to prosecute the war to a successful issue."

Mr. Seddon said the motion contained four points—(1) appreciation of the response already made; (2) a protest against the machinations of a reactionary Press; (3) a complaint that the Government had been at fault in not taking the people into their confidence; and (4) an assurance that organised labour, if taken into the confidence of the Government, would rise to the height of a great occasion (cheers). They were face to face with a tremendous issue affecting the whole future of democracy.

So far as the Press was concerned they had had many policies from the coroneted creator of Carmelite House. They had had standard bread and sweet peas (laughter); they had had attempts to make and unmake Cabinets, and to create and uncreate the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army.

TO RUSH THE COUNTRY.

Now came a sinister and diabolical attempt to rush the country into conscription and to force the hands of the Government. It was time for democracy to say that no man, however powerful in the Press, should supplant free expression of opinion. The sacred rights of voluntaryism must not be invaded. No doubt mistakes had been made, but that was no reason for splitting the nation into two at a time when unity was the great essential. He pointed to the Oversea Dominions as proof that we have a priceless privilege in voluntary service. The Government had given no information as to the possibility of invasion, nor had it supplied statistics showing that the voluntary system had broken down.

Trade unionists did not ask for unwarranted confidence, but if the Government was prepared to fulfil its obligation it would find the workers prepared to do their share in this conflict.

Mr. T. Shaw (Weavers), in seconding the resolution, said he would as soon trust the Prussian junker as the junker behind this conscription agitation. As soon trust Bethmann-Hollweg as "Damn-the-consequences Milner" (laughter and cheers). The Government was utterly powerless without the miners, the railwaymen, and the transport workers. By bringing in a Conscription Bill Ministers would split the country, and might find their own career ended.

Mr. A. G. Walkden (Railway Clerks) said a certain Sunday newspaper seemed to do all the thinking for the Tory party. They wanted to change our military system, but they must not forget what happened when the railway strike occurred in France.

Mr. Dubery (Fawcett Association) invited the Congress to come down to the practical side of the question. Military policy in this country of organisation, not amongst the workers, but at the head of affairs, was largely to blame. What they wanted to know was what the lads who came home crippled were going to get from the Government (hear, hear). If the landowners and wealthy class, who thought their country would be taken from them, were as afraid of the workers as they were of the Germans coming to invade them they would have had better conditions to-day (cheers). He believed there were organised forces in the country who were able and willing to defeat conscription if it were to be forced upon them against their will (cheers). If they declared, as they would declare, against conscription, then it would be the duty of organised labour to prevent conscription from taking place (cheers).

The resolution was then put, and carried with great enthusiasm and with unanimity.

The result of the voting was received by the delegates rising and waving their papers and handkerchiefs. It was resolved to send copies of this resolution to the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, and Lord Kitchener.

NO PROFIT-MONGERING.

MR. LL. GEORGE'S MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS.

The president then read the following telegram from Mr. Lloyd George, the Minister of Munitions, addressed to the president:—

"I observe in the report of your able speech the following words: 'The share of labour in meeting the danger is seen in the increasing output of munitions and the willingness of skilled trades to do all possible. We invite the Minister of Munitions to be equally keen in carrying out his promise to deal with war profits.' I have already under the Munitions Act placed 714 firms under control. That includes the bulk of important firms in this kingdom engaged wholly or mainly in manufacturing munitions of war. In every case the profits are limited in accordance with the terms of the Munitions Act, so that benefit of any suspension of trade union regulations shall accrue to the State and not to the employer. No profit-mongering is possible in these works. As your words, quite unintentionally I feel certain, might convey the impression that the Government has not carried out its part of the bargain with trade unions to limit profits, I beg you to make this clear to the congress, and to urge them to persuade the unions throughout the kingdom to carry out their part of the bargain by suspending during the period of war all regulations and practices which have the effect of restricting the output of material so urgently required for the protection of our gallant troops at the front and for the achievement of victory for the nation."

The reading of the message was received with some cheers.

Resolutions on the agenda were then discussed. One related to the organisation of domestic servants, and Mr. Ward (Erith) said that after 30 years' experience of trade unionism he had never tackled such material as domestic workers (laughter). He was speaking as a trade unionist organiser, and in no other sense.

The congress adopted a resolution dealing with agricultural land, which urged the Government to introduce a Bill to give effect to the compulsory cultivation of all agricultural land, and when and wherever practicable to acquire and retain land to be worked and controlled by the State.

The congress then adjourned until to-day.

WOMEN'S WAGES.

"BIGGEST TRADE UNION FIGHT YET TO COME."

In connection with the Trades Union Congress at Bristol, the annual conference of the Women's Trade Union League was held last night.

Miss Gertrude Tuckwell, the chairman of the league, presided, and amongst those who attended were Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P. (Minister of Education) and Mr. D. J. Shackleton (Government Insurance Commissioner). Miss Coddington, of Bristol, was presented with a badge in recognition of the work she had done for women workers of the city, and in response she remarked that the average wage of women workers in Bristol was only 9s. a week.

Miss Mary Macarthur presented the annual report, which stated that just after the outbreak of war the question of wages became critical, owing to the ill-considered action of the Board of Trade in calling upon women of all classes to register for "war service" without advising those who did so as to the rates of wages they ought to demand. Miss Macarthur added that it did not do to rely solely on Cabinet Ministers' promises, but the women must stir themselves and join trade unions if their lot was to be improved.

Mr. Clynes, M.P., in moving the adoption of the report, said it gave a record of accomplishment of which any organisation might be proud. It was an accomplishment achieved, too, under far greater difficulties than the ordinary trade unions had to overcome, for it was harder to combine women, to lead, inspire, and instruct them, than it was to lead, inspire, and instruct men. The problem of the competition of women in the near future would be more acute than it had been in the past.

Mr. Ben Turner (Batley), in seconding, said men had held women too cheaply. Women ought to have a minimum wage of £1 a week, and it was a crime against civilisation to pay them less.

Councillor Sennington (Bristol) urged that women's pay ought to be based on the work they

agitation. As soon trust Bethmann-Hollweg as "Damn-the-consequences Milner" (laughter and cheers). The Government was utterly powerless without the miners, the railwaymen, and the transport workers. By bringing in a Conscription Bill Ministers would split the country, and might find their own career ended.

Mr. A. G. Walkden (Railway Clerks) said a certain Sunday newspaper seemed to do all the thinking for the Tory party. They wanted to change our military system, but they must not forget what happened when the railway strike occurred in France.

Mr. Dubery (Fawcett Association) invited the Congress to come down to the practical side of the question. Military policy in this country would have to be reconsidered after the war. The first necessity was an open foreign policy.

Mr. J. Stokes (Glass Blowers) said that had the advice given by himself and others at previous congresses been adopted, we should have had a larger voluntary Army than we now possessed. He was in favour of a citizen army, but he was utterly opposed to any form of a conscript army for England. He did not believe this was the last war. So long as capitalism prevailed there were enormous possibilities in the direction of international conflicts.

INSIDIOUS CAMPAIGN.

Mr. F. Bramley (Furnishing Trades) asked for a resolution in more definite terms.

Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P. for North-East Manchester, protested against an insidious newspaper campaign, and said that should the Allies fail we should be a beaten and demoralised democracy.

Mr. Carmichael (Shop Assistants) was for letting the Cadburys and the Northcliffes fight out their own battles.

Mr. J. Hill (Boilermakers) said he had visited the soldiers at the Front, and found that the demand was for munitions. It would be for the Government to say whether they could better help the Allies by drawing more men from industry at home.

Mr. Ben Tillett declared the whole Labour movement was at the back of the Government. If he personally believed conscription was going to help us in the war he would vote for it straight away. What they had to consider in modern warfare was material.

Mr. Pilkington (Burnley) regarded the resolution as tame and unsatisfactory. From the way the resolution had been framed they might be good little Liberal boys (laughter). He was against conscription because there was no equality in it. If the working man went to the war his dependants were left without means, whereas those of the wealthy were well provided for. Again, if there was to be conscription there must be conscription of capital also (cheers). If conscription came about the people who now ruled in the industrial sense would also rule in the military sense (hear, hear).

Miss M. Talbot (Shop Assistants) was not in favour of conscription, but at the same time she was proud of the men who had gone.

Mr. Havelock Wilson said he supported the resolution against conscription because he did not believe there was any necessity for conscription in this country (cheers). He thought he could find a ready means of stopping this talk of conscription, and that would be to take about half a dozen of the most prominent newspaper proprietors and hang them up at a lamp-post (Mr. Will Thorne: "Get on with the job," and laughter). He did not think they would hear very much about conscription after that. Where was the talk about conscription except by those gentlemen who were making money in running their newspapers on sensational reports? (hear, hear). He did not find amongst the people any demand for conscription. He recalled that these newspapers were the same as recommended German methods, and said: "If we had German methods in this country we would know how to deal with the agitators." It was the German methods that they wanted to impose upon the workers (hear, hear). He did not agree with some of the remarks that had been made about the Government not having consulted them. He did not, in fact, know any time when Labour had been more consulted than during the progress of this war (hear, hear).

THE MINERS' VIEW.

Mr. Robert Smillie (president of the Miners' Federation) said he thought it would be a mistake if the conference passed the resolution without a statement as to where the miners stood (hear, hear). Personally, he would have preferred a resolution of pure and simple anti-conscription (hear, hear). He was strongly against a portion of the motion without being in favour of conscription. The miners had contributed to the war probably as large a proportion of their membership as any other class of workers in this country (hear, hear). He had heard it said that there had been a lack of munitions, and there had been an attempt to foist on to the shoulders of the workers of this country the blame for that kind of thing. He wanted to say it was the bungling at headquarters, and not the rank and file of the workers. The Home Office, the Board of Trade, and the War Office could not agree. The War Office would take the men, though the other Government departments knew that men taken from certain trades meant lowering the efficiency of the trades and seriously interfering with the production of munitions. In the mining industry more men had been taken away than enabled them to keep up the output, and that seriously affected the export trade. Wan

which any organisation ought be proud. It was an accomplishment achieved, too, under far greater difficulties than the ordinary trade unions had to overcome, for it was harder to combine women, to lead, inspire, and instruct them, than it was to lead, inspire, and instruct men. The problem of the competition of women in the near future would be more acute than it had been in the past.

Mr. Ben Turner (Batley), in seconding, said men had held women too cheaply. Women ought to have a minimum wage of £1 a week, and it was a crime against civilisation to pay them less.

Councillor Sennington (Bristol) urged that women's pay ought to be based on the work they did, and not on the fact that they were women.

Miss Sloan (London) moved a resolution (which was carried) protesting against the low rate of remuneration still prevalent in many women's occupations, and urging upon the trade union movement the necessity of vigorously supporting the organisation of women.

Miss Sloan dealt on the ignorance and hopelessness of many of the girls employed in factories as to conditions of work. She said she was speaking to a girl in Bristol the other night about passing resolutions in favour of an advance of wages, and the girl asked: "How many resolutions do you have to pass before we get the rise?" (laughter).

Mr. D. J. Shackleton said he had had some little experience of the league in the position which he occupied, and he knew the work it had done. He wanted especially to appeal for finance for the movement, and added that the biggest battle of the trade union movement in regard to women was before them.

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MISS EVA GORE-BOOTH ON THE DANGER OF CONSCRIPTION.

Miss Eva Gore-Booth writes to the "Manchester Guardian":—

Sir,—Some time ago Mr. Asquith promised that conscription should not be brought in without something like general consent. To those who mix with working people the present situation seems to have in it the elements of tragedy. Surely it is futile for those in authority to go on ignoring the fact that, whilst a large body of citizens think that their highest duty is towards their country and are willing to sacrifice not only their prosperity and their lives but their free will and right of private judgment to the needs of the moment and the decision of the Government, there is also a mass of people who, rightly or wrongly, put their duty to their own conscience (what they would probably call their duty to God) far above the claims of the State or the expediency of the moment, to whom to be forced to kill a fellow-creature (no matter for what cause) would be an inconceivable and unbearable outrage, and who would refuse at any cost to give up what is to them the most precious thing in life, the independence and integrity of their own souls.

Such a position may be scoffed at, but it is only fair to remember that we have all been brought up in absolute confidence that the right of freedom of conscience would never again be questioned in England. On the Continent anti-militarists have had ample warning of what would be expected of them; to escape conscription they have made their homes here or in America. We have seen the mischievous results of conscription in Germany, in the militarisation of the State and what Lord Haldane called the "abdication" of the anti-militarists, which means, of course, their emigration to a free country, and the reaction on the State of the fact that nobody can hold any of its offices who has not served in the army. If conscription is sprung on us here in the middle of a war, when men of military age are not allowed to leave the country, the results must be a far more crushing tyranny than that imposed by the Continental system. Men of extreme opinions who if they had been in Germany would have escaped by making their homes in a free country, would be faced by the alternative of either doing what they themselves think wrong or defying the law.

We all know from past experience which course English people are likely to take in such an emergency. Are we going to add to the misery of this awful war the bitterness, divisions, and hatred that must be the result of a campaign of force, persecutions, martyrdom, and revolt?—Yours, etc.,

EVA GORE-BOOTH.

Manchester and Salford Women's Trade and Labour Council, 5, John Dalton Street, Manchester, December 6th.

WOMEN CLERKS AND THE UNION.

At a meeting of the Sectional Organising Committee of the Lancashire and

Ben Tillett Supports Liquor Interest.

Mr. Ben Tillett spoke at the Regent Theatre, Salford, to protest against the action of the Central Control Board as an "encroachment upon the personal liberties of the workers." Councillor J. M M'Lachlan presided.

Mr. F. Lowe (Painters' Society) moved and Mr. J. Gorman (Amalgamated Society of Engineers) seconded, the following resolution:—"That this meeting views with great alarm the action of the Central Control Board and its violation of constitutional government, and hereby strongly protests against the Star Chamber methods adopted by the Board. We also resent the libelling of our women-folk in charging them with excessive drinking. Further, this meeting pledges itself to resist by all legitimate means further encroachment upon the personal liberties of the workers."

Mr. Tillett, spoke in support of the resoultion said he had taken his present attitude because he knew that the Government, in using the Control Board, was not aiming at the "trade" itself, but at the liberties of the working classes and was creating a distinctive and repressive piece of class administration, with a view of getting more control, not merely over the liberty of the workers, but over their lives. He did not care if they fought the "trade," because the "trade" could and ought to be able to protect itself; but if, under the false cry—and it was indeed a false cry—that excessive drunkenness existed they attacked the workers, that was so unfair that one must resent it. If the working class were drunken, and if drunkenness was a crime, other classes must also be censured and have their liberty restricted. It was not fair that there should be, at this period of war, class distinctions; at such a time class distinction was not merely suicidal, but criminal. (Hear, hear.) The goody-goodies and the busybodies of the country had not interfered during the recruiting agitation as to whether a man should be a soldier whether he drank or not. They did not care who went to the trenches, and he asked why, therefore, they should have distinctions made by teetotallers and busybodies who were glad enough to skulk behind the dead bodies of our lads in France—(cheers, and a voice, "Some of them"),—or those who were making munitions of war. If they would take a gun in their hands the people would honour them. (Hear, hear.) The attitude of those persons was a direct insult to the working class. He was not saying that they had not among them women who were foolish enough to drink, but long before and since the war there had been a diminution of drunkenness. He had not yet met a single employer who had said that men were neglecting or refusing to do their work. If a man was incapacitated he did not want him forced; but, in these perilous times if a man refused to work because of laziness or "booze" he would have him shot.

At this point there was some little interruption, and the Chairman appealed for order.

Mr. Tillett, continuing, said he realised the gravity and importance of the position held by men like Mr. Asquith. He felt that he had a very terrible responsibility thrust upon him. He agreed

LORD ROSEBERY AND "JUDAS KISS" OF GERMANY

Lord Rosebery, in opening a club for men of the oversea forces in Edinburgh on Saturday, said there have been two great surprises in this gigantic war. One surprise has been for ourselves and the other for the enemy. The surprise for ourselves was this—that we could not conceive it possible that a great civilised country which believed itself to stand at the head of the culture of the world, which had achieved a prosperity beyond all human dreams, swelling in 40 years from 40 millions of population to nearly 70, which had made a commerce unexampled in the history of the world, having potent armies and potent fleets for its defence,—we could not believe it possible that this nation was all the time with genial smiles and with Judas kisses—its Chief visiting England amid the acclamations of a simple-hearted people attended by the chief of his spies,—we could not believe it possible that this Empire by a deliberate and infamous conspiracy against the liberties of the world was all the time plotting a war of which no human being can see the limits, but which every child can see means the ruin and devastation of Europe.

The other surprise was the surprise which has been afforded Germany, or rather Prussia. She had disseminated spies everywhere; she thought she was sure of stirring disaffection everywhere; she had emissaries in India, Egypt, Canada, and Australia; she had everywhere men perfidiuosly working, through newspapers and otherwise, all stirring up a spirit of disaffection to the British Empire. What has been the result? From the moment war was declared every part of the Empire leaped up as if by one impulse, and rushed to the assistance of the mother country. (Applause)

That is the glorious surprise our enemies have unconsciously prepared for us—that henceforth, come weal come woe, the British Empire is a world-wide fact with which the universe has yet to deal. So long as we stick together—and our union is now thickly cemented with blood shed in this war—no danger can happen to us we are not capable of confronting. (Applause.)

CRUELTY TO CHILDREN.

The National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, which has now for thirty-one years carried on its beneficent work throughout the country, was the subject of a number of addresses in different parts of Manchester and surrounding districts.

Last year the Society dealt with 150,000 children in England, Ireland, and Wales While, it is recorded, there has been in recent months a striking improvement in the conditions of child-life generally, there is still great need to inform people of what to do in cases of child-neglect or ill-treatment. Many thousands of children from the Manchester district were dealt with in the year, and very many homes have owed their reformation

MR. W. S. ROWNTREE ON PREHISTORIC MAN.

At the New Islington Hall Mr. W. S. Rowntree, Yorkshire, gave a lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, on "Prehistoric man and his times."

Mr Rowntree began his review of the early history of man by brief references to the iron and bronze ages, and he then summarised in a non-technical and iteresting manner all the important things that are known, and much that is surmised, about neolithic and palaeolithic periods. He described the principal discoveries of relics of neolithic man, the polished and unpolished flint weapons and implements he used, and the circles and tumuli he constructed. He explained that the remains, and particularly the skulls, of neolithic men which had been found in various parts of the world showed that no marked change had occurred in the physical development of mankind since that remote age, which extended back about twelve thousand years.

After describing the cave painters and the drawings on reindeer bones, produced in the pleistocene period, Mr. Rowntree suggested that the palaeolithic men who were associated with the reindeer might have trekked northward as the cold regions grew more restricted, and that possibly they were represented among modern peoples by the Esquimeaux. The discovery of cave paintings in Africa, considered in conjuction with the fact that remains found at Mentone were of a negroid type, suggested that the bushmen of Africa might have descended from the cave painters.

THE GROWTH OF MIND.

Mr. Rowntree described the chief characteristics of the Neanderthal and Piltdown skulls, and pointed out that although they represented a low stage of development they were nevertheless the skulls of men. He spoke of the apeman of Java, and showed the resemblances to the anthropoid ape. By means of a genealogical tree on the screen he explained the modern theories of the rise of the principal races of man, and at the close of his lecture he briefly considered the causes which brought about the development of man along lines so strangely different from those of the rest of the animal kingdom. The acquisition of the faculty of walking upright and the consequent freeing of the hands for many purposes, he said, must have greatly stimulated the growth of brain cells, and this process would be accelerated by the discovery of fire and the use of weapons, the beginning of speech, and the domestication of animals.

The music was given by Miss Minnie Williams, Madame A. Peers, and Mr. John Wills.

LABOUR ORGANISATION NOT TO BE USED LIGHTLY.

Mr. A. Bellamy president of the National Union of Railwaymen, spoke at a mass meeting of railway workers at Battersea Town Hall on the "triple industrial alliance."

The alliance, he said, was not going to be used lightly on any account. It must never be used unless it could be used effectively and without something arose which was of sufficient value to justify its use for the advantage of the workers in one particular industry.

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WOMEN CLERKS AND THE UNION.

At a meeting of the Sectional Organising Committee of the Lancashire and Cheshire Council of the Railway Clerks' Association, at Preston, on Saturday, the branches reported that there had been a great influx of new members of the association, and particularly of female clerks.

The meeting heartily endorsed the action being taken by the association in regard to the alleged victimisation of female clerks by the Great Central Railway, which is to be discussed in Parliament.

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Star Chamber methods adopted by the Board. We also resent the libelling of our women-folk in charging them with excessive drinking. Further, this meeting pledges itself to resist by all legitimate means further encroachment upon the personal liberties of the workers."

Mr. Tillett, spoke in support of the resoultion said he had taken his present attitude because he knew that the Government, in using the Control Board, was not aiming at the "trade" itself, but at the liberties of the working classes and was creating a distinctive and repressive piece of class administration, with a view of getting more control, not merely over the liberty of the workers, but over their lives. He did not care if they fought the "trade," because the "trade" could and ought to be able to protect itself; but if, under the false cry—and it was indeed a false cry—that excessive drunkenness existed they attacked the workers, that was so unfair that one must resent it. If the working class were drunken, and if drunkenness was a crime, other classes must also be censured and have their liberty restricted. It was not fair that there should be, at this period of war, class distinctions; at such a time class distinction was not merely suicidal, but criminal. (Hear, hear.) The goody-goodies and the busybodies of the country had not interfered during the recruiting agitation as to whether a man should be a soldier whether he drank or not. They did not care who went to the trenches, and he asked why, therefore, they should have distinctions made by teetotallers and busybodies who were glad enough to skulk behind the dead bodies of our lads in France—(cheers, and a voice, "Some of them"),—or those who were making munitions of war. If they would take a gun in their hands the people would honour them. (Hear, hear.) The attitude of those persons was a direct insult to the working class. He was not saying that they had not among them women who were foolish enough to drink, but long before and since the war there had been a diminution of drunkenness. He had not yet met a single employer who had said that men were neglecting or refusing to do their work. If a man was incapacitated he did not want him forced; but, in these perilous times if a man refused to work because of laziness or "booze" he would have him shot.

At this point there was some little interruption, and the Chairman appealed for order.

Mr. Tillett, continuing, said he realised the gravity and importance of the position held by men like Mr. Asquith. He felt that he had a very terrible responsibility thrust upon him. He agreed with Mr. Asquith in his views upon the war, and he sympathised with Lord Kitchener in the responsibility placed upon him, but he did not believe those responsible men were parties to the repressive action of the Central Board. (Cheers.) He believed any measure of this kind introduced into the House of Commons would meet with great hostility, and would not go through, and he was positive the Lords would throw it out. When we started the war we had just over a hundred thousand men. As if by magic, four millions had sprung into the field, and 96 per cent. of them were of the working class. We had now as much munitions of war as the Germans after their forty-four years of preparation. A class that could produce such results was a class to be honoured and not degraded, as they would be by the restrictions of the Central Board. (Cheers.)

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Besides references to the work of the Society at different places of worship, twenty-two meetings were held, at which there were large gatherings. Among the speakers were Mr. Robert Parr, director of the Society, Mr. F. J. Mehew, Mr. J. C. Teasdale, Mr. W. H. Roberts, Miss Aylmer, Mrs Schooling, Miss Sladen, and Miss Blackie (of the Central Office), Mr. J. Marsden and Mr. W. H. Francis, and Mr. S. H. Bond (Preston).

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The alliance, he said, was not going to be used lightly on any account. It must never be used unless it could be used effectively and without something arose which was of sufficient value to justify its use for the advantage of the workers in one particular industry.

They might take it that when it was to the advantage of the workers in one industry it would be to the advantage of the workers of the United Kingdom.

"Our friends," he said, "need not fear that it is going to be used whenever there is a little bit of trouble in a little centre."

Mr. Bellamy stated that at the present moment no one recognised the solidarity of the railwaymen more than the companies. The railwaymen now received a war bonus of 5s. a week, and that had to last so long as the railways were under Government control. If the men had anything in them it would last a good deal longer than that.

Mr. J. Bermingham, the organising secretary, said that trouble in the railway world was more remote now, if things were carefully watched, than it had ever been before.

679/3

British Citizen

Saturday, December 18th, 1915.

Mrs. Philip Snowden's Stories of America.

Mrs. Philip Snowden has reached England from America, where she talked with President Wilson and met Mr. Hy. Ford, the motor millionaire, whose peace ship is coming to Europe. She gave a "Daily News" representative some of her impressions.

It appears that Mrs. Snowden had far less to do with Mr. Ford than the cables from America led most people to imagine. At the same time she formed a very clear estimate of his character.

"This is how it happened," she said "Two days before I was due to sail from America the President asked me and Frau Roska Schwimmer, who has been closely identified with the peace movement on the side of the Central Powers, to come to see him in order that he might hear our views on the utility of a neutral nation's peace conference at which the United States would be represented.

"When I got to Washington I found that a peace meeting had been arranged for the same day, and that without mentioning the matter to me the organisers had billed me all over the place to speak. Another of the speakers was Mr Ford, whom I had never seen or communicated with. One could only bow and obey the order to say something in public before going on to the private audience with President Wilson."

Mrs. Snowden caught her first glimpse of Mr. Ford as she was sitting on the platform. A youngish-looking man whom she took to be a junior secretary came in late. He seemed to feel rather out of place and was obviously shy.

A BASHFUL ORATOR.

"I was astonished," she says, "when he rose in response to the chairman's call for the famous Mr. Ford. He came forward bashfully and said: 'Friends, I've never spoken in public in my life before, and all I can say is that here's my slogan "The boys must be out of the trenches by Christmas, never to go back again." Then he sat down. I fancy he must have meant to say a great deal more but that was all he had the nerve for."

After the meeting Mrs. Snowden chatted with Mr. Ford for five minutes. He talked with the utmost enthusiasm about the mission of the peace ship, and seemed absolutely confident of success.

"He struck me as a singularly earnest and sincere fellow, with something about him of the real greatness of simplicity," declared Mrs. Snowden. "I don't think he has any idea what he is out against, but he has never been beaten yet in anything he has undertaken, and can't see how this job differs from the rest. There can be no doubt that he is prepared to spend his huge fortune on this crusade, and even the people who believe he is throwing his money away find him such a good sort that they don't like to discourage him."

From the meeting Mrs. Snowden went on to the White House, where she talked to the President about America's role as peacemaker.

WHAT THE PRESIDENT SAID.

Her report of the interview is as follows: "I impressed upon the President that the idea of a conference of neutral nations was something of a straw, but that it was the duty of civilisation at

PEACE OF ALL MANKIND.
DR AKED'S STRONG FAITH IN THE FORD PEACE MISSION.

A dispatch signed by Mr. Henry Ford whose peace party on board the Oscar II. is now on their way to Europe, has been received by Reuter's Agency by wireless. The dispatch consists of an address by Dr. C. F. Aked, pastor of the First Congregational Church, San Francisco.

"Europe is painting itself vermillion in its own heart's blood," he said "Crimson madness has descended upon the nations of the world, but this cannot be the end. Massacre by machinery cannot be the last word of the 20th century. Science and humanity cannot tolerate it. God in His heaven cannot bear it for ever, and who knows but what we ourselves may bring those diplomats and rulers and statesmen around their table face to face to talk things over quietly a little soon than they would have done if Henry Ford had not brought us upon this ship?

"Who shall say what is to be the effect upon the mind of mankind of this demonstration that he is giving of a belief in something mightier than all the powers of the embattled hosts. Until Saturday I never saw Mr. Ford. I do not know his plans. I do not know what is in the mind of any one of you. I do not know what we are setting out to accomplish. I do not know how we propose to accomplish it, but I am as certain as I am of my own existence that good, and lasting good and only good will come of it."

NEW £1,000 LIMIT.

WAR LOAN DEPOSITS IN THE POST OFFICE.

Mr. Montague (Financial Secretary to the Treasury), moving the second reading of the War Loans (Supplemental Provisions) Bill in the House of Commons, said it was a commonplace machinery bill. The object was to make provision for the establishment at the Post Office of a register of the War Loan stock held by small investors through the Post Office. It was also proposed to remove or modify for the duration of the war the limit now placed upon the amount allowed to be deposited in the Post Office Savings Bank, and also to remove the limit on the holding of Government stock in the Post Office. This would enable trade unions and friendly societies to register their stock in the new Post Office register. They proposed also to make regulations for the issue of bearer bonds through the Post Office.

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The second reading was agreed to.

Why Should We Save?

BIGGEST SACRIFICES FROM MONEYED CLASSES.

The movement for "Personal Economy by Voluntary Effort for National Needs" was advocated at a meeting held in the Liverpool Town Hall and mainly attended by ladies.

Mr. Hartley Withers said the fact to be faced was that the Government had to get during the next year 1,600 million tons of goods and services out of the country. Our productive power, however, was limited. If the Government wanted 1,600 million tons and could only get 400 millions by borrowing abroad, the only thing to be done was to give them the remaining 1,200 million tons of goods and services ourselves. To do this we had to save our money. By doing so we were doing two things. We were first of all keeping money in our own pockets ready for the tax-gatherer and also keeping it ready for the Government next time they offered a loan on subscription.

Every shilling we spent that was not absolutely necessary for our health and efficiency was something done to help the Germans, because we were diverting to our own use and spending upon our own comforts and luxuries money which ought to be spent in providing the army with the things that were wanted, or we were diverting work and energy which ought to be devoted to the export trade. We could all help in the matter of the adverse balance of trade which had been created by merely going without everything we could possibly do without, although we did not want to economise in such a manner as would impair our health, efficiency, courage and confidence

An argument that was often advanced was "Why should we save when the Government is wasting money with both hands?" (Applause.) He thought the conclusive answer was that the people who talked about the extravagance of the Government forgot what an enormous achievement the Government had carried out, and was carrying out, at the present time—an achievement which had made this sleepy old country wake up and become the greatest, or at any rate one of the greatest, military Powers in the world. Anything we could go without now helped not only in the prosecution of the war but for the difficult time which would come upon the restoration of peace.

Mr. Charles J. Stewart, the Public Trustee, referred to the work of the Association of United Workers in this matter, and emphasised the great responsibility that lay upon the women of England who had their chance at this moment, and he did not think it was putting it too high to say that it was in their power to bring about an early and victorious peace. It was really from the moneyed classes that the sacrifices must come, because, taken at the highest, he did not think more than one-tenth of the millions required could be supplied by the working classes.

A resolution was passed to support the work of the Association of United Workers, and recommending the appointment of a local council of lady presidents

MIDDLE-CLASS WOMEN AND WORKING GIRLS IN FACTORIES.

Isabella O. Ford writes to the "Daily News":—

Sir,—I read Miss MacArthur's "Word of Friendly Counsel" with much interest. But I want to add something to what she has no admirably said about the way in which one can "fully learn what the life and labour of the average working-girl are like."

When the middle-class woman has finished her 12 hours' shift in a munition fatcory she goes home to a comfortable house, and if she has been on a night shift, to a comfortable aired bed in a quiet bed room.

When the working girl comes back in the early morning she finds in most cases an unaired bed, which the day worker has only just left—for in houses containing three very small bedrooms (sometimes only two), with families of seven, eight, or nine persons in them, there is no room for single beds—and in a close, stuffy room. If the window is kept open the street smells, all worse since so many street-sweepers have enlisted, and the smells from factories fill the room, and the continual noice outside, the ceaseless crying of someone's baby somewhere near, the jolting of heavy lorries and wagons, the monotonous cries of the street sellers with little rattling carts, the perpetual sound of machinery, all hese noises hinder sleep. Besides, the girl must more often than not, help in the house work as well as sleep.

Hundreds of streets in one Yorkshire city, now making munitions, consist entirely of back-to-back houses. If anyone really wishes to understand industrial life, and be one with the workers, and not merely an outsider, they must sleep in a back-to-back house. They will never forget the haunting smell of closeness, nor how every sound in the house is heard everywhere in it. There is no quiet and no privacy possible in such dwellings.

As for the food—when tea has to be bought in small quantities it has an entirely different taste from tea bought in large quantities in a middle-class house. The milk!—well, one wonders what it is made of! But the well-to-do woman will seldom, if ever, experience these things; for if she goes into these houses she will be given the best of everything (only the poor understand the highest courtesy, I sometimes think), and a wall of politeness will cut her off from obtaining this priceless valuable knowledge. Unless she goes feeling within her that there is not one shadow of difference between her and her hosts, except that they know infinitely more about life and its teachings than she has ever known, and perhaps ever will know; and that they often in ordinary daily life have to rise, and do rise, to heights of courage, devotion, and self-sacrifice that she in her prosperous sheltered home may never realise or understand in the least. Then they will treat her as a friend and comrade.

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WHAT THE PRESIDENT SAID.

Her report of the interview is as follows: "I impressed upon the President that the idea of a conference of neutral nations was something of a straw, but that it was the duty of civilisation at such a time to catch even at straws.

"He said he was in close and continuous touch with the belligerent nations through the ordinary diplomatic channels, and at the same time taking every opportunity of finding out what unofficial people like myself were thinking. Just as soon as he could satisfy himself that there was a real chance of the belligerents being brought together he would act, but he was not convinced that that moment had arrived. The whole point with him was one of the right time.

"He concluded by stating that what we had said would receive his earnest, sympathetic, and prayerful consideration —those were his exact words—and we left him feeling that we had certainly not spoken entirely in vain."

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29-12-15

Women's Kingdom.

Women and Conscription.

I was present last Thursday week, in the Portman Rooms, Baker Street, at a women's meeting arranged by the Women's International League. This gathering should have taken place three weeks ago at the Memorial Hall, but was postponed owing to the disturbance that broke up a meeting of the Union of Democratic Control, the owners of the hall thereupon cancelling the letting. Mrs. Swanwick, president of the British branch of the League, occupied the chair; and the speakers, singularly representative of different aspects of the feminist movement, were all members of the Executive Committee. Mrs. Despard was also on the platform, and at the close of the meeting expressed her "intense sympathy" with its objects. They were two-fold: (1) To state women's case against conscription; (2) to demand the inclusion of women in the event of the Reform of the Parliamentary Franchise. With reference to the first of these, the chairman's claim for the League, "We stand for democracy," may be taken as indicative of the ground of one of the most strenuous objections of the women's movement to conscription. It is the future rather than the immediate effect of compulsory military service that inspires the warnings of women who have championed the cause of liberty so well. Mrs. Swanwick referred with justifiable contempt to "the freedom that says. 'You shall enlist voluntarily—or we'll compel you!'"

Industrial Conscription.

The great menace touched upon by every speaker, and instantly endorsed by the audience, is that, as Mrs. Pethick Lawrence said, "The conscriptionists want to get control over the industrial worker." Another speaker, Mrs. Barton, gave evidence of the grip of the "mailed fist" already upon the shoulder of the worker. "It is intolerable to think of this pressure in peace as well as in war. . . Conscription, so far from being National Service, is national disservice." The over-riding of conscience involved in compulsory military service was not left out of account in the women's case against conscription. "Right is might" has been the base of the opposition to their claim for liberty. "We learnt in prison our freedom," said Mrs. Lawrence, referring to her militant days, "but how terrible if it had been possible for militants to compel other people to take part in their campaign. . . Conscription is moral slavery." Conscription, in the view of the women on the platform and on the floor at this meeting, is the offspring of German militarism, whether in Germany, France, or England, and as such is the foe, in every age and nation, of women, their work, their development, and their liberty. And not of women only—neither men nor women can be reckoned alone—but also of democracy. A resolution, expressing the conviction that any form of "industrial or military conscription" would be "a grave blow to liberty and social progress in this country," was passed.

The Suffrage Resolution.

The second resolution, proposed by Miss Margaret Bondfield, concerned the suffrage question that is engaging attention in all quarters. Miss Bondfield traced the chequered career of the Registration Bill in a characteristically racy speech. She stated an irresistibly strong case for the inclusion of women in the electorate if and when any change is made in the present registration laws. Sir John Simon's speech, she continued, suggests that "special registers" will be provided so that "the men at the front shall not be losers" (i.e., at the next election). "This," she said, "would sweep away the 'time considerations,'" which, of course, vitally affect registration as things are at present. It would constitute, in fact, an electoral reform. "If service to the nation is to be the basis of enfranchisement," cried Miss Bondfield, concluding a passage ringing with the splendid work that women have done, their heroism and endurance throughout this last year, "we must have adult suffrage." Miss Maude Royden seconded the resolution, which demanded, as "appropriate recognition of the service, sacrifice, and suffering" of women, their inclusion in any electoral Parliamentary reform measure. Miss Royden, with whatever subject she may be dealing, always creates a spiritual atmosphere. One could not but be impressed by its strength as she urged that motherhood should have articulate voice in the councils of the nation. Women's work during the war had, like men's, been splendid

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Saturday Review 1-1-16 670

Great things will be looked for from the Government in the New Year; and there is no doubt that, if the Cabinet is to last into the summer, it will have to give people a much better impression than it has given during the last six months. For the Serbian fiasco, and the position generally in the Balkans, the public should recognise that the British Cabinet is by no means wholly to blame; for Great Britain is not a Dictator to the Allies. But feebleness and fumbling at home is another matter; and feebleness and fumbling have been too often apparent over Men, Munitions, and Money. It is rather surprising that the Government has so far discovered few convincing critics; it has been attacked a great deal; but few of these attacks have been sustained; whilst those which have been sustained have been petty as a rule, not made by powerful or "well judgemented" minds.

The truth is that all our politicians to-day, critics as well as criticised, have been bred up in the politics of peace. The war sense comes but slowly. It cannot be bred at once in a country which is spared the worst horrors of war. Notoriously Mr. Asquith's gifts and habits as a Premier are the gifts and habits of peace. Two years ago there was nothing he would less have imagined for himself than being called to lead and decide for a nation at war. All his long political past is against him, and it is only fair that we should allow for this. Few men can change the tenour of their political lives as successfully as Pitt. Mr. Asquith has torn a leaf or two from that remarkable book of conversion; but he is not, it is too obvious, half as bold in war as he was tactical in peace; and no one would claim for him the stature of Pitt in either capacity. He cannot strike Pitt's right and determined attitude—unambiguous and uncompromising—the attitude we expect of a leader of men. It is notorious that Pitt loved peace, and only went into his great war with infinite reluctance and at the last possible moment. He was a born peace Minister, and this fact has encouraged many critics to assume that he was necessarily a bad war Minister. The view is quite untenable, and not at all logical. He did not enter willingly into war, but, once he had entered, he was resolute and thorough in speech and conduct.

The heroes of the Cabinet have decided to break their hearts and keep the pledge. It is understood they reached this decision on Tuesday after a long and grave discussion. So the "Voluntary System" is really dead now; the "Voluntary System", which has been the "pride and glory", even the "spiritual home", of the Radical and Socialist parties and their newspapers all through the war—and which seems to have made up to them for the dead and dying and mangled on the country's daily casualty lists. A few of the Twenty-Two, it is said, are so distressed by this supreme act of sacrifice—scarcely equalled since Abraham built an altar and made ready to offer up Isaac—that they may retire. It is all very moving—if you choose to take it with high seriousness, which is not easy.

But now that the pledge is to be kept and the unmarried men—who, by the way, include juveniles of 40 years and 364 days, with bald heads, big stomachs, and a carpet-slipper habit in the evening—are to be run in, one would like to know exactly *why* it is "only fair" that the Bachelors should go and taste cold steel before the Benedicks. We have seen that "only fair" statement made in a score of public prints, and have heard it shouted everywhere. But why is it "only fair"? Surely Benedick has rather more, as a rule, to defend, to fight for, than Bachelor? He has a home of his own, a wife of his own, children perhaps of his own; he has—though this is not invariable—more money of his own, more chattels, more pigs, cows, and poultry, than has Bachelor. Why should Benedick expect Bachelor to go to the wars first and take gladly the javelins into his breast, and thereby defend his—Benedick's—belongings, wife, and home?

The truth is, this "only fair" talk, this thoughtless stuff about the iniquity of young unmarried "slackers" staying at home whilst poor, dear married men are torn off to the wars, has been largely claptrap. But, if any decision was to be reached at all this side of Christmas 1916, it has been necessary, because only by devising a good "cry", and spreading it among the crowd like wildfire were our statesmen able at length to reach a conclusion. It was necessary to sweep in the anti-conscriptionists by some such catchy, crowd-charming device of the kind. All the same, now the dodge has been done, one may say that it was and is repugnant to good sense and

lead and decide for a nation at war. All his long political past is against him, and it is only fair that we should allow for this. Few men can change the tenour of their political lives as successfully as Pitt. Mr. Asquith has torn a leaf or two from that remarkable book of conversion; but he is not, it is too obvious, half as bold in war as he was tactical in peace; and no one would claim for him the stature of Pitt in either capacity. He cannot strike Pitt's right and determined attitude—unambiguous and uncompromising—the attitude we expect of a leader of men. It is notorious that Pitt loved peace, and only went into his great war with infinite reluctance and at the last possible moment. He was a born peace Minister, and this fact has encouraged many critics to assume that he was necessarily a bad war Minister. The view is quite untenable, and not at all logical. He did not enter willingly into war, but, once he had entered, he was resolute and thorough in speech and conduct.

The heroes of the Cabinet have decided to break their hearts and keep the pledge. It is understood they reached this decision on Tuesday after a long and grave discussion. So the "Voluntary System" is really dead now; the "Voluntary System", which has been the "pride and glory", even the "spiritual home", of the Radical and Socialist parties and their newspapers all through the war—and which seems to have made up to them for the dead and dying and mangled on the country's daily casualty lists. A few of the Twenty-Two, it is said, are so distressed by this supreme act of sacrifice—scarcely equalled since Abraham built an altar and made ready to offer up Isaac—that they may retire. It is all very moving—if you choose to take it with high seriousness, which is not easy.

But now that the pledge is to be kept and the unmarried men—who, by the way, include juveniles of 40 years and 364 days, with bald heads, big stomachs, and a carpet-slipper habit in the evening—are to be run in, one would like to know exactly *why* it is "only fair" that the Bachelors should go and taste cold steel before the Benedicks. We have seen that "only fair" statement made in a score of public prints, and have heard it shouted everywhere. But why is it "only fair"? Surely Benedick has rather more, as a rule, to defend, to fight for, than Bachelor? He has a home of his own, a wife of his own, children perhaps of his own; he has—though this is not invariable—more money of his own, more chattels, more pigs, cows, and poultry, than has Bachelor. Why should Benedick expect Bachelor to go to the wars first and take gladly the javelins into his breast, and thereby defend his—Benedick's—belongings, wife, and home?

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Daily News & Leader.
5-1-16

COMPULSION—AYE OR NO.

To-morrow's Great Labour Congress.

3,000,000 WORKERS TO BE REPRESENTED.

The Military Service Bill which Mr. Asquith is to introduce to-day will be considered by a thousand Labour leaders from all parts of the country on Thursday morning at the Central Hall, Westminster. The gathering will be a congress of Labour wider in its scope of representation than any held in recent times. It will comprise not only the representatives of trade unions, but also delegates from other bodies intimately bound up with the cause of Labour. The Independent Labour Party will be there; so will the Trade Councils and also the Labour Representation Committees. This means that the voice of the congress will be the voice of organised Labour as a whole, and not of any special section of it alone. Well over 3,000,000 workers will be represented by those present at the congress.

Mr. Bowerman, M.P., the secretary of the governing committee of the Trade Union Congress, has had an arduous task in organising so swiftly an extemporised national gathering of this kind, but he is a resourceful and energetic executive chief, and as the result of his labours there will be collected together probably the most diversified and most powerful Labour conference this country has ever seen. Acceptances from the various trade unions and other bodies are coming in by every post.

The chair at the congress will be occupied by Mr. Harry Gosling, a level-headed leader, with tact as well as courage, and under his presidency the meeting will certainly run smoothly. Exactly what form the proceedings will take is not yet certain, but an agenda will probably be formed to-night at a private meeting to be held after the Prime Minister's speech. Certainly one resolution, and perhaps more than one, will be submitted to the meeting, and it goes without saying that a way will be found for a decisive answer aye or no to the question of compulsion. All Labour gatherings of this kind are models of public procedure, and there need be no doubt that there will be definite and clear-cut decisions with regard to the matters raised.

The miners, the railway workers, the transport workers, and the textile operatives of the North will provide a very large proportion of the membership represented. Among the acceptances already to hand is one from the South Wales Miners, whose executive the other day, it will be remembered, passed a resolution against compulsion. Amongst the public men who may be expected to make a declaration of their views are Mr. Arthur Henderson, Mr. John Hodge, and Mr. J. H. Thomas. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald will almost certainly speak if he is among the Independent Labour Party representatives. Great interest will also centre round the speech of Mr. Smillie, the President of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

A Conscientious Objection to Conscription.

The following letter has been sent to members of the Cabinet and of the House of Commons:

"Compulsory Military Service. On behalf of the Committee of the Society of Friends specially appointed to have charge of this matter, we write to inform you that if any measure having the above for its object should become law the opposition of our society to it will in no sense be modified or withdrawn; such opposition is fundamental and is based upon a conscientious objection to all warfare.

"We are further to inform you that if any such measure should become law the support and co-operation of members of the Society will be available for those outside their own body whose conscientious objection is based upon the same grounds as their own.

"Signed on behalf of the Committee:
Edward Grubb,
Joan Mary Fry,
Robert M. Mennell.

A BIRMINGHAM FIASCO.

A Conscription resolution carried the

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A BIRMINGHAM FIASCO.

A Conscription resolution emptied the Birmingham Council Chamber yesterday Alderman Hayes asked the Council to say that if Conscription were adopted it should be general and not sectional. There was much demur to the question being raised. When the Alderman began to argue it so many members left that a quorum was no longer available. Four Labour members were among those who hastened the development. There was a good deal of jeering, and angry exchanges took place between Conscriptionists and anti-Conscriptionists till the Lord Mayor vacated the chair.

WOMAN'S VIEW.

The Executive Committee of the Women's Labour League (at an emergency meeting) decided yesterday to instruct its delegates to oppose any acceptance of measures for compulsory military service.

The committee regretted that the Prime Minister's pledge had been allowed to stand without opposition, and held that it was incumbent upon the Labour movement to demand the fullest information, especially as to military and industrial needs.

"WHY THIS UNDUE HASTE?"

The Executive Committee of the British Socialist Party, in a manifesto issued last night relative to the Military Service Bill which Mr. Asquith will introduce to-day, ask, "Why are the Conscriptionists so eager to rush through this measure? The War Office cannot even now cope with the training and equipment of those who have volunteered and attested. What sinister motives lie behind all this undue haste? Let the Ministers take the nation into their confidence, which they have never done. Let them speak to the people as from man to man, and not as from autocratic rulers to subjects. Until they do so we can look only with suspicion upon a partial measure of compulsion, which can easily be extended to every department of industry for war purposes."

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LABOUR LEADER, THURSDAY, JANUARY 6, 1916.

LABOUR LEADER

A Weekly Journal of Socialism, Trade Unionism & Politics.

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THE FATEFUL CONFERENCE.

Organised Labour will to-day be called upon to decide the most momentous issue by which it has ever been faced. In its hands lie not merely the future of Labour but the destiny of the nation.

The representatives of Labour are accustomed to confronting issues of moment. Their votes frequently decide questions involving the well-being of many thousands of men. By their training and experience they may be expected to approach this supreme issue with the calm consideration and reasoned deliberation which it demands.

There never was an occasion when it was necessary that Labour should guard more jealously its independence of judgment or appreciate more fully its own dignity and worth. Organised Labour has always reserved to itself the right of coming to its own conclusion on matters of public moment.

LABOUR'S HISTORIC ATTITUDE.

It is unnecessary to emphasise the historic opposition of Labour to Conscription. That opposition has been based on three grounds—its abhorrence of militarism and its faith in civic democracy, the menace to industrial liberty involved in Conscription, and the outrage which Conscription would inflict upon the conscience of thousands of men. So deep-rooted has that opposition been that even under the changed conditions of the war Organised Labour has not hesitated to voice it resolutely. Four months ago the Trade Union Congress unanimously declared that Conscription "always proves a burden to the workers, and will divide the nation at a time when absolute unanimity is essential." It is obvious that only the gravest development of circumstances can justify the acceptance in January of a system so repulsive in September.

But, it may be argued, the Government does not propose to introduce a system of Conscription. Its proposal is confined in enforcing service from single men before calling up married men.

At the moment the proposal of the Government may be limited in this way. But we shall be blind to all the circumstances of the situation if we suppose for one moment that the Government will be satisfied with the degrees of compulsion now proposed, should it succeed in imposing it.

A NORTHCLIFFE CONSPIRACY.

Let the workers not forget the origin of the present proposal. It is to be found in the Northcliffe Press and the Conscriptionist members of the Cabinet who have for many months worked in conjunction with the *Times* and *Daily Mail*. It was the Northcliffe Press which first raised the cry, "Single men first." It saw quite clearly that if the principle of compulsion were once accepted, it would be a very easy matter to secure its extension. The compulsionists have played a very clever game. But Labour, if it does not fall into the trap set for it, can still frustrate their design.

And let it not be forgotten that the Conscriptionists are not going to be satisfied with compulsion for the army. They are determined to impose compulsion upon the workers in industry, and particularly upon munition workers. Already this proposal has been made within the Cabinet, and those who are urging it will not rest content until they have gained their ends. Mr. Lloyd George has been one of the foremost advocates of industrial compulsion, and his experiences on the Clyde are believed to have intensified his advocacy.

If Labour accepts the principle of compulsion it will surrender the whole case against Conscription, military or industrial. If the principle is applied to unmarried men now, it will be applied to married men before many weeks [illegible]

greatest care can the financial assistance which the British Government is giving be maintained. The position is far graver than is generally recognised, and unless industry, and especially our export trade with America, is maintained, we, and our Allies with us, may suffer from a financial collapse which would be quite as serious as a military defeat. Every man withdrawn from industry and placed in the army is not only lessening the productivity of the nation, he is actually adding to the cost the nation has to bear. This consideration not only makes compulsion unnecessary, it makes it a menace to the success of the British arms.

If the Labour Conference desires to assist the Government in maintaining the security of the nation, let it propose to it the Conscription of property as an alternative, *not as a supplement*, to the Conscription of life. Were the Government to commandeer the material wealth of the nation beyond what is necessary for the comfortable existence of the people, it would immediately be able to make our financial position secure, it would stop at one stroke the lavish expenditure of the wealthy upon luxuries and would kill the unnecessary industries which are employing labour unusefully. More than that, it would be enabled to remunerate the men in the army as they ought to be remunerated. Hundreds of thousands of men are hesitating to join the forces because they have responsibilities which they cannot possibly meet at the present army rates. Conscript wealth and Great Britain will be able to pay its soldiers as generously as do Australia and Canada. Conscript wealth, and the Conscription of life will be unnecessary.

THE PREMIER'S "PLEDGE."

The *Times* has argued that national honour demands that the Premier's "pledge" to the married men should be kept. It has even gone so far as to suggest that, after our expression of indignation with Germany's action in violating Belgian neutrality, we should be guilty of hypocrisy if we consented to the Premier's "scrap of paper" being torn up. But what are the facts about this pledge? It was made without the sanction of Parliament, without the sanction even of the Premier's colleagues in the Cabinet. Can such a pledge be counted binding on Parliament? Can it be counted binding on the nation? Can it be counted binding on Labour?

The fact that the Cabinet has since felt obliged to associate itself with the Premier's pledge constitutes no reason why Parliament or Labour should accept it. This is still ostensibly a democratic country and the Premier and the Cabinet are still the servants, not the masters, of the people. Labour should view very seriously every step that is taken towards compromising the rights of Parliament and should assert with firmness and dignity its own independence.

And the pledge of the Premier to the married men is not his only pledge. He assured Parliament that compulsion would not be introduced without the "general consent" of the nation. Who can possibly say that such "general consent" has been expressed? On every hand there are signs of resolute opposition to Conscription.

MILITARISM AND LABOUR.

We appeal to the representatives of Labour to take more than a temporary view of the issue they have to decide. They have supported the prosecution of the war to liberate Europe from the bondage of militarism and to secure the triumph of democracy over despotism. By accepting the Government's proposal they would extend the power of [illegible]

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Will our readers please note that all copies of the
I.L.P. DIARY FOR 1916.
(Cloth and Leather Editions), have been sold, and further copies cannot be supplied. The demand this year has been exceptional, and although we are sorry to disappoint so many customers, we regret it is impossible for us to print another edition.
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And let it not be forgotten that the Conscriptionists are not going to be satisfied with compulsion for the army. They are determined to impose compulsion upon the workers in industry, and particularly upon munition workers. Already this proposal has been made within the Cabinet, and those who are urging it will not rest content until they have gained their ends. Mr. Lloyd George has been one of the foremost advocates of industrial compulsion, and his experiences on the Clyde are believed to have intensified his advocacy.

If Labour accepts the principle of compulsion it will surrender the whole case against Conscription, military or industrial. If the principle is applied to unmarried men now, it will be applied to married men before many weeks have passed. If the principle is applied to the army now, it will open wide the door to industrial Conscription in the very near future.

NO MILITARY NECESSITY.

It is urged that the step the Government proposes to take is a military necessity, that without it the war cannot be won. This argument may find an unreasoned response in the passion of the moment, it cannot possibly find a response where reason still controls decision and action.

The number of men who would make effective fighting units under the Government's present scheme is estimated at 200,000. It is ridiculous to suggest that this number can possibly make the difference between victory and defeat. In a war of this character such a body of men can wield no perceptible influence. To assert that without the acceptance of the Government's proposal the war cannot be won is to assert that the war cannot be won at all.

From the point of view of achieving military victory, it is very doubtful whether the expansion of the army will not harm the Allied cause more than assist it. The help the British Government is rendering the Allies financially and in the supply of munitions is even more imperative than the contribution of men which it is making. Only with the Government is giving be maintained. The position is far graver than is generally recognised, and unless industry, and especially our export trade with America, is maintained, we, and our Allies with us, may suffer from a financial collapse which would be quite as serious as a military defeat. Every man withdrawn from industry and placed in the army is not only lessening the productivity of the nation, he is actually adding to the cost the nation has to bear. This consideration not only makes compulsion unnecessary, it makes it a menace to the success of the British arms.

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One last factor we ask the representatives of Labour to bear in mind. There are thousands of young men in this country who cannot, under any circumstances, participate in war. So strong is their belief in the sacredness of human life, so intense is their sense of the solidarity of the human race, that they will be compelled, from conscientious conviction, to decline to engage in military service, even if they come within the provisions of a Conscription measure. Many of these men have found these convictions within the Labour movement. Many of them have served the Labour movement because of these convictions. Are they to be forgotten by the Labour movement now?

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BIRTH.

LUTTRELL.—On December 31, 1915, at Ward House, Bere Alston, the wife of Hugh Fownes Luttrell, of a son. —6—1

MARRIAGE.

BRYAN : ELLIS.—On New Year's Day, Saturday, January 1, 1916, at the City of London Registry Office, HERBERT BRYAN to M. A. ELLIS (both of the City of London I.L.P.). —6—1

THE

LABOUR LEADER

THE OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE I.L.P.

30, BLACKFRIARS STREET, MANCHESTER.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 6, 1916.

[The circulation of the LABOUR LEADER has increased by 19,000 copies during the past twelve months, and it continues to increase each week.]

REVIEW OF THE WEEK.

The Greatest Fight of Our History. The reports which have appeared in the press of the intention of the Government to introduce a Bill enacting compulsory military service have proved accurate, and we have now entered the last stage of the greatest struggle of our history. We enter it with confidence and determination. Although a Coalition Government, representing the three political parties of the State, has declared for compulsion, the opposition the measure has aroused is so strong and resolute that it is by no means certain that the Bill will become an Act. Within the Cabinet there has been serious division of opinion. Sir John Simon has submitted an uncompromising [illegible] miners and the Clyde workers, is uncompromising in its opposition. With such forces on our side we can well take heart. We believe it is still within the bounds of possibility to smash the Government measure, and even if we fail to prevent its enactment, our resistance will meet with such a degree of support that it may well occasion its drastic modification or repeal. In this supreme crisis it behoves every member of the I.L.P. to work for the cause as he has never worked before. There is something for everyone to do, and everyone should do it. Members of Parliament should be bombarded with letters, the Government and the Labour Party should be bombarded with resolutions by every possible organisation, the press must be bombarded with communications. We must not be satisfied with forwarding protests from I.L.P. branches. Every I.L.P. member should get his Trade Union branch to forward resolutions, the local Labour Parties and Trades Councils, Adult Schools and similar organisations. In every locality meetings of protest should be organised, if possible in conjunction with other organisations. We believe we can yet so mobilise the forces of opposition as to overwhelm our British "Prussians."

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The Labour Conference. What the decision of to-day's Labour Conference will be we should not like to prophesy. It is probable that the division of opinion will be close, and that a few votes may decide the issue either way. We profoundly regret the decision of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain to abstain from attending the conference. We understand its decision is based on its long-standing opposition to the recognition of the status of the General Federation of Trade Unions and its refusal to participate in any gathering to which the General Federation is a party. Without entering into the merits of that controversy, we may, we think, express the opinion that [illegible] announced his ultimatum to the Cabinet, and he has clearly before his mind the goal of industrial Conscription. And if the Trade Union movement accepts military Conscription, how can it oppose industrial Conscription?

* * *

The I.L.P. Will Resist. So far as the I.L.P. is concerned, reports from all parts of the country indicate that the imminence of the menace has only served to intensify its opposition and its determination to resist. Closely as we know the I.L.P., the spirit revealed has surprised us. There has never been in our movement so deep a determination as exists at the present moment, and the Government which ignores it will do so at its own cost. Thousands of our members have declared their determination to resist any measure should it be enacted, and, if the single men have to suffer first, their comrades will rally unitedly to their support. At a time like this we are "all members one of another"; we stand or fall together. It would be better that the I.L.P. should lose everything else and save its soul than that it should save anything by selling its soul. Our witness to our principles at this moment is the supreme necessity. If we make it, the authorities can do what they like, the I.L.P. will live on—its spirit is unconquerable. By our side will stand thousands of others. Within the No-Conscription Fellowship, the Society of Friends, and the Fellowship of Reconciliation there are many thousands of men ready to suffer any penalty rather than outrage their convictions. They may be called upon to suffer, but from the sacrifice they make will arise a power which, we are confident, will do more to break the power of militarism and end war than any other influence. So let us be of good cheer and retain stout hearts. The triumph of principles for which we stand is assured, and by our loyalty to them the day of triumph will be hastened.

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The I.L.P. Constructive Proposal. In the controversy about compulsion we must not forget our larger advocacy—the demand for an early peace based on principles which, so far as is humanly possible, will guarantee its permanence. In other countries the peoples are in ever-growing volume demanding an end of the strife and we must not cease in our endeavours to awaken a similar agitation here. In all the continental nations at war the forces of Labour and Socialism are rapidly developing, where they have not already accepted an anti-war attitude, and we must do what we can to develop a similar movement here. We must iterate and reiterate our demand for a declaration by the Government of its objective in the war, and do everything to popularise the view that the war should be ended by negotiation rather than by military conquest or the process of attrition. Only as these conceptions gain adherence can the terrible holocaust end.

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Extending Militarism, Not Ending It. The war was inaugurated as a holy crusade against militarism. It is proving, as we feared it would, an unholy crusade to strengthen militarism. Arising from the war the American nation has decided enormously to strengthen its army and navy. The Government has decided to make the United States the second naval Power of the world, involving an increase in *personnel* of 7,500 men, whilst the army is to be increased by the addition of 40,000 Regulars and 400,000 "disciplined citizens" similar to our own Territorial forces. The extension of the American Navy will no doubt lead to the extension of the British Navy and to the extension of the military preparations of Continental Powers. We fear there is every sign that the power of militarism will be tremendously increased, not lessened, by the war. The only hope lies in a revulsion of feeling on the part of the people.

* * *

Labour's "Honours." We do not feel we can speak confidently of the degree of satisfaction with which the Labour movement regards the honours list. Has Labour a sufficiently large share of the [illegible] movement here. Mr. Hodge can be relied upon to do his bit to persuade the workers to accept a small dose of Conscription, and it should not be forgotten that he has already, as leader of the Labour Party, flouted a decision of the Party in order to serve his great friend, the Minister of Compulsion. When his record is considered we are sure our readers will agree that the King would not have bestowed too great an honour upon the member for Gorton had he made him a baron.

* * *

The Descent Upon "Forward." We cannot say the news of the raid upon the offices of the Glasgow *Forward* comes to us as a surprise. If we needed any lesson on the relationship between military rule and civic liberty our own recent experience taught it. On another page our readers will find an account of the raid which has followed the *Forward's* brave and outspoken advocacy of the principles of internationalism and human brotherhood and of the policy of the I.L.P. We take this opportunity of congratulating Mr. Thomas Johnston, the editor, on the magnificent work he has done, and we think the good results of the raid upon our offices fully justify us in congratulating him also upon the acknowledgment he has received from the military authorities. The disadvantages of suppression are only temporary; the advantages are permanent. Democracy, however, must be more vigilant if it is to retain its rights. The freedom of the press must be made secure, the right of unrestricted utterance must be safeguarded, the liberty of conscience must be finally established. These three essential principles of a free people are in peril to-day. The people must decide whether Democracy or military arrogance shall prevail. The present attack upon the *Forward* is not altogether to be deplored; it may help to convince the delegates at to-day's conference of the evils that inevitably follow hard upon the iron heels of Conscription. If this is possible under British Militarism as it is to-day, what will be possible when it is strengthened by the tyranny of compulsion?

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CONSCRIPTION AND CONSCIENCE

Presidential Address to Convention
:: of No-Conscription Fellowship ::

BY

CLIFFORD ALLEN.

PRICE 1d. **Post free, 1½d.**

To be obtained from 8, Merton House, Salisbury Court, Fleet Street, E.C., or from The National Labour Press, Ltd., London and Manchester.

BIRTH.

LUTTRELL.—On December 31, 1915, at Ward House, Bere Alston, the wife of Hugh Fownes Luttrell, of a son. —6—1

MARRIAGE.

BRYAN : ELLIS.—On New Year's Day, Saturday, January 1, 1916, at the City of London Registry Office, HERBERT BRYAN to M. A. ELLIS (both of the City of London I.L.P.). —6—1

THE

LABOUR LEADER

THE OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE I.L.P.

30, BLACKFRIARS STREET, MANCHESTER.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 6, 1916.

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Labour's "Honours." We do not feel we can speak confidently of the degree of satisfaction with which the Labour movement regards the honours list. Has Labour a sufficiently large share of the honours? We have our misgivings. It would have been an act of grace, for instance, if the Right Hon. Arthur Henderson had been elevated to the peerage. The Clyde workers are able to testify to the valuable service he has rendered to the War Cabinet, particularly to the Minister of Compulsion. A Labour representative in the House of Lords might have had a spectacular value inducing "National Unity." This effect has, of course, been achieved to some degree by seeking two Privy Councillors from the Labour Party, but we cannot feel that is a sufficient acknowledgment of the Labour Party's excellent work in maintaining the passions necessary to war and in diverting working-class thought from the channels of Internationalism in which it had been freely running. Our greatest sorrow, however, is in the profound sense of injustice aroused in us by the omission of John Hodge from the list. What can be responsible for this tragic oversight? His services have been conspicuous. But for him, France would have been labouring under the most distorted notions of the size and strength of the peace policy of the I.L.P. We take this opportunity of congratulating Mr. Thomas Johnston, the editor, on the magnificent work he has done, and we think the good results of the raid upon our offices fully justify us in congratulating him also upon the acknowledgment he has received from the military authorities. The disadvantages of suppression are only temporary; the advantages are permanent. Democracy, however, must be more vigilant if it is to retain its rights. The freedom of the press must be made secure, the right of unrestricted utterance must be safeguarded, the liberty of conscience must be finally established. These three essential principles of a free people are in peril to-day. The people must decide whether Democracy or military arrogance shall prevail. The present attack upon the *Forward* is not altogether to be deplored; it may help to convince the delegates at to-day's conference of the evils that inevitably follow hard upon the iron heels of Conscription. If this is possible under British Militarism as it is to-day, what will be possible when it is strengthened by the tyranny of compulsion?

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We are reluctantly compelled to hold over until next week the article on National Congress of the French Socialist Party.

TO-DAY—THE TEST!

GREATEST FIGHT SINCE MAGNA CHARTA

BY EGERTON P. WAKE.

(National Executive of the Labour Party.)

As the representative of the Trades and Labour Councils, local Labour Parties, and Labour Representation Committees of the country upon the National Executive of the Labour Party, I take this opportunity of declaring that these bodies are solidly and entirely opposed to Conscription. These local organisations form the organising and propaganda forces of labour, they constitute the fighting efficiency of the movement, and, by reason of their close and constant touch with the members of the branches of the various sections that make up that composite body we call the Labour movement, they represent the general opinion of Labour more accurately than any other of our various forms of organisation.

UNITY OF LOCAL LABOUR BODIES.

During recent months these Councils have inundated the Government, bombarded Members of Parliament, and loaded the head offices of the national bodies with letters of protest and resolutions of opposition against any form of "compulsion," however "modified" or "temporary" the proposals may be.

Those Councils and bodies which have taken part in the work of recruiting were impelled to do so by the desire to "save the voluntary system." If the success of their efforts is now to be exploited by Conscriptionists into a means of imposing the method of compulsion, these Councils and local bodies will regard the surrender of the Government as a breach of faith and a gross betrayal.

Those Councils and bodies which refrained from associating with the work of enlistment will see in the introduction of compulsion a complete justification of their abstention.

Whatever differences may have divided these bodies since the outbreak of war, the attempt to enforce Conscription will unite the local fighting forces of Labour as, perhaps, never before, in their determination to keep the workers free from military compulsion.

No case has been made out, either on the grounds of expediency or principle, for the proposed departure from our most cherished ideals of civil liberty.

Military reasons do not demand it, economic reasons absolutely condemn it as suicidal. Lord Kitchener some months ago declared for the "war of attrition," which, in its last analysis, as the enemy admits, means the "man-power" of Germany *versus* the "money-power" of Britain. The "money-power" of Britain means our financial and economic resources, which depend entirely upon our wealth-producing industries. The munitions and supplies of our Army and Navy, partly also of France, the munitions of Italy, the supplies for Russia's hosts, the succour of Belgium and Serbia, the outflow of loans to our Allies, the exports to maintain our national credit, and to secure the products of the neutral world for our Allies and ourselves, and the sustenance of our people, all depend upon our industries, and these are crying out for men! Munitions are delayed, congestion is prevalent, shortage of labour is producing stagnation, and still the "Conscriptionists at any price" are proposing further to denude our industries of their most productive workers. They are heading the nation straightway to the rocks of disaster!

MIRACLES OF VOLUNTARYISM.

Voluntaryism has produced miracles. Conscription, on the continental lines, imposed upon this country 18 months ago, would not have given the War Office a larger army than the voluntary method has done, while the quality of the 3,250,000 men who had enlisted freely before the Derby scheme could not have been equalled by any compulsory method. The raising of that voluntary army is unique

compulsionists, is destructive of the desired "national unity." The last stages of the Derby scheme were farcical. Thousands of attestations of married men everywhere, in munition industries and reserved occupations, were deliberately secured under the assurance that their promises would never have to be honoured. For the Conscriptionists and married men in sheltered industries now to demand compulsion for the single men is a cowardly and contemptible crime. This proposal is the worst form of compulsion; it is "Conscription by accident of occupation."

TWO UNSURMOUNTABLE OBJECTIONS.

Britain, by her Navy, her voluntary Army, her industries, her financial resources, and her stability, has already carried out far more than her bargain with the *Entente* Powers. Are we to assume that our Navy, our present Army, the tens of millions of Russia's forces, the millions of the French armies, and the legions of Italy, with the remnants of the Belgian forces, are all powerless to secure a triumph unless our Government goes back upon our past, is false to our national traditions, and makes a further addition of a few hundred thousand single men as conscripts to the allied forces?

Above and beyond all these minor questions lie the two unsurmountable objections.

First, the introduction of compulsion, in any shape or form, is a direct attack upon the dominance of the civil power in the realm. Specious plea of a "temporary expedient," "for the duration of the war," will not abate agitation, sacrifice, and struggle since Magna Charta. To this end Compulsion for single men is the first means. The rest will be easy. Playing upon the fears of the people for "national security," through military rivalries, by competition in armaments, Compulsion will be extended and made permanent, until the nation is militarised, "till the vast temple of our liberties a shapeless mass of wreck and rubbish lies." Though "England lives," her people will be enslaved and her soul destroyed.

Secondly, the most vital objection of all is the assumption by the State of a power not implied by any recognised contract between the individual and the civic body. "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, but unto God the things that are God's!" Cæsar may tax our earnings, may restrict, limit, and condition our lives, and we will recognise the collective will in these material domains. But the giving and taking of life are not within the gift or power of Cæsar. That is the basis of the higher contract between the Creator and the creature. No attestation, Order in Council, proclamation, Act of Parliament, or any device of statecraft can absolve the individual from his obligation under that contract. The State is powerless in the realm of the spirit and conscience, where the King of Kings and peasants alike shows no respect for principalities, powers, or persons, races, creeds, or class, but under His common Fatherhood regards all His sons as brothers in the great human family of mankind.

generations. We must assist in maintaining for them the freedom we ourselves have enjoyed. Our debt to the past can only be paid by service in the present and struggle and sacrifice for the future. In the defence of this heritage, the peculiar glory of British liberty, against this insidious attack of Cæsarism, let the I.L.P., all ages, men and women alike, stand firmly in resistance, the Defence of the Realm Acts and regulations notwithstanding.

And the reward? Piercing through the red mist of war, the dust and din of conflict, the pain and passion of our struggle, the eyes of our souls see that some day the people *must* win! That will indeed be "The Day!" We may not see it, but we shall have laid the pathway to it. Others will walk thereon and rejoice in it.

And yet, the road is ours as never theirs!
Is not one joy on us alone bestowed?
For us the master joy, O pioneers,
We shall not travel, but we made, the road.

SHALL BRITONS BE CONSCRIPTS?

Fellow Citizens,—

The time has come to appeal to all those who value our traditional British freedom.

A determined resistance must be made to the sinister endeavour to impose upon the people, under some such formula as "compulsory attestation for single men," the evils inherent in Conscription.

National service must not be degraded to national slavery. Freedom of conscience must not be sacrificed to military necessity, nor British liberty to political expediency. Man's deepest religious and moral convictions must not be swept aside.

WE ARE CONFIDENT THIS DANGER CAN YET BE AVERTED.

We appeal to the servants of Christ and to lovers of religious freedom. Is religious persecution once again to stain the life of our country?

We appeal to our fellow workers in factory, workshop, and mine to maintain the right of every man to decide for himself the issue of life and death.

We appeal to those who rejoice in that liberty of conscience, that tolerance of thought and action, which make them honour the name of their country.

THE RESPONSIBILITY IS YOURS TO MAINTAIN INTACT THE LIBERTIES OF THE BRITISH PEOPLE.

If you fail to do this, we—men of military age—must and will resist alone, whatever the consequences.

We believe in human brotherhood, in the sanctity of human life and personality. We will not kill. While the soul of Britain lives our witness cannot be in vain.

Signed on behalf of the No-Conscription Fellowship.

CLIFFORD ALLEN, Chairman.
EDWARD GRUBB, Hon. Treasurer.
A. FENNER BROCKWAY, Hon. Secretary.
W. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Hon. Organiser.
W. H. AYLES,
A. BARRATT BROWN,
J. P. F. FLETCHER,
MORGAN JONES,
C. H. NORMAN,
LEYTON RICHARDS (Rev.),
} Committee.

THE N.C.F. AND THE CRISIS.

Tremendous Effort to Smash Compulsion

PLANS TO RESIST COMPLETE.

The National Committee and local branches of the No-Conscription Fellowship are exhibiting tremendous activity in a supreme effort to frustrate the attempt of the Government to impose Conscription upon the country.

The National Committee sat for ten hours on Sunday in London, and it is meeting again to-day. On Monday and Tuesday the National Advisory Committee, representing the Young Men's Service Committee of the Society of Friends, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the N.-C.F. met and arranged joint action.

The N.-C.F. Committee has published a resolute manifesto, the terms of which will be found elsewhere. It is being distributed in leaflet form by the thousand, and copies have been issued as posters for exhibition. Those who can make use of either the leaflet or the poster may obtain copies by application to the Head Office. Besides being sent to the Press, the manifesto is being forwarded to all members of Parliament, to prominent men and women in every locality, to Trades Councils, and similar bodies.

The Joint Advisory Committee has asked the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Presidents of the various Free Church denominations, and Cardinal Bourne to receive deputations to state the view of the conscientious objector to military service. It is taking steps to arrange a large demonstration of protest against military compulsion in London, and all branches of the N.-C.F. have been urged to arrange similar meetings, in conjunction with other bodies, in their localities. We are asked to say that all members of the N.-C.F. are urged to carry out at once the suggestions for opposing a Bill made in the circulars issued in November and December.

Detailed plans have been prepared to resist the measure which the Government has introduced, should it become law, and to assist the dependants of all men who may suffer by resisting.

The National Committee is appealing for a fund of £1,000, to be raised within four days. The crisis is so grave and the work which the N.-C.F. is doing so important that we have little doubt that this sum will be forthcoming. The time has arrived when no sacrifice can be too great to assist those who are prepared to sacrifice their all for their anti-militarist principles. The address of the Head Office of the N.-C.F. is 8, Morton House, Salisbury Court, London, E.C.

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Those Councils and bodies which have taken part in the work of recruiting were impelled to do so by the desire to "save the voluntary system." If the success of their efforts is now to be exploited by Conscriptionists into a means of imposing the method of compulsion, these Councils and local bodies will regard the surrender of the Government as a breach of faith and a gross betrayal.

Those Councils and bodies which refrained from associating with the work of enlistment will see in the introduction of compulsion a complete justification of their abstention.

Whatever differences may have divided these bodies since the outbreak of war, the attempt to enforce Conscription will unite the local fighting forces of Labour as, perhaps, never before, in their determination to keep the workers free from military compulsion.

No case has been made out, either on the grounds of expediency or principle, for the proposed departure from our most cherished ideals of civil liberty.

Military reasons do not demand it, economic reasons absolutely condemn it as suicidal. Lord Kitchener some months ago declared for the "war of attrition," which, in its last analysis, as the enemy admits, means the "man-power" of Germany *versus* the "money-power" of Britain. The "money-power" of Britain means our financial and economic resources, which depend entirely upon our wealth-producing industries. The munitions and supplies of our Army and Navy, partly also of France, the munitions of Italy, the supplies for Russia's hosts, the succour of Belgium and Serbia, the outflow of loans to our Allies, the exports to maintain our national credit, and to secure the products of the neutral world for our Allies and ourselves, and the sustenance of our people, all depend upon our industries, and these are crying out for men! Munitions are delayed, congestion is prevalent, shortage of labour is producing stagnation, and still the "Conscriptionists at any price" are proposing further to denude our industries of their most productive workers. They are heading the nation straightway to the rocks of disaster!

MIRACLES OF VOLUNTARYISM.

Voluntaryism has produced miracles. Conscription, on the continental lines, imposed upon this country 18 months ago, would not have given the War Office a larger army than the voluntary method has done, while the quality of the 3,250,000 men who had enlisted freely before the Derby scheme could not have been equalled by any compulsory method. The raising of that voluntary army is unique in the world's military history.

The Derby scheme, it is stated, has secured about 600,000 attestations of men immediately available. This figure will supply Lord Kitchener's weekly demand of 30,000 for nearly six months. If so, where is the immediate urgency of "compulsion"? By whose authority has Lord Derby or anyone else declared that his "scheme" was the "last effort" of voluntaryism?

The figures of enlistment before the Derby scheme must be fully published. A complete analysis of the proportions as between married and single, and as between the aristocratic, professional, commercial, and industrial classes, the numbers of these "classes" serving "in the ranks" or "with commissions," must be furnished. A full statement of reservations and exemptions, clerics and journalists for instance, as essential industries, must be issued.

The division of the nation into single and married sections, while an astute device of the

TWO UNSURMOUNTABLE OBJECTIONS.

Britain, by her Navy, her voluntary Army, her industries, her financial resources, and her stability, has already carried out far more than her bargain with the *Entente* Powers. Are we to assume that our Navy, our present Army, the tens of millions of Russia's forces, the millions of the French armies, and the legions of Italy, with the remnants of the Belgian forces, are all powerless to secure a triumph unless our Government goes back upon our past, is false to our national traditions, and makes a further addition of a few hundred thousand single men as conscripts to the allied forces?

Above and beyond all these minor questions lie the two unsurmountable objections.

First, the introduction of compulsion, in any shape or form, is a direct attack upon the dominance of the civil power in the realm. Specious pleas of a "temporary expedient," "for the duration of the war," will not abate the opposition of the forces of Labour, for every conscript system under which Europe is now groaning has been fastened upon the people by similar pleas. There is no mistake about what the Conscriptionist wants. Writing in the June number of the *English Review*, Mr. Austen Harrison, the editor, the high priest of compulsion, declared:

> Conscription does not mean merely a law introducing compulsory service; it means militarism, military government and control, system, organisation, all-round professionalism, in lieu of the amateurishness still reigning. *Under Conscription the whole forces and resources of the country would be placed in the hands of the military, our popular government would cease to be for the time being.*

With the industrial serfdom of the Munitions Act, the loss of open trials, freedom of press and speech, and political liberty under the Defence of the Realm Act, this pronouncement means nothing less than the extinction of all that the people of Britain have won by the assumption by the State of a power not implied by any recognised contract between the individual and the civic body. "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, but unto God the things that are God's!" Cæsar may tax our earnings, may restrict, limit, and condition our lives, and we will recognise the collective will in these material domains. But the giving and taking of life are not within the gift or power of Cæsar. That is the basis of the higher contract between the Creator and the creature. No attestation, Order in Council, proclamation, Act of Parliament, or any device of statecraft can absolve the individual from his obligation under that contract. The State is powerless in the realm of the spirit and conscience, where the King of Kings and peasants alike shows no respect for principalities, powers, or persons, races, creeds, or class, but under His common Fatherhood regards all His sons as brothers in the great human family of mankind.

Compulsion is an outrage upon the individual soul, an attempt by the State to assume the functions of private judgment and individual conscience, a trespass by temporal power upon the sacred precincts of spiritual expedience and religious conviction, and a denial by the Government of the basic truth of Christianity, the responsibility of the individual life to the eternal source of life itself, when the soul returns to Him who gave it.

AN APPEAL TO OLDER MEN.

One word of appeal to my comrades of the I.L.P. who are above the present military age of 40. Do not allow this battle to be fought by the single men affected alone. We have enjoyed our life as citizens of this land free from the cursed grip of Militarism. That immunity was secured for us by the sacrifice of those brave souls who, through centuries of struggle, built up our civil liberty. That heritage is being taken from the young manhood of to-day, and probably from future pain and passion of our struggle, the eyes of our souls see that some day the people *must* win! That will indeed be "The Day!" We may not see it, but we shall have laid the pathway to it. Others will walk thereon and rejoice in it.

And yet, the road is ours as never theirs!
Is not one joy on us alone bestowed?
For us the master joy, O pioneers,
We shall not travel, but we made, the road.

SHALL BRITONS BE CONSCRIPTS?

Fellow Citizens,—

The time has come to appeal to all those who value our traditional British freedom.

A determined resistance must be made to the sinister endeavour to impose upon the people, under some such formula as "compulsory attestation for single men," the evils inherent in Conscription.

National service must not be degraded to national slavery. Freedom of conscience must not be sacrificed to military necessity, nor British liberty to political expediency. Man's deepest religious and moral convictions must not be swept aside.

WE ARE CONFIDENT THIS DANGER CAN YET BE AVERTED.

We appeal to the servants of Christ and to lovers of religious freedom. Is religious persecution once again to stain the life of our country?

We appeal to our fellow workers in factory, workshop, and mine to maintain the right of every man to decide for himself the issue of life and death.

We appeal to those who rejoice in that liberty of conscience, that tolerance of thought and action, which make them honour the name of their country.

THE RESPONSIBILITY IS YOURS TO MAINTAIN INTACT THE LIBERTIES OF THE BRITISH PEOPLE.

If you fail to do this, we—men of military age—must and will resist alone, whatever the consequences.

We believe in human brotherhood, in the sanctity of human life and personality. We will not kill. While the soul of Britain lives our witness cannot be in vain.

Signed on behalf of the No-Conscription Fellowship.

CLIFFORD ALLEN, Chairman.
EDWARD GRUBB, Hon. Treasurer.
A. FENNER BROCKWAY, Hon. Secretary.
W. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Hon. Organiser.
W. H. AYLES,
A. BARRATT BROWN,
J. P. F. FLETCHER,
MORGAN JONES,
C. H. NORMAN,
LEYTON RICHARDS (Rev.),
} Committee.

THE N.C.F. AND THE CRISIS.

Tremendous Effort to Smash Compulsion

PLANS TO RESIST COMPLETE.

The National Committee and local branches of the No-Conscription Fellowship are exhibiting tremendous activity in a supreme effort to frustrate the attempt of the Government to impose Conscription upon the country.

The National Committee sat for ten hours on Sunday in London, and it is meeting again to-day. On Monday and Tuesday the National Advisory Committee, representing the Young Men's Service Committee of the Society of Friends, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the N.-C.F. met and arranged joint action.

The N.-C.F. Committee has published a resolute manifesto, the terms of which will be found elsewhere. It is being distributed in leaflet form by the thousand, and copies have been issued as posters for exhibition. Those who can make use of either the leaflet or the poster may obtain copies by application to the Head Office. Besides being sent to the Press, the manifesto is being forwarded to all members of Parliament, to prominent men and women in every locality, to Trades Councils, and similar bodies.

The Joint Advisory Committee has asked the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Presidents of the various Free Church denominations, and Cardinal Bourne to receive deputations to state the view of the conscientious objector to military service. It is taking steps to arrange a large demonstration of protest against military compulsion in London, and all branches of the N.-C.F. have been urged to arrange similar meetings, in conjunction with other bodies, in their localities. We are asked to say that all members of the N.-C.F. are urged to carry out at once the suggestions for opposing a Bill made in the circulars issued in November and December.

Detailed plans have been prepared to resist the measure which the Government has introduced, should it become law, and to assist the dependants of all men who may suffer by resisting.

The National Committee is appealing for a fund of £1,000, to be raised within four days. The crisis is so grave and the work which the N.-C.F. is doing so important that we have little doubt that this sum will be forthcoming. The time has arrived when no sacrifice can be too great to assist those who are prepared to sacrifice their all for their anti-militarist principles. The address of the Head Office of the N.-C.F. is 8, Merton House, Salisbury Court, London, E.C.

INTERCESSION.

Oh Churches, though you call the land to prayer
With every pious show of adoration,
Though ministers and flock alike are filled
With fervid zeal. Yet how you sorely lack
The Spirit of the lowly Nazarene,
Who taught the world to love, and ever love,
Respect for human life, to shun the sword.
Use not that pure, sweet name upon your lips
While brothers' blood cries from the ground to God.
Your words ascend no farther than your thoughts,
Such prayers are wholly void and meaningless.
Oh, cease this mockery! Go, cleanse your hearts!
And ne'er approach that pure white throne to pray
Till with your brothers you are reconciled.

C. W. E.

679/10

THE MUNITIONS ACT: First Amending Bill.

By J. R. Clynes, M.P.

There are men who have so much to unlearn that they cannot be taught even by experience. Such men are often found in positions of authority. They wield great power, but the use of their strength often has the effect of weakening the purpose which they profess to serve. Some of these men have had much to do with the amendment of the Munitions of War Act. This first amendment of that Act will in turn have to be amended, and if the war lasts for long there are many parts of the original Act to which persons in authority must return to try and fit them in by further amendments with workshop necessities and with the industrial changes which munition work will continue to impose.

LESS LAW AND MORE LIBERTY.

Less law and more liberty would have produced far better results than the force provided for in so many parts of the original Act. The confidence of the vast majority of workers can be commanded sooner by proving to them that they are being treated fairly and humanely than by trying to drive them away from such workshop privileges as they have enjoyed. Not that we desired to leave workshop conditions unaltered in face of the demands made upon labour by the war. Nor have many of us accepted the descriptions which some people applied to the Munitions Act as a whole. All classes in the community, with a few notable and fortunate exceptions, have had to forfeit some opportunities, privileges, or conditions of personal freedom formerly enjoyed by them. We have not objected to necessary legislation. We object to the irritating interference which has produced no good result in increasing the output of munitions. Under proper conditions the three principal objects aimed at in the Munitions of War Act could have been attained and could have been agreed to with little complaint if the Government had sought to attain them without needless provisions which have had the effect of wasting a great amount of time and labour, and which have produced in many cases conditions of indignation and sulk instead of the cheerful and ready response for greater effort that might have been obtained by different methods

We agreed to remitting serious differences on wages and working conditions to the decision of impartial arbitrators. We agreed to set aside Trade Union customs where these customs stood in the way of increasing output of munitions, and we quite agreed to any reasonable measure of State control of industry with the object of preventing exploitation by employers and making it impossible for traders who deal with the Government to fix fancy prices for their goods or services. These three original and main objects would have found little opposition from Labour or Socialist spokesmen.

MINGLING PATRIOTISM AND PROFIT.

The need for the last of these three provisions has been admitted in the very striking asides and odd instances found in Ministers' recent speeches. The Minister of Munitions even has dwelt upon the mingling of patriotism and profit which stands to the account of several employers. Dr. Addison, M.P., when he introduced the Amending Bill, said that the Government had been paying for certain munitions much more than they ought to pay, and a threat to one firm to examine the prices contracts had the effect of reducing the cost from £30 to £20 per ton, resulting in the saving of half a million in a short time.

If workmen had been guilty of any corresponding wrong against the country they would have been fined or imprisoned. The memorandum of the Amending Bill shows that no fundamental change will be effected by the Amendments. The memorandum tells us that the Act will apply to more shops and extend the definition of munitions work.

Section 7 of the principal Act is amended so as, amongst other things, to make the issue of certificates of discharge compulsory upon the employer when he dismisses a workman or suspends him for more than three days unless the tribunal is of opinion that the workman was guilty of misconduct in order to secure dismissal, and to prevent the employer from inserting anything in the certificate other than the prescribed particulars (clause 4).

It is also provided that when an employer dismisses a workman to whom Section 7 of the principal Act applies without at least a week's notice the tribunal may award compensation to the workman unless it considers that the circumstances are such as to make the omission to give notice reasonable.

It is further provided that a munitions tribunal shall, in deciding whether a certificate should be given to a workman, take into consideration the question whether the workman has left his former work for the purpose of undertaking any class of work in which his skill or other personal qualifications could be employed with greater advantage to the national interest.

Organised labour is not to blame for these slender amendments, and only those who are trying to shape useful and necessary industrial legislation in war-time can understand the obstacles or appreciate the difficulties of securing Parliamentary attention for reasonable proposals.

WORKERS' INDIGNATION.

In at least half a dozen respects the Bill should have been drastically amended on the lines suggested in our conferences with Ministers or in accordance with the amendments put forward in the House of Commons. No provision has given more just offence, or excited greater indignation amongst workmen, than the restrictions imposed against men leaving work when they have desired to do so even for other munition employment. The employer had the power to dismiss when he chose, and the power to retain a workman, no matter how strong the workman's claim was for leaving. It is no answer to say that men could appeal to the Munitions Tribunal for a leaving certificate. Not one man in a thousand would get before such a tribunal. Men should be free to leave under the terms of the usual notice when they were leaving as individuals, and were not acting collectively as men coming on strike to enforce some demands. If the Government could not agree to go so far, they should at least have put upon the employer the onus of proving to a tribunal the necessity for keeping the workman instead of the workman having to prove to either employer or tribunal that it was necessary for him to leave.

POLICE COURT ATMOSPHERE.

Tribunals when dealing with cases should take all circumstances, such as wages, housing conditions, and domestic circumstances, into account in giving their decision. Tribunals should be shorn of their police court atmosphere, and should no longer consist of a lawyer sitting with two men reduced to ciphers. Collective responsibility and power of judgment should apply to the whole of the persons constituting the court, and as the courts have to deal more with workshop questions than points of law, Law Court procedure should be reduced and the methods of conference should take their place. Workshop and all other rules relating to the Act should be made uniform throughout the country, and should have the joint approval of representatives of workmen and of employers before the heads of firms should have any right to impose those rules on their employees. The Act should prevent workmen being reduced in status or pay and being moved to some class of work at a less rate than they previously received.

And, above all, effective provision should be made whereby complaints and grievances arising day by day can be more speedily settled and adjusted. Nothing has aroused more disgust in connection with war legislation than the hundreds of cases where groups of men have had to wait not merely weeks but months for the settlement of complaints which their Unions duly reported for them. In industry hope deferred is the greatest maker of the greatest trouble.

NOTES OF THE MOMENT.

"'Only the single men,' you say. Yes, only the thin end of the wedge."—*Daily News*, December 31, 1915.

* * *

Every Little Helps!

The pro-war Socialists, Syndicalists, and Labourists are very vigorous enemies of Internationalism just now, and, consequently, of any paper (or party) that is still preaching the solidarity of the world's workers which they once talked about. This explains the interesting behaviour of ex-Councillor Will Phillips, of Manchester, who, on Friday, purchased some copies of the LABOUR LEADER at the LEADER Offices in Blackfriars Street and burned them on the pavement outside. This dramatic display he followed with an impassioned outburst against us. A newspaper photographer accompanied him. The audience that gathered, however, did not appear to be suffering from the same outraged feelings; it dispersed in a very peaceable, leisurely, and good-humoured fashion. On Monday we received this letter:

> In this morning's *Sunday Herald* is a picture of a man, calling himself a Labour leader, publicly burning a copy of our paper, the LABOUR LEADER. Our answer to that, in Lambeth, is an order for 16 copies of the LABOUR LEADER every week, with strong hopes of an even bigger increase of circulation shortly. Good luck to you in your work for the Cause.

It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good!

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Resolute Quaker Letter to M.P.s.

The following letter has been sent to members of the Cabinet and the House of Commons:

> On behalf of the Committee of the Society of Friends [illegible]

held, when the following resolution was passed unanimously:

> We affirm our determination to resist compulsory military service, and declare now our intention to absolutely refuse to render any form of compulsory military or munitions service, whatever the consequences.

* * *

Letter to the Prime Minister.

A reader of the LABOUR LEADER, and a determined anti-Compulsionist in Selly Oak, Birmingham, has written to the Prime Minister and one or two other members of the Cabinet in this strain:

> Sir,—The Cabinet is said to have decided upon Compulsion. I write to tell you that there are *some thousands* of men of military age who are Pacifists and are convinced that all war is utterly unChristian. These men will, under no circumstances, undertake service which entails the killing of their fellow men, nor will most of them serve in any capacity the purpose of which is to increase efficiency in human slaughter. This is not a threat. We shall do no violence. We refuse to serve as soldiers *because* we repudiate all violence.—I am, yours respectfully,
>
> WILLIAM E. WILSON.

We have received similar communications from other correspondents. If the postbags of the Prime Minister and his colleagues were filled morning after morning with such letters the moral effect would be distinctly good.

* * *

Post Office Victimisation.

All the "temporary" men of enlistment age who have not attested at Mount Pleasant Office, the Inland Section of the General Post Office, have been given a week's notice. Many of these men have been employed for eight or nine months.

* * *

What Hodge and Roberts Told Bath.

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By the way, what has happened to Mr. Wells? Has the rapid Liberalisation of Russia suggested to him a wisdom in silence?

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The Betrayal of Democracy.

Referring to the decision of the Government to legalise Compulsion, the *Nation* says: "This historic reversal of Liberalism and democracy was led and promoted by Mr. Lloyd George, and assented to by Mr. Henderson, the representative of Labour. These two betrayals have determined the issue for the moment, but the battle is not over yet." No, it isn't!

* * *

Twenty Years!

"Mr. McKenna," said the *Times* on Tuesday, "must be told, if he does not yet realise it, that a Chancellor of the Exchequer engaged in financing a war of this magnitude cannot lay down hard and fast lines on which to conduct it to its close. He must be constantly laying his plans afresh. He must devise alternative schemes for a war which may last one year more, or two, or twenty."

* * *

A Suggestion to Unmarried Resisters.

Mr. Noel Armstrong has written to the Premier stating that "as a single man who has not attested and who disagrees with all waste of blood," he will, "in the event of Conscription being enacted, decline to serve, whatever the penalty." He suggests that all single men who are united to resist should write Mr. Asquith similarly and thus give him [illegible] determined opposition a

Mrs. DESPARD ON COMPULSION

As one who knows better than most the difficulties of the workers and the dangers that beset them, you will permit me, I hope, to entreat them, through your columns not to be led astray, at this critical moment in our nation's history, by any fatal illusions. It is our business—our bounden duty—to protest in the strongest possible manner against the Compulsion Bill, so subtly thrust upon the country.

What does it mean? In the first place the concession of a principle. The people will presently discover that Compulsion of however limited a number means Compulsion of all. In the second place, the surrender of all that has given moral dignity to our army. Practical difficulties will arise, for how will the Conscript and voluntary elements in the new army mix? Man for man, ours are the finest fighting forces in the field. That is generally acknowledged, and the reason is that our men have not been fetched or compelled. They have freely given themselves. I have the honour of our own soldiers at heart when I pray that the age-long principle of individual liberty may be respected.

Why is it attacked? To those who can see at all clearly the answer is not far to find. Voluntaryism is expensive and troublesome. A cheap and a docile army is required. For, let us make no mistake, if Compulsion comes now it comes to stay. Rivers of blood may have to flow before the betrayed people of this country recover their lost liberty. I ask, in all earnestness, of them who call themselves patriots, could the Prussianism we are fighting have a greater triumph than this?

Less law and more liberty would have produced far better results than the force provided for in so many parts of the original Act. The confidence of the vast majority of workers can be commanded sooner by proving to them that they are being treated fairly and humanely than by trying to drive them away from such workshop privileges as they have enjoyed. Not that we desired to leave workshop conditions unaltered in face of the demands made upon labour by the war. Nor have many of us accepted the descriptions which some people applied to the Munitions Act as a whole. All classes in the community, with a few notable and fortunate exceptions, have had to forfeit some opportunities, privileges, or conditions of personal freedom formerly enjoyed by them. We have not objected to necessary legislation. We object to the irritating interference which has produced no good result in increasing the output of munitions. Under proper conditions the three principal objects aimed at in the Munitions of War Act could have been attained and could have been agreed to with little complaint if the Government had sought to attain them without needless provisions which have had the effect of wasting a great amount of time and labour, and which have produced in

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The following letter has been sent to members of the Cabinet and the House of Commons:

> On behalf of the Committee of the Society of Friends specially appointed to have charge of this matter, we write to inform you that if any measure having compulsory military service for its object should become law, the opposition of our Society will in no sense be modified or withdrawn. Such opposition is fundamental, and is based upon a conscientious objection to all warfare. We are further to inform you that if any such measure should become law, support and co-operation of members of the Society will be available for those outside their own body whose conscientious objection is based upon the same grounds.
>
> Signed on behalf of the Committee,
>
> EDWARD GRUBB.
> JOAN MARY FRY
> ROBERT O. MENNELL.

* * *

Determined Resistance.

After a public meeting for worship held at the Friends' Meeting House, Manchester, on January 2, a large impromptu meeting (consisting chiefly of men of military age) was held, when the following resolution was passed unanimously:

> We affirm our determination to resist compulsory military service, and declare now our intention to absolutely refuse to render any form of compulsory military or munitions service, whatever the consequences.

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* * *

What Hodge and Roberts Told Paris.

The attitude of mind of certain Labour "leaders" on Conscription is illustrated by a letter appearing above the signature "G. C. Coulton" in the *Times* of Thursday. Mr. Coulton attended a meeting in Paris on September 29, addressed by Mr. John Hodge and Mr. G. H. Roberts, "who had come to allay French misapprehensions as to the real greatness of the British effort in this war." Mr. Coulton says both Mr. Hodge and Mr. Roberts said the nation was ready to accept compulsion if Mr. Asquith and Lord Kitchener demanded it. He took down Mr. Hodge's words, which were: "Some people said that it (the Trade Union Congress) was against Conscription. Nothing of the kind! They only said they didn't believe the voluntary system had failed." And later: "Whenever a responsible Government says that voluntaryism has failed, and that, for the purpose of crushing the War Lords, it is necessary we should have Compulsion—then we shall agree to it."

* * *

By the way, what has happened to Mr. Wells? Has the rapid Liberalisation of Russia suggested to him a wisdom in silence?

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* * *

Twenty Years!

"Mr. McKenna," said the *Times* on Tuesday, "must be told, if he does not yet realise it, that a Chancellor of the Exchequer engaged in financing a war of this magnitude cannot lay down hard and fast lines on which to conduct it to its close. He must be constantly laying his plans afresh. He must devise alternative schemes for a war which may last one year more, or two, or twenty."

* * *

A Suggestion to Unmarried Resisters.

Mr. Noel Armstrong has written to the Premier stating that "as a single man who has not attested and who disagrees with all warfare of blood," he will, "in the event of Conscription being enacted, decline to serve, whatever the penalty." He suggests that all single men determined to resist should write Mr. Asquith similarly and thus give him some idea of the determined opposition a measure of Compulsion will arouse.

* * *

The German Minority.

According to "Homo," in *L'Humanité*, the names of the 20 German Socialist Parliamentary Deputies who voted against the recent German War Credits are as follows: Bernsten, Bock, Buechner, Cohn, Dillmann, Geyer, Haase, Herzfeld, Henke, Horn, Kunert, Ledebour, Liebnecht, Bruchne, Schwaz, Stadthager, Stolle, Vogtherr, Wurm, and Zubeil. The remainder of the opposition abstained from voting.

Immediately afterwards a vote of censure was passed by the group in the Reichstag against the 20 by 65 votes. Following upon this vote of censure, Haase resigned from his position as president of the Parliamentary Group. He still remains president of the Party.

Mrs. DESPARD ON COMPULSION

As one who knows better than most the difficulties of the workers and the dangers that beset them, you will permit me, I hope, to entreat them, through your columns not to be led astray, at this critical moment in our nation's history, by any fatal illusions. It is our business—our bounden duty—to protest in the strongest possible manner against the Compulsion Bill, so subtly thrust upon the country.

What does it mean? In the first place the concession of a principle. The people will presently discover that Compulsion of however limited a number means Compulsion of all. In the second place, the surrender of all that has given moral dignity to our army. Practical difficulties will arise, for how will the Conscript and voluntary elements in the new army mix? Man for man, ours are the finest fighting forces in the field. That is generally acknowledged, and the reason is that our men have not been fetched or compelled. They have freely given themselves. I have the honour of our own soldiers at heart when I pray that the age-long principle of individual liberty may be respected.

Why is it attacked? To those who can see at all clearly the answer is not far to find. Voluntaryism is expensive and troublesome. A cheap and a docile army is required. For, let us make no mistake, if Compulsion comes now it comes to stay. Rivers of blood may have to flow before the betrayed people of this country recover their lost liberty. I ask, in all earnestness, of them who call themselves patriots, could the Prussianism we are fighting have a greater triumph than this?

DON'T BE MISLED.

We must fight Conscription tooth and nail, no matter how it is watered down. It is fatal to Trade Unionism and to democratic development. It is not needed for the purposes of this war, but to keep the people in subjection afterwards. We must not be misled by the clever trick of setting married against single men. They will suffer equally in future. The Irish will not have Conscription, why should the English suffer it? A united stand, a determination to down tools, will still prevent the imposition of this evil. Now is the moment to prove what Englishmen are made of. If they submit, they will deserve the curses of generations to come. We must demand Conscription of wealth in the hands of the few—that would soon bring the war to a close.

HENRY BROCKHOUSE.

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THE GIFT OFFER to our readers which we announced in our Christmas Number has met with such a hearty response and we have received so many expressions of appreciation that after consultation with the publishers of "The Essential Library," we have decided to set apart further copies of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's important book "Socialism and Government" to be presented free to each reader who purchases twelve volumes of the "Essential Library." No one who has a taste for really good literature produced in a suitable and attractive form at a reasonable cost, can start the year better than by obtaining this

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AT GRIPS WITH OUI

OPPOSITION OF REPRESENTATIVE LEADERS.

W. C. ANDERSON, M.P.

The Trade Union Congress last September passed a strong resolution against Conscription, and the supreme moment of the Congress was when that great and fearless leader of the miners, Mr. Robert Smillie, thrilled the delegates by his out-spoken declaration. Labour was called in to help with the Derby scheme and "save the country from Conscription," but when the Prime Minister was jockeyed by the compulsionists into giving a pledge which reduced the campaign to a farce, Labour was not consulted. Behind all that is going on is not military or national necessity, but the sinister power of a restless and irresponsible peer-pressman, who thinks the war should be run for the special advantage of his papers, and the over-weening ambition of a member of the Cabinet who thinks he sees his chance of cleaving his way to the chief place.

Organised Labour must speak, and promptly. The Conscriptionist case is shallow and superficial. It has only to be explained and understood in order to disappear. But war is always a favourable time for political reaction, for people are caught in the grip of a common fear, and their minds in many ways are imprisoned. It is at any rate the clear duty of those who see the certain dangers of Conscription to speak out plainly and to make an unflinching stand, be the consequences what they may.

TOM RICHARDSON, M.P.

When the war broke out Labour was asked to fight in defence of national liberties, and against Prussian Militarism. If the British Democracy is to retain the remnants left of our one-time British liberties, and prevent the conspirators from imposing upon us Prussian Militarism, the time when they must rise in their strength, courage, and determination to resist the proposal of the present Government is *now*. The issue is a momentous one for this and future generations. It is sincerely to be hoped that the National Conference will sound a clarion note and make it known in terms clear and strong that the Trade Union, Labour, and Socialist movements will *not* have any form of compulsory military service.

As a Nonconformist, may I also appeal to the Nonconformist conscience to assert itself and be loyal to its oft-declared pledge to fight any and every form of compulsory military service. If we fail at this critical moment, we will have betrayed the trust handed down to us by our forebears, and fasten a manacle around the necks of democracy for future generations. We must not fail nor falter.

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The object of the Conscriptionists is not to obtain soldiers in order to defeat Germany. Germany will not be defeated by the addition of a hundred thousand or so additional unmarried recruits. She will be defeated, if defeated at all, by our chemists and munition workers and by the magnitude of our financial and manufacturing resources. The real purpose of the Conscriptionists is twofold: (1) To enable Great Britain to pose as a dominant military as well as naval world-power, and (2) To discipline and coerce the workers of Great Britain into submission to their profit-grinding lords and masters.

The decision of the Cabinet to bring in a measure of compulsory military service, signals, I believe, the beginning of a period of internal struggle in this country which may lead to events excelling in revolutionary significance those of the days of the Great Rebellion. I am not referring simply to the direct opposition and resistance to tyrannical law which the measure, if passed, will immediately evoke, or to the aftermath of violent resentment which will spring up when the war is over and the people realise how on the plea of fighting down Prussian Militarism abroad, engage in human slaughter at the bidding of a handful of diplomats and Cabinet Ministers, as the most monstrous of all tyrannies, there is no course left but to resist oppression of Conscription to the utmost. There is no struggle in which we are ever likely to be engaged that will appeal more intensely to our highest sense of duty, to our courage and devotion. Thousands of our fellowmen are yielding up their lives on sea and land far away, believing that thereby they are repelling foreign military aggression from our shores. It rests with us to make whatever sacrifice is necessary to oppose and defeat this no less affronting power of militarism at home.

ROBERT SMILLIE.

(President of the Miners' Federation.)

Mr. Robert Smillie, interviewed by a correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, said the attitude of the miners of Great Britain had all along been that there was no necessity for Conscription. They were opposed to Conscription in any shape or form.

In reply to the question, "If the Bill limits the principle of compulsion to those single men who have not attested under Lord Derby's scheme, do you think their attitude will undergo any modification," Mr. Smillie replied: "This is my personal opinion I am giving. I do not believe their view will show any modification, even in these circumstances."

GEORGE LANSBURY.

The present crisis is a very grave one indeed, but is by no means hopeless. We must all just buckle on our armour and resolve to use every means in our power to prevent this accursed proposal being carried into effect. No military need has been proven; it is certain the Compulsionists want compulsion solely for industrial purposes. We must demand national organisation of industry for the benefit of the whole people as a direct alternative to the conscripting and bullying of the working people.

Some friends say, if we defeat Mr. Asquith there will be a General Election, and we shall be beaten. I don't accept either proposition. Even if they are both true, what difference does it make to us? Conscription from Mr. Asquith, or Sir E. Carson, or Mr. Lloyd George, is equally an outrage, whoever it is that puts the loathsome yoke on our necks.

We must all strive to maintain *freedom* of *conscience* for young and old at all costs. We must forget all our old quarrels and unite with men and women of all parties of all creeds who will work with us in order to prevent the manhood of our land being degraded to the level of industrial serfs.

J. WINSTONE.

(President of the South Wales Miners' Federation.)

My advice to the workers is to use every means in their power to destroy the diabolical plot on the part of the self-seeking politicians and editors of prominent capitalistic-controlled newspapers to bring about this crisis in our national affairs.

I feel sure the Welsh miners can be relied upon, if needs be, again to save the soul of the Trade Union movement of this country by refusing to be parties to the vile conspiracy on the part of the governing classes to deprive the people of Britain of the principles of Freedom and civic rights for which our forebears lived, fought, and died.

Our brave boys at the front are, so we are informed, fighting to destroy Prussian militarism. We shall be unworthy of our heritage if we do not strike, and strike hard and successfully, against a system under which workmen would be liable to military and industrial Conscription, without the right to leave work, whatever the terms or conditions of employment imposed by the Government.

The fighting spirit for liberty and justice within the Welsh miners is not dead, so intri- defend Labour. Liberty for the future depends more upon the rank and file of the movement than upon those who are deemed to be leaders.

Unity now means every possible concession to reaction. The Conscriptionist press exhibits a very keen anxiety just now that the Prime Minister should keep his pledges to the married men. Labour members are giving consent, born of cowardly silence, also apparently to assist Mr. Asquith to keep his pledge. What is to happen to the pledge that both he and Lord Derby gave to the Joint Labour Recruiting Committee? It is notorious that the assistance given by these six chosen representatives of Labour was and is conditional upon the full maintenance of the voluntary system. There was, moreover, a standing agreement between these Labour men and Lord Derby that there should be no differentiation between married and single.

We now see that the infamous Derby scheme was merely a subterfuge to force Conscription upon the country, in spite of its wishes and in spite of the pledges given to the six Labour representatives associated with Lord Derby in the "Appeal to Free Men." It appears, moreover, that Mr. Henderson, whose *bona fides* as a Labour representative may now warrantably be questioned, has extracted a promise from those who attended last Friday's Conference that they would not discuss the position until the National Conference was held. It is astounding that those who have been put into responsible positions in our Labour movement, to guard all that that movement holds dear, should allow the case for the maintenance of the voluntary system to go by default, the while that the Conscriptionist press looks upon Compulsion as an accomplished fact. Even the Liberal press is scuttling from the principles of its own party. It remains for the common people through their organisations to defeat this infamous attempt to lead us back to slavery.

Let me remind Trade Unionists of the opinion of the members of the Central Council of the International Transport Workers' Federation, all of them Germans, and speaking of German conditions as compared with our own prior to the war. Speaking of the success of the mass strike in this country, and the possibilities upon which the success of the mass strike depend, they say:

> These are absent to-day in Germany (1913). The employers' readiness to cover any breach of their organisations by the employment of machine guns is ever present, in order that the shedding of blood may add to the reality of the position. The German condition of affairs entirely prohibits Trade Union mass action after the nature of the strikes in England.

This, tellingly expressed, is the reason why the *Morning Post*, the *Times*, the *Daily Mail*, and other reactionary organs want Conscription.

It is the bounden duty of Trade Unionists to stiffen the backs of their leaders. Many of these leaders are more concerned with the maintenance of a few seats in Parliament than they are with the maintenance of the liberties of the working class. Let us have a dissolution, let us have a general election, let us have what we may, we must not, we shall not, have Conscription!

May I say for myself that my age is 34, and I am inclined to believe that I would pass the medical test. No power on this earth will compel me to take military service against my will. My own position was determined some fourteen months ago, when Britain may seriously have been in danger. Having determined then not to offer myself, it is not within the wit of any Cabinet or any Government to frame a law to make me serve against my own will power. What I can do, there are hundreds of thousands of others that can do likewise.

We must smash this piece of political chicanery if we have to give lives as freely to [illegible] from militarism at home as and all their works should be resisted to the death. Some of our colleagues have proved themselves weak and servile when the testing-time came, but this was only to be expected of some of them at least, and that is no reason why we should play the part of the flunkey and betray all our principles.

W. A. APPLETON.

(Secretary of the General Federation of Trade Unions.)

It is not because we fear the dangers of active service that we oppose compulsion, but because we are race-proud, and have felt conscious of our ability to do more as free men than we could as conscripts. Because we dare to express our disinclination to accept all the consequences of other people's blunders we are threatened with the severest of penalties. If that is the game, so be it.—*Star*, January 3, 1916.

J. H. HUDSON, M.A.

(Labour Candidate for Eccles.)

The Government have led us into the ambush of Conscription. But only they are deceived who deserved to be deceived. In the I.L.P. our eyes have been too long accustomed to the tricks and deceit practised against Democracy to be deceived by the latest Derby-Asquith subterfuges. A Government like this, professedly for the sake of keeping the pledge of a moment, a pledge which every previous pledge precluded it from making, betrays every promise and principle by which it received its trust, is worthy of any treachery, even that of giving this country over to the enemy.

Our unwavering resistance to Conscription shall prove in this darkest hour of the nation's need the greatest service we can do our Motherland. England needs now more than ever, since the days of Hampden, the brave hearts and true who will not have their country's idealism and liberty thrown by traitors to be trampled on by the tyranny of militarism.

It shall be my part in the I.L.P. to live and die the part of the true Englishman. They shall never conscript me Neither shall they shackle the souls of the thousands and thousands of young men who, I know, will stand with me.

Thank God that the Liberty of the England we have sworn to build and love can never die.

Thank God for the I.L.P. and the resistance to Conscription which shall know no defeat.

BEN C. SPOOR.

(Labour Candidate for Bishop Auckland.)

The attitude of the I.L.P. to Conscription must be one of uncompromising opposition. The task of preserving and securing human freedom is a bigger one than that of defending hard-won working-class rights. This latter has engaged the I.L.P. and its organ, the LABOUR LEADER, while certain Trade Union leaders, acting maybe from sincere motives, have surrendered one by one vital elements of working-class combination. The war is terrible in its physical results; it may be even more terrible in the spiritual loss its conduct involves. And Conscription strikes a blow at that freedom of thought and conscience that is the final stronghold, as it is the source, of democratic idea and principle. The issue is infinitely more serious than many seem to imagine. Happily there are indications of a strong opposition, and in that opposition the I.L.P. in its very nature is bound to play a large part. In the fulness of time it will reap the reward of its consistency. Governments come and go, but Democracy lives on, and, even during days of darkness, may forge new weapons with which to establish more firmly its kingdom in the world.

ALDERMAN BEN TURNER.

(Mayor of Batley.)

I am emphatically opposed to Conscription. It is a constitutional change that it is abhorrent to all lovers of Freedom.

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J. BRUCE GLASIER.

The object of the Conscriptionists is not to obtain soldiers in order to defeat Germany. Germany will not be defeated by the addition of a hundred thousand or so additional unmarried recruits. She will be defeated, if defeated at all, by our chemists and munition workers and by the magnitude of our financial and manufacturing resources. The real purpose of the Conscriptionists is twofold: (1) To enable Great Britain to pose as a dominant military as well as naval world-power, and (2) To discipline and coerce the workers of Great Britain into submission to their profit-grinding lords and masters.

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For the I.L.P., and all who believe in liberty, abhor the compulsion to bear arms and confronting power of militarism at home.

ROBERT SMILLIE.

(President of the Miners' Federation.)

Mr. Robert Smillie, interviewed by a correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, said the attitude of the miners of Great Britain had all along been that there was no necessity for Conscription. They were opposed to Conscription in any shape or form.

In reply to the question, "If the Bill limits the principle of compulsion to those single men who have not attested under Lord Derby's scheme, do you think their attitude will undergo any modification," Mr. Smillie replied: "This is my personal opinion I am giving. I do not believe their view will show any modification, even in these circumstances."

GEORGE LANSBURY.

The present crisis is a very grave one indeed, but is by no means hopeless. We must all just buckle on our armour and resolve to use every means in our power to prevent this accursed proposal being carried into effect. No military need has been proven; it is certain the Compulsionists want compulsion solely for industrial purposes. We must demand national organisation of industry for the benefit of the whole people as a direct alternative to the conscripting and bullying of the working people.

Some friends say, if we defeat Mr. Asquith there will be a General Election, and we shall be beaten. I don't accept either proposition. Even if they are both true, what difference does it make to us? Conscription from Mr. Asquith, or Sir E. Carson, or Mr. Lloyd George, is equally an outrage, whoever it is that puts the loathsome yoke on our necks.

We must all strive to maintain *freedom of conscience* for young and old at all costs. We must forget all our old quarrels and unite with men and women of all parties of all creeds who will work with us in order to prevent the manhood of our land being degraded to the level of industrial serfs.

J. WINSTONE.

(President of the South Wales Miners' Federation.)

My advice to the workers is to use every means in their power to destroy the diabolical plot on the part of the self-seeking politicians and editors of prominent capitalistic-controlled newspapers to bring about this crisis in our national affairs.

I feel sure the Welsh miners can be relied upon, if needs be, again to save the soul of the Trade Union movement of this country by refusing to be parties to the vile conspiracy on the part of the governing classes to deprive the people of Britain of the principles of Freedom and civic rights for which our forebears lived, fought, and died.

Our brave boys at the front are, so we are informed, fighting to destroy Prussian militarism. We shall be unworthy of our heritage if we do not strike, and strike hard and successfully, against a system under which workmen would be liable to military and industrial Conscription, without the right to leave work, whatever the terms or conditions of employment imposed by the Government.

The fighting spirit for liberty and justice within the Welsh miners is not dead, so intriguing Cabinets beware! Long live the Welsh miners with their insatiable desire for Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality.

Shall our Freedom die? Then two hundred thousand Welsh miners will know the reason why.

ROBERT WILLIAMS.

(Secretary of the Transport Workers' Federation.)

All the sinister forces of military and industrial Conscription are rapidly at work. What is Labour to do in order to resist these forces? Many of the so-called leaders of Labour have already been stupefied by the influences of the press. The press, now more than ever, is unworthy and unreliable. The position we stand in at the present moment is that Liberals are unable to defend Liberalism because Labour men lack the backbone to oppose this, the assistance given by the six chosen representatives of Labour was and is conditional upon the full maintenance of the voluntary system. There was, moreover, a standing agreement between these Labour men and Lord Derby that there should be no differentiation between married and single.

We now see that the infamous Derby scheme was merely a subterfuge to force Conscription upon the country, in spite of its wishes and in spite of the pledges given to the six Labour representatives associated with Lord Derby in the "Appeal to Free Men." It appears, moreover, that Mr. Henderson, whose *bona fides* as a Labour representative may now warrantably be questioned, has extracted a promise from those who attended last Friday's Conference that they would not discuss the position until the National Conference was held. It is astounding that those who have been put into responsible positions in our Labour movement, to guard all that that movement holds dear, should allow the case for the maintenance of the voluntary system to go by default, the while that the Conscriptionist press looks upon Compulsion as an accomplished fact. Even the Liberal press is scuttling from the principles of its own party. It remains for the common people through their organisations to defeat this infamous attempt to lead us back to slavery.

Let me remind Trade Unionists of the opinion of the members of the Central Council of the International Transport Workers' Federation, all of them Germans, and speaking of German conditions as compared with our own prior to the war. Speaking of the success of the mass strike in this country, and the possibilities upon which the success of the mass strike depend, they say:

> These are absent to-day in Germany (1913). The employers' readiness to cover any breach of their organisations by the employment of machine guns is ever present, in order that the shedding of blood may add to the reality of the position. The German condition of affairs entirely prohibits Trade Union mass action after the nature of the strikes in England.

This, tellingly expressed, is the reason why the *Morning Post*, the *Times*, the *Daily Mail*, and other reactionary organs want Conscription.

It is the bounden duty of Trade Unionists to stiffen the backs of their leaders. Many of these leaders are more concerned with the maintenance of a few seats in Parliament than they are with the maintenance of the liberties of the working class. Let us have a dissolution, let us have a general election, let us have what we may, we must not, we shall not, have Conscription!

May I say for myself that my age is 34, and I am inclined to believe that I would pass the medical test. No power on this earth will compel me to take military service against my will. My own position was determined some fourteen months ago, when Britain may seriously have been in danger. Having determined then not to offer myself, it is not within the wit of any Cabinet or any Government to frame a law to make me serve against my own will power. What I can do, there are hundreds of thousands of others that can do likewise.

We must smash this piece of political chicanery if we have to give lives as freely to protect ourselves from militarism at home as our fellow countrymen are giving their lives to combat militarism abroad.

ALEX. GOSSIP.

(General Secretary of the Furnishing Trades Association.)

It is my firm and convinced opinion that those who are trying to fasten the fetters of Conscription on the peoples of Great Britain are more concerned with the enslavement of the people than anything else, and the present European War is only being used as an excuse. There is absolutely nothing to choose between them and the vilest Prussian who ever played the part of an autocrat and despot.

Those in favour of Conscription have always been the bitter enemies of our class, and they scious of our ability to do more as free men than we could as conscripts. Because we dare to express our disinclination to accept all the consequences of other people's blunders we are threatened with the severest of penalties. If that is the game, so be it.—*Star*, January 3, 1916.

J. H. HUDSON, M.A.

(Labour Candidate for Eccles.)

The Government have led us into the ambush of Conscription. But only they are deceived who deserved to be deceived. In the I.L.P. our eyes have been too long accustomed to the tricks and deceit practised against Democracy to be deceived by the latest Derby-Asquith subterfuges. A Government like this, professedly for the sake of keeping the pledge of a moment, a pledge which every previous pledge precluded it from making, betrays every promise and principle by which it received its trust, is worthy of any treachery, even that of giving this country over to the enemy.

Our unwavering resistance to Conscription shall prove in this darkest hour of the nation's need the greatest service we can do our Motherland. England needs now more than ever, since the days of Hampden, the brave hearts and true who will not have their country's idealism and liberty thrown by traitors to be trampled on by the tyranny of militarism.

It shall be my part in the I.L.P. to live and die the part of the true Englishman. They shall never conscript me Neither shall they shackle the souls of the thousands and thousands of young men who, I know, will stand with me.

Thank God that the Liberty of the England we have sworn to build and love can never die.

Thank God for the I.L.P. and the resistance to Conscription which shall know no defeat.

BEN C. SPOOR.

(Labour Candidate for Bishop Auckland.)

The attitude of the I.L.P. to Conscription must be one of uncompromising opposition. The task of preserving and securing human freedom is a bigger one than that of defending hard-won working-class rights. This latter has engaged the I.L.P. and its organ, the LABOUR LEADER, while certain Trade Union leaders, acting maybe from sincere motives, have surrendered one by one vital elements of working-class combination. The war is terrible in its physical results; it may be even more terrible in the spiritual loss its conduct involves. And Conscription strikes a blow at that freedom of thought and conscience that is the final stronghold, as it is the source, of democratic idea and principle. The issue is infinitely more serious than many seem to imagine. Happily there are indications of a strong opposition, and in that opposition the I.L.P. in its very nature is bound to play a large part. In the fulness of time it will reap the reward of its consistency. Governments come and go, but Democracy lives on, and, even during days of darkness, may forge new weapons with which to establish more firmly its kingdom in the world.

ALDERMAN BEN TURNER.

(Mayor of Batley.)

I am emphatically opposed to Conscription. It is a constitutional change that it is abhorrent to all lovers of Freedom.

It is not needed even for military purposes. It is called for by the Milners, the Northcliffes, and other men who have shown themselves opposed to working-class movements. The claims of the military have been met on each call that has been made. Voluntarism has succeeded in getting the total number required for the Army.

The cryptic explanation of the Prime Minister's alleged pledge is no excuse for a nation to lose its soul, and a people its Freedom.

I hope the Special Trade Union Congress will declare against compulsion, even though it is claimed that the House of Lords will throw out the Parliament Act, and force a General Election unless their friends get compulsion.

But the House of Lords may try to defend

R OWN "PRUSSIANS"!

WHERE IS THE "GENERAL CONSENT"?

the freedom of the people, as they have done on one or two occasions during the war when the House of Commons has been busy doing otherwise. Even at that risk the Labour Party should defend British liberty and oppose this vile thing called Conscription.

MARY R. MACARTHUR.

Any form of Conscription, no matter how mild it may be to begin with, will be the forging of the first link in a chain that will bind Labour for a generation.

It will be a greater victory for Prussianism than any that can be won on the battlefields of Europe. There is hardly even a pretence that the present proposal is justified by military necessity. It is purely a question of political expediency; and those innocent people who imagine that force will be applied only to single young men, should read last week's issue of the *Saturday Review*, which blurts out the truth in a frank and cynical article from which the following is a quotation:

> The truth is, this "only fair" talk, this thoughtless stuff about the iniquity of young unmarried "slackers" staying at home whilst poor, dear married men are torn off to the wars, has been largely claptrap. But, if any decision was to be reached at all this side of Christmas, 1916, it has been necessary, because only by devising a good "cry," and spreading it among the crowd like wildfire were our statesmen able at length to reach a conclusion It was necessary to sweep in the Anti-Conscriptionists by some catchy, crowd-charming device of the kind. All the same, now the dodge has been done, one may say that it was and is repugnant to good sense and principle, screamed about as it has been. The only solid and sound argument for sending bachelor first is that bachelor costs less: yet that good argument hardly anyone has had the courage to use.

MARGARET BONDFIELD.

(National Council of the I.L.P.)

I am opposed to Conscription in any form. I am convinced that a sinister motive is behind the present campaign, *i.e.*, to secure military control of labour, because organised labour has begun effectively to demand a share of control in industry.

I hope the Labour movement will wake up in time to save our country from the disgrace of industrial slavery and its workers from the dishonour of having been fooled by political partisans disguised as patriots.

ISABELLA O. FORD.

I am glad to have this opportunity of joining in the magnificent protest the LABOUR LEADER is making against Conscription. My horror at the idea of introducing this form of tyranny into England is almost too deep for words. I feel that it would mean the destruction for long years of all our past work, and all the work of past generations, for progress and freedom. Under Conscription no man, and therefore no woman either, is really free, for it destroys liberty of speech and of the press, and all liberty of conscience. It will, of course, destroy Trade Unionism—what is already happening here? It will degrade the position of women, and most especially of the working women. Those of us who have seen its work in conscripted countries know how deadly and far-reaching are its effects.

And if we lose our freedom, how can we ever hope to help other nations to gain their freedom? If we force our men to kill other men, how can we ever again even pretend to be a Christian country? If we thus lose our soul, the soul of our country, what will anything ever profit us again? Let us be prepared to do [illegible] than let this come to pass!

CLIFFORD ALLEN.

(Chairman of the No-Conscription Fellowship.)

There must be no talk of accepting the imposition of Conscription. Its enactment must and can be prevented. The Bill must not become law.

There must be no talk of accepting a Conscription Act. Our resistance must be maintained, whatever the cost.

Men's lives are demanded compulsorily for a purpose of which they are ignorant. We will not blindly kill our fellows whilst peace is shunned and its terms hidden from us.

For months thousands of us have protested our determination to refuse war service. Now that we are called upon to make our decision, we pledge ourselves to resist to the uttermost and do not flinch for fear of the penalties we may draw down upon us. We count it better to suffer for convictions that we cherish than for a purpose which we renounce. Labour can smash Conscription; Christianity dare not countenance it. Let those of us who must witness to our faith purge our minds of cant. We are not playing a political game. We are to make a speedy peace inevitable.

CHARLES TREVELYAN, M.P.

There may be many considerations—economic, military, and social—which we ought to weigh. But the great disaster of compulsion for military service in any form is that it means the end of by far the greatest thing for which Britain has stood for generations—the liberty of the individual. Millions have been told to believe that this war was begun by us to fight against a system where individual liberty is sacrified to the caprices of rulers. What a moment to select to impose the same system upon ourselves! But Prussianism is the same here as in Prussia. It knows no consistency, decency, or liberal principle. Everywhere its course is marked by the destruction of the slowly-gathered harvests of right.

R. D. DENMAN, M.P.

I am glad to tell you what I have long ago told my constituents, that I am unalterably opposed to any form of compulsory military service.

Reasons both practical and theoretic combine in support of this attitude. From a practical point of view I am sure the harm outweighs the benefits. The deep and bitter resentment aroused among a section of the nation will impair the Government's power to conduct the war effectively.

But to me the question of principle is decisive. That a majority in this country should impose on a minority, against their will and convictions, the obligation to kill their fellow creatures is an act of treachery towards those ideas of personal liberty which constitute the greatest gift of our race to the civilisation of the world.

If Trade Unionists and the Irish can save us from this degradation, they will achieve a triumph which future generations of the British people will always remember with gratitude.

SIR W. P. BYLES, M.P.

Every voice against Conscription should be lifted now. It is high time, for the threat is ominously near. To vary a much-quoted saying of Mr. Lloyd George, "We are fighting three enemies, namely Germany, Austria, and Conscription, and the greatest of these is Conscription." It may yet prove a worse disaster than a German victory. Let all who love liberty, let working men especially, beware. A conscript army is a facile weapon [illegible]

BERTRAND RUSSELL, F.R.S.

Unless Labour offers an uncompromising opposition, Conscription is to become law within the next few weeks, before the House of Lords consents to prolong the life of the present Parliament.

The number of unattested single men has been announced as 65,000, but this is an outside estimate. It is agreed that only at most a third of these will remain after deduction of the starred men and the medically unfit. That leaves an addition of 200,000 unwilling men to the Army, as the result of our adopting the worst feature of militarism. Two hundred thousand unwilling men will not help appreciably towards military success; but the fact of their being obtained by compulsion will be a resounding victory for the Prussian spirit.

It is common knowledge among those who understand finance, from Mr. McKenna downwards, that, from the point of view of winning the war, we run more risk by having too many soldiers than by having too few. Victory in the long run will depend upon staying power; staying power depends upon finance; finance depends upon keeping our industries at work, which we cannot do if the great majority of able-bodied men are under arms. Those who are not dependent upon newspapers for their information know that our greatest danger is financial exhaustion through depletion of the ranks of labour.

Most of those who advocate Conscription believe sincerely that it is necessary in order to win the war. But those who have engineered the movement must be aware that from that point of view it is more likely to do harm than good. Patriotism is what they preach, but it is not their own motive. In pursuit of their own ends they have not shrunk from retarding victory by declaring to friends, neutrals, and enemies that we were not taking our due share in the war.

The motive of those who lead the Conscriptionist campaign is clear: it is to obtain a new weapon against organised labour. For the sake of the country, Trade Unionists are exhorted to give new and terrible powers to their future antagonists. The appeal to love of country is a cynical hypocrisy. From the moment when the war broke out certain enemies of Freedom have seen that it gave a rare opportunity for robbing wage-earners of what little liberty they had achieved, and preventing them for many years to come from making any advance on the road to democratic justice. With the enactment of Conscription the cruel plot will have succeeded.

There is no more horrible crime against liberty than to compel men to kill each other when their conscience tells them to live in peace. Many of the best men in the country will not submit to compulsion, and will be persecuted because they have courage to resist tyranny. But whatever they suffer they will be more fortunate than their persecutors, since they will be doing something to keep alive the ideals that made England great in happier times.

EDWARD CARPENTER.

(Author of "Towards Democracy.")

I have been sorry to witness the insincere methods of recruiting which have been sanctioned by the Government under the Lord Derby scheme—the evasions and concealments which have been used to catch thousands and hundreds of thousands unawares. A considerable wave of indignation on this subject is arising—as well as of ridicule over this truly British "compulsory voluntarism." And yet if the appeal had been made sincerely, and with clear statements of the [illegible]

PRINCIPAL JOHN W. GRAHAM.

Probably the most critical time of our live as citizens is this time. The difference between a drilled Conscript country like Germany and a country of political freemen like our own has been expounded to us many a time by advocates of the war, and we know that it is true. Teach every workman military obedience in his youth, and he will be easier to manage afterwards, indeed he can be mobilised to break his own spirit. "The poor want more discipline, they are slackers"—has ever been the cry of the rich.

Do not suppose that we can get rid of the machinery of Compulsion easily at the end of the war. Every kind of national fear and suspicion will be played upon to achieve its continuance. The thing penetrates into every detail of life. In conscript countries you have to register at the police office when you want to leave home, or remove your house—lest you escape the military net. You are always under the eye of some official.

No sane person (unless we are being kept in ignorance of important facts), would say that there was any military need for Conscription now. Mr. McKenna clearly thinks that loans have already reached their safe maximum. Mr. Runciman thinks that trade cannot be further depleted without lowering our exchange, and Mr. Lloyd George is hustling for munition workers. If we don't keep up our exports and continue loans to Russia and France, we shall lose more than gain by adding to our soldiers. Every new soldier takes away £100 of wealth that he would have earned in a year, and costs £300 to train, equip, transport, feed, and supply with munitions. That takes up the labour of three men at home. So each soldier means a loss of four industrials.

Our reserves are ample, as everyone knows, for months to come. But nobody knows how many "shirkers," if any, there are. Among the unattested are the physically weak, the needed workers, the men who were either negligent or would take no risks, but cannot go, and the conscientious objectors. It will not be greatly to the advantage of our arms to send these last to prison. There they will be a cost to the nation, and a standing disgrace to the Government. The young men of the Society of Friends may have to go to prison. We once did so before, in the evil days of Charles II., and with Friends will go thousands of others. Has the Seventeenth Century taught our rulers nothing?

The most disquieting fact is that a Liberal Prime Minister, who believes in the voluntary system, at the head of a Cabinet in which a majority are on his side, is obeying a highly-placed military clique whose power derives from a certain irresponsible newspaper proprietor, of no importance in himself. The owner of the *Daily Mail* and controller of the *Times* is, in my own opinion, one of the small group of men in Europe who are responsible for this war. The chief blame rests, we all believe, with some men in Germany, but the English papers which for years wrote against Germany, and sowed suspicion and ill-feeling on every occasion, helped to strengthen the same foolishness over there, and, by playing up to the worst influences round the Kaiser, have aided in causing this destruction. To foretell the war is to help to cause the war. This man has been made a peer; is he to be a super Prime Minister as well? If so, then indeed the British Empire will be built on a foundation of froth, on the outpourings of a journalism whose business is to get circulation and advertisement, and for that end to please, to flatter, and, above all, to astonish, frighten, or inflame people who [illegible]

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MARGARET LLEWELYN DAVIES.

(Secretary, Women's Co-operative Guild.)

This is a moment when Labour holds the destinies of the country in its hand. The demand for Conscription has not, on the Conscriptionists' own figures, even the excuse of a military necessity. Compulsion once admitted for a section, will be rapidly extended to all, with the inevitable result of enslaving the workers through military law.

The calamitous betrayal of Labour by some of its leaders does not lessen the power of the rank and file. They can maintain the freedom of the workers and the right of conscience by the most effective weapon of Trade Union action. All men and women who believe in liberty must support them by demonstrations throughout the country and determine that Conscription shall never be placed on our Statute Book.

will not blindly kill our fellows whilst peace is shunned and its terms hidden from us.

For months thousands of us have protested our determination to refuse war service. Now that we are called upon to make our decision, we pledge ourselves to resist to the uttermost and do not flinch for fear of the penalties we may draw down upon us. We count it better to suffer for convictions that we cherish than for a purpose which we renounce. Labour can smash Conscription; Christianity dare not countenance it. Let those of us who must witness to our faith purge our minds of cant. We are not playing a political game. We are to make a speedy peace inevitable.

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F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

Fundamentally, I am opposed to Conscription as an outrage against the spirit of man. At its best it is an attempt to override the individual conscience in the supposed interests of the nation. But the Conscription agitation of to-day is something far more contemptible than this. It is designed not in the interests of the nation but in the interests of a class. It will not help to win the war; on the contrary it will bring financial ruin. Its nefarious object is to deprive the working class of the means to resist their own enslavement.

We who love our land and the liberties which our forefathers and foremothers won for us must stand firm in our opposition to this un-English proposal which a degenerate press and a degenerate Parliament are seeking to foist upon us.

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(Author of "Towards Democracy.")

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DR. JOHN CLIFFORD, M.A.

It appears as though the worst is to happen. We had hoped it was impossible. The splendid response of the Labour world to the call of the country has made it unnecessary. In the interests of individual character, national efficiency, victory over our foes, and of the coming generation, the greater part of the nation expects the Labour-world to save us from the perils of compulsion for military service.

"The poor want more discipline, they are slackers"—has ever been the cry of the rich.

Do not suppose that we can get rid of the machinery of Compulsion easily at the end of the war. Every kind of national fear and suspicion will be played upon to achieve its continuance. The thing penetrates into every detail of life. In conscript countries you have to register at the police office when you want to leave home, or remove your house—lest you escape the military net. You are always under the eye of some official.

No sane person (unless we are being kept in ignorance of important facts), would say that there was any military need for Conscription now. Mr. McKenna clearly thinks that loans have already reached their safe maximum. Mr. Runciman thinks that trade cannot be further depleted without lowering our exchange, and Mr. Lloyd George is hustling for munition workers. If we don't keep up our exports and continue loans to Russia and France, we shall lose more than gain by adding to our soldiers. Every new soldier takes away £100 of wealth that he would have earned in a year, and costs £300 to train, equip, transport, feed, and supply with munitions. That takes up the labour of three men at home. So each soldier means a loss of four industrials.

Our reserves are ample, as everyone knows, for months to come. But nobody knows how many "shirkers," if any, there are. Among the unattested are the physically weak, the needed workers, the men who were either negligent or would take no risks, but cannot go, and the conscientious objectors. It will not be greatly to the advantage of our arms to send these last to prison. There they will be a cost to the nation, and a standing disgrace to the Government. The young men of the Society of Friends may have to go to prison. We once did so before, in the evil days of Charles II., and with Friends will go thousands of others. Has the Seventeenth Century taught our rulers nothing?

The most disquieting fact is that a Liberal Prime Minister, who believes in the voluntary system, at the head of a Cabinet in which a majority are on his side, is obeying a highly-placed military clique whose power derives from a certain irresponsible newspaper proprietor, of no importance in himself. The owner of the *Daily Mail* and controller of the *Times* is, in my own opinion, one of the small group of men in Europe who are responsible for this war. The chief blame rests, we all believe, with some men in Germany, but the English papers which for years wrote against Germany, and sowed suspicion and ill-feeling on every occasion, helped to strengthen the same foolishness over there, and, by playing up to the worst influences round the Kaiser, have aided in causing this destruction. To foretell the war is to help to cause the war. This man has been made a peer; is he to be a super Prime Minister as well? If so, then indeed the British Empire will be built on a foundation of froth, on the outpourings of a journalism whose business is to get circulation and advertisement, and for that end to please, to flatter, and, above all, to astonish, frighten, or inflame people who hate thinking.

By a trick, that of separating the interests of the married from the unmarried, by a pledge no Prime Minister had a right to give, by working in the thin end of the wedge, by obfuscating and concealing the real Derby results, by hustling and hurrying, with the House impotent under a Coalition Ministry, by the threat of a General Election at an impossible time, the enemies of the people are playing their game.

PROFESSOR HERBERT T. ANDREWS.

(University of London.)

My attitude to compulsion is one of uncompromising hostility. I believe that the Government policy, by dividing the country, will prolong the agony of the war. I hope that the Labour Party will be true to the great ideal of liberty and resist the Bill to the utmost.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

NEW YEAR'S GIFTS TO CAPITALISTS.

Most decent British citizens when they see the New Year's Honours List in their paper simply pass it by as no concern of theirs. They are wrong. It is a deeply interesting document, and a standing proof that the Government of this country is scarcely more democratic than that of Prussia. I believe anyone will agree that this is true who for a moment puts out of his head all the old catch-words and phrases and traditional lies about society, classes, politics, and merits, which he first began to imbibe with his mother's milk, and who will just look at this week's honours list as if it were a simple sum in arithmetic.

Let us look at the first 58 honours, which range from Knights of the Garter to common or garden Knights. The first fact which is remarkable is that only two out of 58 honours go to representatives of the largest, the most important, and the hardest-working class in the country, the working class, and they go to two Labour M.P.'s, Mr. Crooks and Mr. Barnes. The two Garters are given to two members of the most aristocratic ruling caste, one of whom, Lord Curzon, is notorious as a reactionary oligarch. A reactionary, typically "government" judge of no legal eminence, Lord Mersey, is made a Viscount. Of the six new Peers, three are capitalist employers, two being railway magnates and one a mineowner; one is an American millionaire; one a reactionary aristocratic Admiral; and one a politician.

Among the Privy Councillors is Sir Frederick Banbury, a Capitalist banker and railway director, whose consistent opposition to every measure tending to improve the position of Labour and the poor has made him a by-word even in the House of Commons. Of the 13 Baronets, no less than 7 are large Capitalist employers. The Knighthoods are given to a motley collection of Capitalist employers, mayors, doctors connected with the Court or aristocracy. Surely this is a remarkable list. Does it not show clearly that all the power is concentrated in the hands of a small reactionary class composed of aristocrats and Capitalist employers?

Most of the honours are supposed to be given for patriotic work done during the war. The shipowners who have been making fortunes have received their New Year's gifts of honour from the nation. If there were a glimmer of democratic government in the country, would not one or two of the thousands of men, who have been working seventy and more hours, seven days a week, month after month, on shipyard, dock, and munition factory (sometimes for 3d. an hour!), have been honoured in the same way? "Ridiculous rant" the new Privy Councillor, Sir F. Banbury, would call such a proposal; but it isn't, it's just logic; it's not the proposal which is ridiculous, but our system of government and society which makes the proposal seem ridiculous.

THE NEW YEAR'S GIFT TO LABOUR.

The nation gave a New Year's gift of honour to Lord Curzon, Sir F. Banbury, Mr. D. A. Thomas, and a dozen other Capitalist employers; Mr. Lloyd George has presented the nation's New Year's gift to Labour. It is martial law. I mentioned last week that the Minister of Munitions had suddenly yielded to the repeated demand of the Trade Unions for the abolition of imprisonment under the Munitions Act. Mr. Hodge announced that the Government were going to accept an amendment to that effect. The Government's own Commissioners, Lord Balfour of Burleigh and Mr. Macassey, had recommended that this should be done.

Now we see the meaning and value of Mr. George's "concession." An Order in Council has been made which, under the Defence of the Realm Act, makes it a criminal offence to "impede, delay, or restrict the production, repair, or transport of war material, or any other work necessary for the successful prosecution of the war." The whips and scorpions with which Mr. George endeavoured to coerce workers under the Munitions Act are nothing to the whips and scorpions of his Order in Council. A worker did have some protection under the Act; under the Order he has none. Any person, engaged in any occupation remotely connected with the war, who leaves work or strikes or even does not work hard enough to satisfy his private employer, can be prosecuted, tried by court-martial before military officers *in camera*, and sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour. Are the workers and their leaders, after their experience of the way justice is administered in a Munitions Tribunal, really going to trust themselves to the secret proceedings of courts-martial?

COURTS-MARTIAL.

Courts-martial in the army are usually simply parodies of justice. This is not the fault of the officers who sit upon them and who, as a rule, probably intend to be fair. But being "public school" men, they are uneducated or badly educated. With no legal training of any kind, they are suddenly called upon to administer an intricate system of law. As a rule, they do not understand, and, therefore ignore, rules of evidence which are the only safeguards for innocent accused persons.

The things which happen in military courts-martial are almost incredible. Here is an example. A friend of mine took a commission in the first week of the war. As he was reading for the Bar and was therefore incorrectly supposed to know something of law, he was early appointed to sit upon a court-martial. The first case was one of desertion, the accused being tried in his absence. The court consisted of my friend who was, of course, a second lieutenant, and a captain, who was president. The captain told my friend that he was not well up in the procedure of courts-martial and so had got the record of a similar case of desertion, which they would keep open on the table in front of them and follow carefully. The first witness was called and examined and his evidence recorded by the captain. But my friend noticed that the captain was following the procedure of the old case so closely that instead of writing down what the witness said he wrote down what the first witness in the old case had said. He drew his attention to this, and pointed out that, although it was quite right to follow the procedure of the old case, they surely must record the actual evidence of the witnesses before them.

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DISCHARGED SOLDIERS AND SAILORS.

The question of the re-absorption of discharged soldiers and sailors into civil life during and after the war is one of urgent moment. The War Emergency Workers' National Commitee, the General Federation of Trade Unions, and the Demobilisation Committee of the Social Welfare Association for London have all recently been devoting attention to it as being of immense importance to Labour. In February last the Local Government Board appointed a committee, which drew up a scheme recommending an organisation which should eventually deal with both disabled and able-bodied discharged soldiers and sailors. This recommendation was not followed, and now by the Naval and Military War Pensions Act the care of disabled officers and men is given to a Statutory Committee of the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation and to Local Committees.

This is a most unsatisfactory Act, which was passed in opposition to the Parliamentary Labour Party, the Workers' National Committee, and other Labour organisations, all of whom desired that the work should be under a Statutory Board or a Government Department directly responsible to Parliament. The Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation is another example of the undemocratic government of this country. It administers public money and deals almost entirely with members of the working classes; yet the working classes are practically unrepresented upon it. It is packed with Lord Lieutenants of Counties, Lord Mayors, Mayors, Generals, Colonels, Peers and sons of Peers. However, now that the Act has been passed, the Workers' National Committee and other organisations are doing their utmost to make the best of it. The Statutory Committee is to be helped by local committees established by the local authorities. The Act provides for the inclusion of women and Labour representatives among the members of these local committees. The Workers' National Committee is urging the importance of Labour and women's organisations taking steps throughout the country to see that representatives of both sections are included.

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"That in view of the renewed activity of the Conscriptionists inside and outside the Cabinet and the reported decision of the Cabinet in favour of Conscription, this Council, representing 70,000 Birmingham workpeople, reaffirms its unalterable opposition to Conscription. It has closely followed the agitation for Conscription from the outbreak of the war, and holds the view that the purpose of that agitation has never been directed to securing any national advantage, but has been confessedly pursued for the purpose of smashing the Trade Union movement and undermining the power of the British democracy. We regard the proposed division of the nation's manhood into two parts—viz., married and unmarried—as a trick to divide and diminish the opposition to Conscription by making Conscription appear to be the friend of the married man and winning for it his support. We repudiate such a trick, and pledge ourselves to resist the introduction of this pernicious Prussian principle of Conscription of human life in any and every form to the utmost extent of our power."

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Mr. H. J. Morcombe (A.S.E.) seconded the resolution.

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London District Board of the Union of Operative Bakers, Confectioners, and Allied Workers.
Hackney Branch of the Shop Assistants, Warehousemen, and Clerks.
Wolverhampton No. 3 Branch of the Society of Gas, Municipal, and General Workers.
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Headquarters: BEBEL HOUSE, 86, Lexham Gardens, Kensington, London, W.

Chairman: **Mr. PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.**
Hon. Treas.: **Mr. ROBT. WILLIAMS** (Nat. Transport Workers' Fed'n) 220, Blackfriars Rd., London, S.E.
Hon. Secretary: **Mr. GEORGE TCHITCHERINE**, 12, Oakley Square, London, N.W.
Hon. Assistant Secretary: **Mrs. BRIDGES ADAMS**, 96, Lexham Gardens, Kensington, London, W.

Those willing to help in alleviating the terrible sufferings of the Political Prisoners in the Russian hard-labour gaols, and of the Political Exiles in Siberia, are invited to send donations direct to the Hon. Treasurer.

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TRADE UNION NOTES: The Engineers Score.

DON'T CROW TOO SOON!

The two most significant incidents in the history of Labour since the outbreak of the European War in July, 1914, are, first, the privilege wrung out of the Government by the Miners' Federation of Great Britain that they should not be included in the Munitions Act, and, second, the promise wrung from the Government by the Amalgamated Society of Engineers that their demands should be satisfied before the Munitions Amending Bill passed into law.

* * *

In each case a single organisation had to fight for its own hand, and it is a melancholy comment on the solidarity of the Labour movement and on its vaunted motto of "United we stand, divided we fall," that in each case a single organisation won a victory it could not win when linked up with the others. The miners refused to be swept into the Munitions Act. They kept out, and, in spite of tales of horrible penalties, they were left out. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers formulated certain demands and submitted them to a National Conference representing 55 Unions in the Engineering and Shipbuilding trades. The Conference of November 30 passed these and other demands unanimously and urged their incorporation in the Amending Bill. But the Trade Union Conference resolutions were entrusted to a committee of twelve which consisted of the six members of the National Advisory Committee on War Output and six elected on the spot. That committee failed to move the Government, and when the Amending Bill was introduced it was found to be a delusion and a snare so far as real amendment was concerned. It became better, slightly better, after Committee Stage, but it still omitted the chief demands of the Trade Unionists. Then on Thursday, December 30, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers called a conference of its own members and there empowered certain representatives to go on a deputation to the Prime Minister and to Mr. Lloyd George and lay before them the original demands of the Trade Union Conference, emphasis being laid, as was but natural, on the resolutions which were dearest to the hearts of the Engineers. These demands, originally rejected by the Government when they came from a National Trade Union Conference, have now been granted to the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

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The moral of all this is plain to see. It is that Labour will get concessions from the Government, even when the granting of those concessions is imperative in the national interests, only by independence of action. To hope to secure it by Coalition Governments is a sorry mistake. We do not intend to minimise the really good part played by Arthur Henderson in the South Wales coal strike and at other times. But in sober earnest it must be said that for Labour to have merely a foot in the Cabinet is like having a foot in the grave. So long as Labour spaniels the Cabinet at heel, so long will it get nothing but kicks. The Government yields more to the uncompromising demand of one Union than to all the amiability of all the Hodges.

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Further than that, it must be noted that direct industrial action when used for purposes which, however affected by legislation, are in their essence industrial purposes, has been signally vindicated. The first Conference, representative though it was, fizzled out. The Labour Party was good enough to turn down a number of the principal proposals tabled by the Trade Union Conference, and so failed on a move to present the views of its constituents. Members of Parliament originally elected to represent the views of Labour remained silent and inactive. A few of them who were directly interested in the Munitions Act busied themselves in biting the ear of Lloyd George; the rest, too, were inactive.

* * *

is the arena in which to fight out the industrial issues, but since the war came, and more still since the Coalition Government came and His Majesty's Opposition disappeared, the House of Commons has not been an arena fit to defend a dog from drowning, far less a body of wage-earners from industrial servitude.

* * *

What precisely did the Engineers obtain at their interview with the Prime Minister and Lloyd George on Friday night last? Our readers are well aware of what they endeavoured to get. They asked for nothing more than the seven points tabled and passed a month before. The newspaper report of the interview, given forth by the Ministry of Munitions, so emphasised the solitary point of the L.3. wages concession as to leave a general impression in the public mind that this was all that the A.S.E. gained. Whether the press report was so worded by accident, or by design, on the part of the permanent officials, may have important consequences. *In any case, it must be understood that the A.S.E. were actually promised concessions on all the most important points and on several minor points in addition.*

The demand for L.3. was a demand that a pledge given by the Ministry of Munitions, purporting to secure the skilled workers against depreciation of standard rates through a wholesale introduction of semi-skilled and unskilled labour, should now be made legally binding. A similar pledge (L.2.) had been made in the case of women workers, and it had been found necessary to give this legal sanction by incorporating it in the new Amending Bill. The Engineers justly asked that the provisions of L.3. (dealing with semi-skilled and unskilled men) should be added to L.2. (dealing with women workers).

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It is understood that the Prime Minister consented to speedy arbitration in place of the vexatious delays which had been one of the most iniquitous results of the Act. The Act at present provides that all disputes must be referred to the Board of Trade for arbitration within 21 days. But no proviso is made for setting a term to the time in which settlement must take place. Thus a barrister appointed to arbitrate may get leisurely to work; the employers may delay a decision month after month, and, if it is a dispute about a wages advance, rob the employees of the wages that should be theirs during all the days of waiting. The perfectly reasonable demand of the Trade Union Conference for a full settlement within 21 days was obstinately resisted by the Munitions Ministry. It has now been granted at the instance of the A.S.E.

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The second point is the Appeal Court from Munitions Tribunals. A strong demand for some body which could remedy the many miscarriages of justice which disfigured the decisions of the Munitions Tribunals' chairmen was sent up from the Trade Union Conference. As a reply to this there was granted the completely illusory concession of an appeal on points of law only. That is to say, if a Munitions chairman (usually a revising barrister type of person) by some chance gave a judgment which was not wrong, not unjust, not inequitable, but actually a contravention of the Statute he was administering, and if by a miraculous chance the worker under trial was so skilled in the law as to spot this illegality, then there would be a chance of appeal on the point of law. Now, through the instrumentality of the A.S.E., the workers are to have appeals allowed on points of "mixed fact and law." This curious phrase means that greater uniformity will be secured in the decisions: a decision at Glasgow will serve as a binding precedent for Sheffield, and if it does not there can be an appeal. This concession is not so good as it might be, but it is a great deal better than the farcical appeal on "points of law only."

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permanent officials have been thrown over and the principle of local democratic control has been conceded. The committees will be given permissive powers to settle differences before they get to a serious stage. They will thus fulfil the function of the mediator suggested in Lord Balfour of Burleigh's report on the Clyde troubles. Lastly, the workers' side of these committees will be directly elected, and will contain a proper proportion of men skilled in the industry.

* * *

Throughout the whole of the negotiations between the Government and the workers since last spring there has been a feeling on the part of the workers that they had been done out of their right to have proposed changes in rules and regulations submitted for their approval. Time and again disputes have arisen over this. Employers have not scrupled, under cover of the Munitions Act, to post up obnoxious rules which would have brought the men out on strike in ten minutes had it been peace-time. Now we understand that no rules other than the model rules of the Munitions Ministry are to be posted without preliminary discussion with the workers concerned. We hope that discussion entails agreement. Further, all important changes in rules and regulations are to be published in the Board of Trade *Labour Gazette*.

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There is one furtner concession—the abolition of imprisonment under the Act. But while we hail this with pleasure, a caveat must be entered. What Mr. Lloyd George is giving with one hand it would appear he is taking away with the other. There has recently been published an Order in Council under the Defence of the Realm Act which provides penalties for anyone who hinders the making of munitions, ranging up to *imprisonment for life*, and where the guilty person is proved to have acted with intent to assist the enemy to the *death penalty*. It may be that this is only intended for serious cases outside the usual scope of the penal clauses of the Munitions Act. But we have seen too many misapplications of the law during the past year not to fear that this Order in Council may be applied to law-abiding citizens who have fallen under the displeasure of the nation's executive. "Hindering the work of producing munitions" is a phrase that might well apply to a workman who left his machine for some hours or who did not turn up one morning. Thus the A.S.E. and the Trade Unions generally must not be too sure that they have abolished this odious business of imprisonment.

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This general attitude was first taken up by the railway companies some twenty years ago, when the old Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants attempted to enrol railway clerks as members. The railway managers, headed by Sir George Gibb (now one of the three members of the Committee on Production), refused to allow the clerks to be in a Union, hitherto confined to the operative

"THE DILUTION OF LABOUR."

The Clyde Men's Position.

With his usual adroitness Mr. Lloyd George has conveyed to the public the impression that the Trade Unionists in the Clyde area are absolutely opposed to the "dilution of labour" proposals which, in his opinion, are imperative.

Eighty thousand skilled mechanics, we are informed, are required for the new national munition factories which have been erected, and these are to be taken from their present occupations in privately-owned factories. To enable this to be done without decreasing the output of munitions, the Trade Unions are urged to allow unskilled labour to perform the least skilled jobs. Consequently, skilled mechanics who have served an apprenticeship, and have thereby acquired special aptness for certain work, would be expected to work alongside unskilled workers, the latter being employed at the easiest tasks. The craft barriers which have been erected by these workers for their own protection would be broken down, and restricted trades would be thrown open to all.

Craft barriers would only be broken down where they have been erected by the workers. The craft barriers of the ruling classes remain intact, and yet an engineer is just as much entitled to protection against potential blacklegs as are lawyers, doctors, and accountants, to name only a few of the professionals whose crafts are protected against interlopers by the State. (The engineer is not protected by the State, but, in combination with his fellows, he has formed a Union which affords him some protection.) Along comes Lloyd George with a demand that the engineer shall forego the protection of his Union by allowing everyone and anyone to work at his craft.

The Clyde workers are only inclined to do this on conditions which will guarantee that the flooding of their crafts with unskilled labour will not be used to lower wages or the standard of living in general. If these guarantees are given, the Clyde men will accept the "dilution of labour," and spare no effort to make it successful. The conditions which the Clyde men ask are:

(1) The nationalisation of all munition industries.

(2) The Trade Union-State control of the management and supply of labour.

(3) The abrogation of all coercive and punitive industrial legislation, such as the slavery clauses in the Munitions Act.

These three conditions were submitted to Mr. George by the Clyde workers during his visit to Glasgow, but, as would be seen from the official report of his speech, he omitted all reference to them. He did not even promise to give them consideration or to submit them to the Cabinet.

Who is Lloyd George that he should autocratically dismiss the conditions submitted by 250,000 munition workers as being necessary before they can accept the "dilution of labour"? This matter is too important to be settled off-hand by an egotistical solicitor, and the nation ought to be made aware of the Clyde men's position, so that they may not be condemned without knowledge.

The nationalisation of the industries should precede the "dilution of labour," so that the State may derive the fullest benefit. Otherwise, the arrangement will be used by profiteers to augment profits, lower wages, and destroy Trade Unionism. If the Ministry of Munitions will proceed to make every factory a national factory one huge obstacle will be removed.

The enactment of condition one would pave the way for enactment of condition two, which is intended to secure for the Trade Unions a share of the management of industry. If this is "an engineers' war" surely it is not unreasonable to ask that the engineers should have some share in the management of their

movement and on its vaunted motto of "United we stand, divided we fall," that in each case a single organisation won a victory it could not win when linked up with the others. The miners refused to be swept into the Munitions Act. They kept out, and, in spite of tales of horrible penalties, they were left out. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers formulated certain demands and submitted them to a National Conference representing 55 Unions in the Engineering and Shipbuilding trades. The Conference of November 30 passed these and other demands unanimously and urged their incorporation in the Amending Bill. But the Trade Union Conference resolutions were entrusted to a committee of twelve which consisted of the six members of the National Advisory Committee on War Output and six elected on the spot. That committee failed to move the Government, and when the Amending Bill was introduced it was found to be a delusion and a snare so far as real amendment was concerned. It became better, slightly better, after Committee Stage, but it still omitted the chief demands of the Trade Unionists. Then on Thursday, December 30, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers called a conference of its own members and there empowered certain representatives to go on a deputation to the Prime Minister and to Mr. Lloyd George and lay before them the original demands of the Trade Union Conference, emphasis being laid, as was but natural, on the resolutions which were dearest to the hearts of the Engineers. These demands, originally rejected by the Government when they came from a National Trade Union Conference, have now been granted to the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

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The moral of all this is plain to see. It is that Labour will get concessions from the Government, even when the granting of those concessions is imperative in the national interests, only by independence of action. To hope to secure it by Coalition Governments is a sorry mistake. We do not intend to minimise the really good part played by Arthur Henderson in the South Wales coal strike and at other times. But in sober earnest it must be said that for Labour to have merely a foot in the Cabinet is like having a foot in the grave. So long as Labour spaniels the Cabinet at heel, so long will it get nothing but kicks. The Government yields more to the uncompromising demand of one Union than to all the amiability of all the Hodges.

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* * *

At last a single Union met in Conference and passed a resolution which was in substance an ultimatum. The Government promptly climbed down. It accepted demands which were made in the interests of the nation no less than in those of the Engineers, demands which (if we may phrase it in a "bull") ought to have been granted even before they were formulated. The resolution passed by the Engineers was as follows:

> This conference, representative of 265,000 engineers, are of the opinion that the suggested amendments of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, endorsed by 55 Trade Unions at the conference of November 30, are essential to their element of justice in the administration of the Munitions of War Act, 1915, and should be incorporated in the Amendment Act if we are to maintain an influence with our members in securing the high standard of production required.

It was this implied threat of industrial action, or at any rate deliberate inaction, which brought the Government to its knees. I have never pretended that the House of Commons

L.3. wages concession as to leave a general impression in the public mind that this was all that the A.S.E. gained. Whether the press report was so worded by accident, or by design, on the part of the permanent officials, may have important consequences. *In any case, it must be understood that the A.S.E. were actually promised concessions on all the most important points and on several minor points in addition.*

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The Munitions Tribunals are the youngest courts of law in this country, but so much injustice has taken place within their walls that there seems no incongruity in saying that these hoary iniquities are to be considerably remodelled. The panel of workers' assessors, which is at present the old Insurance Act panels, is to be reformed with a *personnel* which shall know perhaps less about phthisis and approved society finance but more about workshop conditions in the munitions industry. It is to be hoped, however, that the whole of the powers and procedure of these tribunals will be swept into limbo before the Act passes through Parliament.

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This may be managed if the new promise to set up local joint committees of women workers and employers is carried out with any adequacy. Mr. Lloyd George has several times declared himself in favour of local joint committees, and yet owing, we believe, to the malign influence of the permanent officials of the Munitions Ministry, this predilection of the Minister has never been allowed to show itself in action. Now we understand that the

changes in rules and regulations submitted for their approval. Time and again disputes have arisen over this. Employers have not scrupled, under cover of the Munitions Act, to post up obnoxious rules which would have brought the men out on strike in ten minutes had it been peace-time. Now we understand that no rules other than the model rules of the Munitions Ministry are to be posted without preliminary discussion with the workers concerned. We hope that discussion entails agreement. Further, all important changes in rules and regulations are to be published in the Board of Trade *Labour Gazette*.

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JACK CADE.

TO TRADE UNION OFFICIALS!

It is acknowledged by every alert Trade Union official that "Jack Cade's" contributions on Trade Union topics are the best informed articles on the subject that are published to-day. No keen Trade Unionist can possibly afford to miss them. If you do not see the LABOUR LEADER regularly, make it your first business to ask your Newsagent to supply you with it. Nowhere else can you get such an authoritative knowledge of what is going on in the Trade Union world.

occupations in privately-owned factories. To enable this to be done without decreasing the output of munitions, the Trade Unions are urged to allow unskilled labour to perform the least skilled jobs. Consequently, skilled mechanics who have served an apprenticeship, and have thereby acquired special aptness for certain work, would be expected to work alongside unskilled workers, the latter being employed at the easiest tasks. The craft barriers which have been erected by these workers for their own protection would be broken down, and restricted trades would be thrown open to all.

Craft barriers would only be broken down where they have been erected by the workers. The craft barriers of the ruling classes remain intact, and yet an engineer is just as much entitled to protection against potential blacklegs as are lawyers, doctors, and accountants, to name only a few of the professionals whose crafts are protected against interlopers by the State. (The engineer is not protected by the State, but, in combination with his fellows, he has formed a Union which affords him some protection.) Along comes Lloyd George with a demand that the engineer shall forego the protection of his Union by allowing everyone and anyone to work at his craft.

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Who is Lloyd George that he should autocratically dismiss the conditions submitted by 250,000 munition workers as being necessary before they can accept the "dilution of labour"? This matter is too important to be settled off-hand by an egotistical solicitor, and the nation ought to be made aware of the Clyde men's position, so that they may not be condemned without knowledge.

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The enactment of condition one would pave the way for enactment of condition two, which is intended to secure for the Trade Unions a share of the management of industry. If this is "an engineers' war" surely it is not unreasonable to ask that the engineers should have some share in the management of their own industry. Responsibility makes *men*, and one would think the Trade Unions are better able to organise labour than the lawyers, doctors, and advertising agents who now control the Ministry of Munitions.

Condition three is a very simple proposal based on the imperishable truth that slaves do not make good workers. Coercion is a bad master and organiser, and men who have had experience of freedom do not enjoy slavery. Resentment breeds discontent: discontent breeds strikes: strikes breed——?

The Clyde men, then, are favourable to the "dilution of labour" on those conditions. They are reasonable conditions, and Mr. Lloyd George can only refuse them because he is firmly wedded to the capitalistic system of production.

Mr. Lloyd George has assured the Clyde men that he will be fighting on *their* side after the war. The Clyde men want him on *their* side now, not caring to trust a man who is against them now to be with them later!

MYNER COLLIER.

Imaginary Interview with a Privy Councillor.

By "CASEY."

"Come right in," said the genial P.C., bearing his blushing honours thick upon him. —(Daily press.)

"I have called," said our representative, "to interview you on behalf of a vast circle of admirers."

"Come right in, we're not stuck up. As you say, the King, God bless him, has honoured me." Here the Right Honrabill gentleman seemed quite overcome. "This P.C. business means a lot more work for me. I have had to be photographed I don't know how many times already. Photographed in my shirt sleeves. Just fency! But my motto is: 'Never put off till to-morrow what you can pose in to-day.' Progress is the law of Nature."

"The public," said our Rep., "would like to hear more about you."

"I know, I know. Well, tell the public first of all that I was born very young." Here our Rep. laughed heartily. "And," continued the Right Honrabill, leaning forward and whispering impressively, "between you and I and the gate post, we were so poor I was born without a shirt."

"Goblessme," said our Rep.

"Yes, and I hadn't a silver spoon in my mouth, neither, though there may have been a mug at the christening."

"Really. This will interest our readers."

"No, I never did have no luck as a youngster. I didn't even have a chance to pick my parents. They were chosen for me in a most arbitrary fashion. Aristocrats are not punished like this, you know. Only pore workers. Now Kings, Kaisers, and Tsars have divine rights. Derby, Sutherland, Portland, and Manchester exercised this right, and consequently exhibited an intelligence enabling them to rule us for their benefit."

"Bravo! That's like the old man."

"Still, at a time like the present," said the new P.C., "it is the duty of every paytriot to remember that His Majesty, Gaud bless 'im——" Here the worthy Councillor almost broke down with emotion, but recovered himself in time to sing, "Gordsive-owergryshus."

"What were you saying?" asked our astonished representative.

"I was only singing," said the saddened P.C.

"God bless me, I thought you were lodging a complaint. Had I only known!"

"Had you only known what?"

"Well, had I only known you were going to sing, I would have brought my camera and snapped your voice.

Oh, poor Robinson Caruso,
Why did you doozo.

Unfortunately, our 19,000 new readers will have to be content with an undeveloped negative.

I've toiled in the slum and the street,
I've voyaged o'er the angry sea,
But the voice I annexed is a treat,
For with it I won my P.C.

hummed the newly-elected.

"You simply got it for an old song, then?"

"Talking about the working class," said the workers' representative, "has it ever struck you how we've progressed?"

"Not recently."

"Oh, but we have. We have progressed very much since I was a nipper," said the P.C., absent-mindedly.

"Do you mean Conscription?"

"When I was a lad," said the Woolwich infant, ignoring the interruption, "there were no fish and chip suppers. Oft and often we had to live on a bit of bread the thickness of tissue paper with the cheese photographed on it to make it go round. There were no picture palaces. There wasn't even a——"

"Munition Act," suggested our Rep., "and our forefathers could have a day off without giving the Government a tenner."

"——No submarines, no aeroplanes," continued the P.C., reminiscently, "no electric lights, in fact

All the world was dark and dre-eary,
Everywhere we roamt,

sang the P.C.

"I think," chimed in the Rep., "that your numerous Socialist admirers might like your portrait in Court dress, done in boiling oils. Yet the expense nowadays must be considered. P'raps we might arrange to have it done in margarine."

"It doesn't really matter," said the new P.C. "I am not so fatuous as to care for such tokens. But why this talk of trivialities? Why talk of butter, sugar, or food and other things being dearer, about taxes being higher, and about work being hard, when our brave boys abroad are——"

"The only reason I can think of," said our Rep., "is that some of their parents are hoping to be left alive enough to welcome them back again."

"Spite of what you said," the P.C. optimised, "things have progressed. When I was a youth I had to work for my living."

"So had I, also for the employers."

"But to-day," said the optimist P.C., "it's different. I used to roam about looking for work."

"And to-day," said the Rep., "you simply carry your Criccieth passport or Endurance card and keep on working until your old age pension wheezes round, or the employers keep you on until you die. In your young days there were no munition works, no Lloyd Georgian alteration of the Loaded Line Bill. To-day a vessel chartered in San Francisco can make £80,000 on one voyage, thus paying for her cost. Wheat was carried at 12s. 6d. per ton; to-day the families of our soldiers and sailors are compelled to pay £5 17s. 6d. per ton."

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"Will," said the representative solemnly, "we will. Still are we much afraid that every person accepting honours, riches, or position, whether he be a Crooks, a Barnes, a Henderson, or a Roberts, loses so much of his soul by such barter.

"The applause of the unthinking, the publicity of the present-day press gang, the acceptance of as much money in one week as may be earned by the whole of the toilers of a Burston village, *cannot* help the poor. You cannot help the poor by taxing their slender resources so that you may have more food than you need, more clothes than you can wear, more baubletry than is necessary. The poor are beginning to form a philosophy. Cabinet Ministers who spend as much on a banquet as a hundred needy wanters can earn in twelve months, who come in £1,000 motors to preach economy to us who have been shorn through our short lives of art, science, knowledge, and bare necessities, are being weighed in the new poor man's balance and classed as hypocritical whited sepulchres. The infernal audacity of elected persons preaching self-denial to poor devils who have never had a decent time will, i' the near future, be laughed to scorn.

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M.C.

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is: 'Never put off till to-morrow what you can pose in to-day.' Progress is the law of Nature."

"The public," said our Rep., "would like to hear more about you."

"I know, I know. Well, tell the public first of all that I was born very young." Here our Rep. laughed heartily. "And," continued the Right Honrabill, leaning forward and whispering impressively, "between you and I and the gate post, we were so poor I was born without a shirt."

"Goblessme," said our Rep.

"Yes, and I hadn't a silver spoon in my mouth, neither, though there may have been a mug at the christening."

"Really. This will interest our readers."

"No. I never did have no luck as a youngster. I didn't even have a chance to pick my parents. They were chosen for me in a most arbitrary fashion. Aristocrats are not punished like this, you know. Only pore workers. Now Kings, Kaisers, and Tsars have divine rights. Derby, Sutherland, Portland, and Manchester exercised this right, and consequently exhibited an intelligence enabling them to rule us for their benefit."

"Bravo! That's like the old man."

"Still, at a time like the present," said the new P.C., "it is the duty of every paytriot to remember that His Majesty, Gaud bless 'im——" Here the worthy Councillor almost broke down with emotion, but re-

have to be content with an undeveloped negative.

I've toiled in the slum and the street,
I've voyaged o'er the angry sea,
But the voice I annexed is a treat,
For with it I won my P.C.

hummed the newly-elected.

"You simply got it for an old song, then?"

"Talking about the working class," said the workers' representative, "has it ever struck you how we've progressed?"

"Not recently."

"Oh, but we have. We have progressed very much since I was a nipper," said the P.C., absent-mindedly.

"Do you mean Conscription?"

"When I was a lad," said the Woolwich infant, ignoring the interruption, "there were no fish and chip suppers. Oft and often we had to live on a bit of bread the thickness of tissue paper with the cheese photographed on it to make it go round. There were no picture palaces. There wasn't even a——"

"Munition Act," suggested our Rep., "and our forefathers could have a day off without giving the Government a tenner."

"——No submarines, no aeroplanes," continued the P.C., reminiscently, "no electric lights, in fact

All the world was dark and dre-eary,
Everywhere we roamt,

sang the P.C.

them back again."

"Spite of what you said," the P.C. optimised, "things have progressed. When I was a youth I had to work for my living."

"So had I, also for the employers."

"But to-day," said the optimist P.C., "it's different. I used to roam about looking for work."

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The *Forward*, ever since the war began, has maintained the I.L.P. policy with regard to the war, although it has allowed writers like "Rob Roy" to express the Labour Party policy regularly.

The police visited the Glasgow newsagents on Monday and confiscated the few remaining copies of last week's issue. At the Reformers' Bookstall they got two copies instead of the haul which they expected. In other parts of the country the newsagents shops were also visited and unsold copies appropriated, and in some places the police went so far as to compel readers in country districts to give up their copies. Evidently the "Prussians" have arrived.

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M.C.

Grandpa eats MACKINTOSH'S TOFFEE DE LUXE.

TEASDALE'S CHLORODYNE.

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If people only knew they would never be without Teasdale's Chlorodyne. Used by doctors, and praised by thousands for the good it has done. If you have a Cough or Cold a few doses will cure. Bronchitis it relieves instantly; and for Stomachache, Bowel Pains, Diarrhœa, it acts like a charm. Trial Bottle, 9d. Double Size, 1¾d.

Ask for Teasdale's Chlorodyne at Chemists, Drug Stores. Same price from TEASDALE, CHEMIST, BRAMLEY, LEEDS.

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Plainly the prosecution was attributable to political reasons, as the defendants and their witnesses had no difficulty in proving that they held the meetings in the streets of George Square in order to oblige the police, who were afraid of a riot in the event of the meetings being held in the Square. For the defence the Lord Provost was called as a witness, and he did not seem too pleased with the honour thus conferred upon him by the I.L.P. The magistrates' decision "not to convict" was loudly applauded by the large crowd present in the Court.

Mr. MacDonald's Change of Address.

Sir,—Would you be good enough to inform your readers that on and after January 15 my address will no longer be 3, Lincoln's Inn Fields, but 9, Howitt Road, Hampstead, N.W.?—Yours etc.,

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

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Send your orders to-day. All orders received on Friday, the 7th inst., will be despatched same day. Address:

MANAGER, "LABOUR LEADER,"
30, BLACKFRIARS STREET, MANCHESTER.

THE SCOTTISH SPIRIT.

COMPULSION WILL NOT BE SUFFERED.

Conscription for single men, we are told, is inevitable. It may be that the Conscriptionists will carry their point in Parliament, but they will find it difficult to enforce it in Scotland. There are thousands of young Scotsmen who will not have Conscription at any price, and they are fearless as to the consequences of resistance. There is no force in the country which will break the spirit and determination of these young men.

Do the Conscriptionists think that they can coerce these young men? If they do they are in for a rude awakening, as these men have been preparing for resistance for some time, and will not be taken unawares. They have been informed as to the possible penalties, and the majority of them will resist to the end.

Scotsmen in years gone past have given their lives to maintain the common liberties, and there are to-day Scotsmen who are prepared to suffer the same penalty rather than accept Conscription, which would mean the beginning of the end of democracy. Scotsmen have never been afraid of death for a just cause, and the anti-Conscriptionists are not lacking in that spirit.

In every town, village, and hamlet in the provinces there is a band of resisters, and in one branch of the I.L.P. there are 75 young men who have pledged themselves to stand out against compulsory military service. Their organisation is in order, and their supporters are courageous and numerous. So far I have been referring to the provinces only.

But it is in the industrial centres, especially in the Cyde area, that the opposition to Compulsion is greatest, and the organised workers there will oppose it with all the powers at their disposal. These powers are not inconsiderable, as Mr. Lloyd George is aware by now. The influential Trade Unionists on the Clyde—that is the shop stewards and branch officials who are organised in the Clyde Workers' Committee—are opposed to Conscription, and have sent the following resolution round the workshops and shipyards:

> "That this delegate meeting of the Clyde Workers' Committee, recognising that the purport of the Conscriptionists is not a fuller supply of soldiers but the cheapening of soldiers and the military control of industry and thus the abolition of the functions of our Trade Unions, resolves to take such action as is necessary to prevent Conscription."

Steps have been taken to make that resolution effective. The Clyde men have noted that the Cabinet accepted the principle of compulsion two days after Lloyd George's futile conference at Glasgow on Christmas Day, and they are convinced the hostile reception accorded the Minister of Munitions actuated him to demand Compulsion from the Cabinet in order to revenge himself on the Clyde workers. That is how the Clyde Trade Unionists view Compulsion, and their conviction that Lloyd George is behind it will make them fight all the stronger against Conscription.

It is plain that Compulsion is not wholly intended for military purposes: it is meant for the workshop as well. The Clyde men are too patriotic, too honest, too sincere, to be misled by the oratorical claptrap of men like Lloyd George, and therefore in the opinion of the latter there must be Compulsion for the unruly men in industry. If the young men prove too rebellious in the workshops they can be smoothed down by the threat of Conscription! That is the Lloyd George idea, and the Clyde men know it.

Apart from the refusal of the workers to lie down under the tyranny of the Munitions Act, there is the agitation now on foot to secure an advance of 2d. an hour for 250,000 munition workers in the Clyde area. The Government has made it clear that there is to be no such advance, and if the men should insist on the advance, as is likely, then the best way to meet an insurgency of that kind would be to Conscript the munition workers who are single men. That is another Lloyd George idea, and the Clyde men know it. That is why the Clyde men will resist compulsory military service, and the Government had better not minimise that resistance.

At least a dozen important Socialist and Trade Union organisations in the Clyde area are now preparing to prevent Conscription and to resist it if necessary. Among these are the Scottish Executive of the Labour Party, the Clyde Workers' Committee, the Glasgow and Govan Trades Councils, the Glasgow Labour Party, I.L.P., and B.S.P. branches. Then there are numerous minor bodies and the unattached of the No-Conscription Fellowship. None of these organisations is unprepared, and all are combining to defeat Conscription.

Therefore, brothers, courage! We will win.

M. C.

TO FRIENDS IN NEWARK.

[illegible]

BRANCH REPORTS.

NEW BRANCHES.

Tumble.—John Jones, 18, Hugh Street, Tumble, Llannar, S.O., Carmarthenshire.

Hampstead Garden Suburb.—G. B. Griffiths, 87, Oakwood Road, Hendon, N.W.

Chryston.—Alexander Keith, 33, Bridgend, Chryston, Dumbartonshire.

NEW COUNCIL.

Cardiff I.L.P. Council.—J. Hamlyn Stranger, 70, Mackintosh Place, Cardiff.

CHANGE OF SECRETARY.

Perth.—James Yeoman, 318, High Street.

Blackburn.—Charles Fish, I.L.P. Institute, Freckleton Street.

Eccles.—R. Kershaw, 244, Peel Green Road, Patricroft, Eccles, Manchester.

Guildford.—H. E. Bussey, 15, Grange Road, Stoughton, Guildford, Surrey.

Holbeck.—Mr. Hodges, 25, Colenso Place, Holbeck, Leeds.

Sheffield Federation.—A. Bennett, Station Road, Killamarsh, near Sheffield.

Radcliffe.—Councillor W. Brooks, 96b, Ainsworth Road, Radcliffe, Lancs.

Batley.—Our New Year's Day Social was a great success despite the awful weather. A splendid programme had been arranged, and was ably carried out by the children, under the able guidance of Miss N. E. Turner. It was a treat and thoroughly enjoyed by all present. On Sunday evening Mr. Ben Turner was our speaker, and he dealt very largely with Labour's attitude to Conscription.

Belfast (North).—On December 26 Mr. Jas. Maxton, M.A., of Glasgow, delivered an eloquent and inspiring address on "Peace on Earth, Goodwill towards Men," showing the necessity for a constructive policy which shall make permanent peace possible. This, argued the lecturer, can only come by bringing to an end the reign of Capitalism and Competition. From the point of view of numbers the audience was most encouraging. A good discussion followed the lecture. On the Monday our annual social was held, and was one of the most successful social gatherings in the history of the branch.

Bolton.—Our secretary (Miss A. Holland) gave us a very lucid lecture on Thursday at our weekly meeting on Brailsford's "War of Steel and Gold." She proved herself to have a thorough grasp of the subject, and dealt with the question of finance in relation to national and international affairs in such a manner as to warrant the high praise which was given by the audience. Mr. Councillor S. Lomax chaired. We are still making new members.

Bristol.—A very fine meeting was held on Sunday, when Mr. W. H. Jones spoke and Mr. F. Berriman took the chair. On Thursday we had our prize distribution to our Band of Young Socialists, when nearly 50 received prizes. Songs and recitations were rendered.

Clapham.—We had a successful meeting on Sunday to open the second half-session of our winter lectures. One of the youngest of our branch members, W. J. Brown, spoke on "Labour After the War." He dealt very ably with the financial, industrial, and political position Labour would find itself in. It was an excellent speech ably delivered, and gave rise to an interesting discussion. Mr. Brown deserves to rank as one of the best speakers we have had, and we feel rather proud of him. New members are coming in well.

Coventry.—Mr. Frank Bragg has been appointed propaganda and literature secretary, and he is now busily engaged in booking speakers for the coming summer season, and would be pleased to hear of any good speakers who have vacant dates. Communications should be sent to the I.L.P. Club, Broadgate, Coventry.

Derby.—The meeting on Sunday was very interesting and helpful. Readings from the Christmas number of the LABOUR LEADER were followed by discussion. The "Christmas Appeal," "The Church Militant" (Herbert Bloye), "Christmas!" (MacDonald), and "The Example of the Carpenter" (Dr. Salter) were all highly appreciated. It would seem that the churches have handed over their work to the I.L.P.!

Dulwich.—Mr. Scott Duckers, representing the British "Stop-the-War Committee," addressed our Sunday evening meeting and stated his reasons for demanding an immediate cessation of the war. His lecture was followed most attentively by the audience throughout, and an interesting discussion followed.

Dumbarton.—Comrade Harry Hopkins delivered a rousing speech to the branch. Humour sarcasm, and earnest appeal were alternately called in to stir his hearers to a true sense of their position under the several Acts of Parliament which have been passed under a Coalition Government. He called on all unattached to join up with the organised movement.

Dunfermline.—We have begun the year well. Minshull, of Sheffield, was the speaker. His subject, "Oliver Wendell Holmes: Poet and Humorist," proved a welcome diversion from war topics. Mr. F. Acton presided. On Monday evening the annual New Year Social and Dance was held at the Trade Hall, and was a great success.

Oldham.—We had an exceptionally good meeting on Sunday in the Co-op. Hall, when "Casey" gave us a musical lecture on "Tone Poems." The Oldham Clarion Choir added to the pleasure of the gathering by finely rendering several selections. A resolution calling upon Parliament to resist Conscription was passed with only one dissentient. Cheer up!

Pontypool.—About 100 members and friends were present at the annual social on Saturday. Newport and Pontnewydd branches sent strong contingents! Mr. J. Winstone presided. He said the workers had it in their power not only to resist Conscription but also to stop wars, if they used the power intelligently. Speaking for the South Wales coalfield, he said, war or no war, we, as miners, would down tools rather than consent to Conscription, which will be enacted for industrial and not military purposes. A good musical programme was arranged, and the social terminated by the singing of the "Red Flag."

Stanley.—We began the New Year with an address by Mr. Jack Lees (Newcastle) on "Mutual Aid—A Factor in Evolution," based on Kropotkin's famous book. Mr. Lees dealt with his subject in an illuminating manner, and demonstrated most convincingly that "Co-operation is the law of life."

Stoney Stanton.—On Sunday Mr. Billson gave a most interesting address on "Questions Arising Out of the War." He made it quite plain that the only hope for the workers is Socialism, and we must fight hard against Capitalism. After the meeting we made our first new member this year! We have decided to hold our branch meetings fortnightly. To every member of the I.L.P. a Happy and Prosperous New Year.

Sunniside.—Owing to the present indisposition of the Rev. W. E. Moll, we were deprived of his presence and counsel on Thursday. Mr. Jno. E. Gilliland, however, who was booked to take the chair, stepped into the breach, and gave us a most excellent paper on "The History, Aims, and Claims of Socialism."

Swansea.—At the Central Hall, on Sunday, an extremely interesting evening was spent. The speaker was Mr. Walter Samuel (of London), and his address on "Society and Conscience" was much appreciated. After questions a discussion was presided over by Mr. W. R. Morris. Several old members have recently rejoined. All copies of the LABOUR LEADER were sold.

Tonypandy.—On Sunday a discussion on "The Theoretical Basis of Socialism" was enjoyed by the members, who are of opinion that the main reason for the diversity of opinion among Socialists concerning the present war is an insufficient understanding of the theoretical basis of Socialism. We are doing great work here among the miners, and are organising public meetings to combat Conscription. It is hoped that if Conscription is imposed upon us the miners will down tools instantly.

West Bromwich.—We had a very fine address from our friend, R. C. Wallhead, on Sunday, one which will encourage the members of this branch very much. Our only regret is that we could only count the audience in hundreds and not in thousands. The way in which he dealt with the "Jingo Compulsionists" was a treat, and gave our members of military age, who are going to oppose Conscription whatever the consequences, the "time of their lives." May we expect every member to take his share of the "manifesto" for distribution?

HOUSEHOLD AND PERSONAL.

'GRE-SOLVENT'

THE MAGIC CLEANSER.

For Grimy Hands & the Household.

MILES AHEAD OF SOAP.

LARGE TINS 3d. & 6d.

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A GREAT STRENGTHENER.

Dr. Alden's Vitaloids are a safe and permanent cure for all forms of Nervous Exhaustion, such as Nervousness, Neuralgia, Backache, Uncertain Memory, Low Spirits, Sleeplessness, Brain Fag, and other "run down" conditions. This wonderful vegetable remedy is praised by thousands of delivered nerve sufferers. It feeds and soothes the tired nerves—restores lost energy—removes weakness—and fills you with the warm vitality of youth. If you are depressed or run down send two penny stamps for FREE SAMPLE so that you may test its powers for yourself. 1/3, 3/-, and 5/- per box at all chemists, or post free from VITALOIDS, Ltd., The Laboratories, Stockton-on-Tees.

York.—A very successful meeting was held on Sunday evening. Mr. W. H. Farrar presided, and Guardian A. V. Iredale was the principal speaker. His subject was: "Is the York Board of Guardians a Failure?" There was a splendid gathering, and a brisk discussion followed the speech. See advt.

Ystradgynlais.—Mr. Morgan Jones, of Bargoed, dealt very ably with secret diplomacy and Internationalism in a stirring address entitled "Socialism as an International Creed." Another two new members have been enrolled.

"LABOUR LEADER" FUND.

	£	s.	d.
Previously acknowledged	407	10	6
Mr. Pickup	1	1	0
Mr. and Mrs. K. Lok	0	10	6
C. Rene	0	10	0
J.O	0	10	0
Normanton I.L.P.	0	10	0
London E.C.	0	5	0
Kimi	0	5	0
Bournemouth I.L.P.	0	5	0
G.N.	0	4	0
S. Smith	0	3	6
Camelon I.L.P.	0	3	0
Anonymous	0	2	6
S. George	0	2	0
E. Taylor	0	2	0
Leicester I.L.P.	0	2	0
D. Harries	0	2	0
R. Grom	0	1	0
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Mrs. Grierson	0	1	0
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"CASEY'S" "LEADER" FUND.

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Previously acknowledged	149	9	4
T. W. Dawson (N.S.W.)	0	15	0
Daniels (Belfast)	0	10	0
A. Swede and A. Finn	0	10	0
Normanton I.L.P.	0	10	0
Carlisle I.L.P.	0	5	0
N. Bartle	0	2	6
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Mrs. Morris	0	2	6
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Mac (Cambuslang)	0	1	0
Friend (Dumbarton)	0	1	0
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Grannie eats MACKINTOSH'S TOFFEE DE LUXE.

A BOOK OF INSPIRATION FOR 1916.

THE

KEIR HARDIE CALENDAR

A QUOTATION FOR EVERY DAY IN THE YEAR.

COMPILED BY R. C. WALLHEAD.

120 pp., beautifully printed in two colours, and containing a recent photograph of Hardie.

PRICE 1s. net POST FREE 1s. 4d.

"Those who heard Keir Hardie speak or came into contact with his journalistic contributions will not need to be told of the value and variety of interest to be found in a selection of quotations taken from such sources. To all our readers, however, we would say—that as a true guide to the character of our late comrade, few happier ways could be found than in this collection of his spoken and written word."

lives to maintain the common liberties, and there are to-day Scotsmen who are prepared to suffer the same penalty rather than accept Conscription, which would mean the beginning of the end of democracy. Scotsmen have never been afraid of death for a just cause, and the anti-Conscriptionists are not lacking in that spirit.

In every town, village, and hamlet in the provinces there is a band of resisters, and in one branch of the I.L.P. there are 75 young men who have pledged themselves to stand out against compulsory military service. Their organisation is in order, and their supporters are courageous and numerous. So far I have been referring to the provinces only.

But it is in the industrial centres, especially in the Cyde area, that the opposition to Compulsion is greatest, and the organised workers there will oppose it with all the powers at their disposal. These powers are not inconsiderable, as Mr. Lloyd George is aware by now. The influential Trade Unionists on the Clyde—that is the shop stewards and branch officials who are organised in the Clyde Workers' Committee—are opposed to Conscription, and have sent the following resolution round the workshops and shipyards:

> "That this delegate meeting of the Clyde Workers' Committee, recognising that the purport of the Conscriptionists is not a fuller supply of soldiers but the cheapening of soldiers and the military control of industry and thus the abolition of the functions of our Trade Unions, resolves to take such action as is necessary to prevent Conscription."

Steps have been taken to make that resolution effective. The Clyde men have noted that the Cabinet accepted the principle of compulsion two days after Lloyd George's futile conference at Glasgow on Christmas Day, and they are convinced the hostile reception accorded the Minister of Munitions actuated him to demand Compulsion from the Cabinet in order to revenge himself on the Clyde workers. That is how the Clyde Trade Unionists view Compulsion, and their conviction that Lloyd George is behind it will make them fight all the stronger against Conscription.

It is plain that Compulsion is not wholly intended for military purposes: it is meant for the workshop as well. The Clyde men are too patriotic, too honest, too sincere, to be misled by the oratorical claptrap of men like Lloyd George, and therefore in the opinion of the latter there must be Compulsion for the unruly men in industry. If the young men prove too rebellious in the workshops they can be smoothed down by the threat of Conscription! That is the Lloyd George idea, and the Clyde men know it.

Apart from the refusal of the workers to lie down under the tyranny of the Munitions Act, there is the agitation now on foot to secure an advance of 2d. an hour for 250,000 munition workers in the Clyde area. The Government has made it clear that there is to be no such advance, and if the men should insist on the advance, as is likely, then the best way to meet an insurgency of that kind would be to Conscript the munition workers who are single men. That is another Lloyd George idea, and the Clyde men know it. That is why the Clyde men will resist compulsory military service, and the Government had better not minimise that resistance.

At least a dozen important Socialist and Trade Union organisations in the Clyde area are now preparing to prevent Conscription and to resist it if necessary. Among these are the Scottish Executive of the Labour Party, the Clyde Workers' Committee, the Glasgow and Govan Trades Councils, the Glasgow Labour Party, I.L.P., and B.S.P. branches. Then there are numerous minor bodies and the unattached of the No-Conscription Fellowship. None of these organisations is unprepared, and all are combining to defeat Conscription.

Therefore, brothers, courage! We will win.

M. C.

TO FRIENDS IN NEWARK.

The Secretary of Carlton and Netherfield I.L.P. would be very glad if the two comrades who went from Newark to hear Mr. Philip Snowden when he was at Netherfield would communicate with him. He wishes to correspond with them about the possibility of forming a branch in Newark, and has not their addresses. His name and address are Mr. J. E. Walton, 100, Burton Road, Carlton, Nottingham.

Get a Box To-day

To-morrow may be Too Late.

Robert Leake, 11, Silver Street, Barnsley, writes: "I am pleased to say your pills are of priceless worth, and I will sound their praises wherever I go." Mrs. King, Runwell Road, Wickford, states: "Duty compels to tell all who suffer that your pills cured me after years of pain." Mr. A. Newman, of Feltham, writes: "Your pills have completely cured me after four months on my back."—HOLDROYD'S GRAVEL PILLS, a positive cure for Gravel, Pains in the Back, Dropsy, Bright's Disease of the Kidneys, Gout, Sciatica.

1s. 14d. all chemists. Post free, 12 stamps, HOLDROYD'S MEDICAL HALL, CLECKHEATON.

Stoughton, Guildford, Surrey.

Holbeck.—Mr. Hodges, 25, Colenso Place, Holbeck, Leeds.

Sheffield Federation.—A. Bennett, Station Road, Killamarsh, near Sheffield.

Radcliffe.—Councillor W. Brooks, 96b, Ainsworth Road, Radcliffe, Lancs.

Batley.—Our New Year's Day Social was a great success despite the awful weather. A splendid programme had been arranged, and was ably carried out by the children, under the able guidance of Miss N. E. Turner. It was a treat and thoroughly enjoyed by all present. On Sunday evening Mr. Ben Turner was our speaker, and he dealt very largely with Labour's attitude to Conscription.

Belfast (North).—On December 26 Mr. Jas. Maxton, M.A., of Glasgow, delivered an eloquent and inspiring address on "Peace on Earth, Goodwill towards Men," showing the necessity for a constructive policy which shall make permanent peace possible. This, argued the lecturer, can only come by bringing to an end the reign of Capitalism and Competition. From the point of view of numbers the audience was most encouraging. A good discussion followed the lecture. On the Monday our annual social was held, and was one of the most successful social gatherings in the history of the branch.

Bolton.—Our secretary (Miss A. Holland) gave us a very lucid lecture on Thursday at our weekly meeting on Brailsford's "War of Steel and Gold." She proved herself to have a thorough grasp of the subject, and dealt with the question of finance in relation to national and international affairs in such a manner as to warrant the high praise which was given by the audience. Mr. Councillor S. Lomax chaired. We are still making new members.

Bristol.—A very fine meeting was held on Sunday, when Mr. W. H. Jones spoke and Mr. F. Berriman took the chair. On Thursday we had our prize distribution to our Band of Young Socialists, when nearly 50 received prizes. Songs and recitations were rendered.

Clapham.—We had a successful meeting on Sunday to open the second half-session of our winter lectures. One of the youngest of our branch members, W. J. Brown, spoke on "Labour After the War." He dealt very ably with the financial, industrial, and political position Labour would find itself in. It was an excellent speech ably delivered, and gave rise to an interesting discussion. Mr. Brown deserves to rank as one of the best speakers we have had, and we feel rather proud of him. New members are coming in well.

Coventry.—Mr. Frank Bragg has been appointed propaganda and literature secretary, and he is now busily engaged in booking speakers for the coming summer season, and would be pleased to hear of any good speakers who have vacant dates. Communications should be sent to the I.L.P. Club, Broadgate, Coventry.

Derby.—The meeting on Sunday was very interesting and helpful. Readings from the Christmas number of the LABOUR LEADER were followed by discussion. The "Christmas Appeal," "The Church Militant" (Herbert Bloye), "Christmas!" (MacDonald), and "The Example of the Carpenter" (Dr. Salter) were all highly appreciated. It would seem that the churches have handed over their work to the I.L.P.!

Dulwich.—Mr. Scott Duckers, representing the British "Stop-the-War Committee," addressed our Sunday evening meeting and stated his reasons for demanding an immediate cessation of the war. His lecture was followed most attentively by the audience throughout, and an interesting discussion followed.

Dumbarton.—Comrade Harry Hopkins delivered a rousing speech to the branch. Humour sarcasm, and earnest appeal were alternately called in to stir his hearers to a true sense of their position under the several Acts of Parliament which have been passed under a Coalition Government. He called on all unattached to join up with the organised movement.

Erdington.—We have begun the year well. On Saturday our New Year Social was a great success from every point of view. The party was brought to a close by the singing of "Auld Lang Syne" and the "Red Flag." On Sunday Councillor Kneeshaw, although he had obviously not recovered from his recent illness, gave a very good address on "Diplomacy and War." He also unveiled our beautifully framed photograph of Keir Hardie.

Kettering.—At the meeting of the Labour Church on Sunday, Councillor J. Haynes, vice-chairman of the Kettering U.D.C., delivered a much appreciated address on "The Patriotism of the I.L.P." The speaker demonstrated that the I.L.P., alone of the political organisations, had expressed the true patriotic spirit.

Leicester.—The Trade Hall meetings were resumed on Sunday evening, when Mr. R. H. no war, we, as miners, would down tools rather than consent to Conscription, which will be enacted for industrial and not military purposes. A good musical programme was arranged, and the social terminated by the singing of the "Red Flag."

Stanley.—We began the New Year with an address by Mr. Jack Lees (Newcastle) on "Mutual Aid—A Factor in Evolution," based on Kropotkin's famous book. Mr. Lees dealt with his subject in an illuminating manner, and demonstrated most convincingly that "Co-operation is the law of life."

Stoney Stanton.—On Sunday Mr. Billson gave a most interesting address on "Questions Arising Out of the War." He made it quite plain that the only hope for the workers is Socialism, and we must fight hard against Capitalism. After the meeting we made our first new member this year! We have decided to hold our branch meetings fortnightly. To every member of the I.L.P. a Happy and Prosperous New Year.

Sunniside.—Owing to the present indisposition of the Rev. W. E. Moll, we were deprived of his presence and counsel on Thursday. Mr. Jno. E. Gilliland, however, who was booked to take the chair, stepped into the breach, and gave us a most excellent paper on "The History, Aims, and Claims of Socialism."

Swansea.—At the Central Hall, on Sunday, an extremely interesting evening was spent. The speaker was Mr. Walter Samuel (of London), and his address on "Society and Conscience" was much appreciated. After questions a discussion was presided over by Mr. W. R. Morris. Several old members have recently rejoined. All copies of the LABOUR LEADER were sold.

Tonypandy.—On Sunday a discussion on "The Theoretical Basis of Socialism" was enjoyed by the members, who are of opinion that the main reason for the diversity of opinion among Socialists concerning the present war is an insufficient understanding of the theoretical basis of Socialism. We are doing great work here among the miners, and are organising public meetings to combat Conscription. It is hoped that if Conscription is imposed upon us the miners will down tools instantly.

West Bromwich.—We had a very fine address from our friend, R. C. Wallhead, on Sunday, one which will encourage the members of this branch very much. Our only regret is that we could only count the audience in hundreds and not in thousands. The way in which he dealt with the "Jingo Compulsionists" was a treat, and gave our members of military age, who are going to oppose Conscription whatever the consequences, the "time of their lives." May we expect every member to take his share of the "manifesto" for distribution?

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York.—A very successful meeting was held on Sunday evening. Mr. W. H. Farrar presided, and Guardian A. V. Iredale was the principal speaker. His subject was: "Is the York Board of Guardians a Failure?" There was a splendid gathering, and a brisk discussion followed the speech. See advt.

Ystradgynlais.—Mr. Morgan Jones, of Bargoed, dealt very ably with secret diplomacy and Internationalism in a stirring address entitled "Socialism as an International Creed." Another two new members have been enrolled.

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Mrs. Grierson	0	1	0
"S"	0	1	0
C.R	0	1	0
C. R. Vitus	0	0	10

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SATURDAY, JANUARY 15. BOOK IT.

"CASEY" & DOLLY
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FENNER BROCKWAY
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At QUEEN'S COLLEGE, 7-30 p.m.
Single Tickets, 1/- Double Tickets, 1/6
From Councillor J. W. KNEESHAW, 285, Shenstone Road, Birmingham. —13—1

LIVERPOOL & DISTRICT I.L.P.
GENERAL MEETING OF THE PARTY,
Sunday, January 9, at 3 p.m.
Clarion Cafe, Lord Street.
BUSINESS: IMPORTANT.
Liverpool Men and Women who agree with the I.L.P. but who are unattached should join at once. Don't keep putting off the next step. Apply to—Wright Robinson, Organising Secretary, 37, Moorfields. —6—1

MANCHESTER CENTRAL BRANCH I.L.P.
Clarion Cafe, Market Street, Sunday, January 9, at 7-30, resumption of Sunday Evening Lectures, subject:
"ENGLISH CATHEDRALS."
Lecturer: **Mr. J. G. Birkby, M.A.**
Illustrated by lantern views.
Music, Collection.
Hearty welcome to old and new friends. —6—1

NELSON I.L.P.
MISS SYLVIA PANKHURST
will give a lecture in the
INSTITUTE, VERNON STREET, subject:
"The Fight for Liberty during the War."
Chair to be taken at 7-15 p.m., by B. INGHAM, Esq., Nelson.
Admission by ticket, 2d. each. Ticket holders to be in their seats by 7 p.m. —6—1

SOUTHAMPTON I.L.P.
SUNDAY EVENING NEXT, MORRIS HALL, Commercial Road, 8 p.m.
Com. MAISKY
(Member of the Russian Political Prisoners and Exiles' Relief Committee in London) 8302

BATLEY I.L.P.—Institute, Wellington Street, Sunday next, at 6-30 p.m., Branch Meeting. Business important. —6—1

BOURNEMOUTH I.L.P.—Sunday, Jan. 9, 7 p.m., Vectis Hall, Branch Meeting. 6677

DERBY I.L.P.—Socialist Hall, Full Street. Saturday, 8 p.m., Dance. Sunday, 6-30 p.m., Mr. C. TURNER, "Municipal Abuses." Monday, 7-30 p.m., Whist Drive. Tuesday, 8 p.m., Branch Meeting. 6659

HALIFAX I.L.P.—Sunday next. Socialist Hall, 6-30 p.m., BEN RILEY, of Huddersfield. Children's Fancy Dress Ball, Saturday, January 8. 6664

HYDE FEDERATION.—Delegates' Meeting. Sunday next, Jan. 9, at Hyde, 3-30 p.m. 6662

KEIGHLEY I.L.P.—Meeting, Sunday, at 6-30 p.m. Whist Drive, Saturday, 7-30 p.m.

LONG EATON I.L.P.—Labour Hall, Sunday, Jan. 9, at 6-30 p.m., Mr. S. BRASSINGTON, "My Work as Poor Law Guardian." —6—1

OLDHAM I.L.P.—Whist Drive, Saturday, at 7-30 p.m. Miss PEMBERTON, of Bolton, Sunday, at 7 p.m. Monday, Members' Meeting at 8 p.m., for instructing and electing delegates to Conference. 6660

WEST BROMWICH LABOUR CHURCH.—People's Hall, Lower High St. Sunday next, 6-30 p.m., "CASEY" and his Violin. —6—1

STAPLEFORD & SANDIACRE I.L.P.—Albert Hall, Stapleford, Sunday, Jan. 9, at 6-30 p.m., Mr. A. FENNER BROCKWAY. Subject: "The War and a Way Out of It." Look out for Mr. BRUCE GLASIER on Jan. 30. 6665

YORK I.L.P.—Sunday, Jan. 9, 7 p.m., I.L.P. Rooms, Micklegate. Speaker: Mr. W. H. FARRAR. Subject: "Conscription." Discussion afterwards. 6—1

LONDON.

CLAPHAM I.L.P.
Masons Hall, 11a, North Street, Clapham, S.W.
SUNDAY, JANUARY 9, at 7-30 p.m.,
Speaker: **C. H. NORMAN.**

WALES.

BRITON FERRY I.L.P.
IMPORTANT BRANCH MEETING will be held on SUNDAY EVENING NEXT, JANUARY 9, at the CLUB ROOM, PUBLIC HALL.
Business—Appoint delegates and discuss agenda for Merthyr conference. Meeting commences 7-45. —6—

CATHAYS I.L.P.—Institute, May St., Sunday next, at 7 p.m., Mrs. HOWELL. Subject: "India and India's Women." Jan. 30, "CASEY." —6—1

CARDIFF BRANCH I.L.P.—Ruskin Institute, Royal Arcade. Sunday, Jan. 9, 6-30 p.m., J. E. EDMUNDS, "A Historic Week." —6—1

NEWPORT (MON.) I.L.P.—Institute, Talbot Lane, Charles St. Sunday, Jan. 9, at 6-45 p.m., Mr. TED JAMES (Risca) will give a paper on "Bernard Shaw." All are welcome. —6—1

OTHER MEETINGS.

LIVERPOOL FABIAN SOCIETY & CLARION CLUB.
At the Clarion Cafe, 30, Lord Street, Liverpool,
Friday, January 7, at 8 o'clock p.m.,
A Lecture by MRS. BRUCE GLASIER, on J. KEIR HARDIE; the man and his message.
Admission: Members, Free; Visitors, 3d. —6—1

Come to the HYDE PARK
SUFFRAGE AND LABOUR
— DEMONSTRATION —
AGAINST CONSCRIPTION
SUNDAY, January 9,
—3 p.m.—
—6—1

STOURBRIDGE LABOUR CHURCH
(Corner of Enville Street).
JANUARY 16, 1916, at 6-30 p.m.,
"CASEY" AND DOLLY,
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COME AND HEAR
GEORGE LANSBURY
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SUBJECT: *"TO-DAY."*
Admission Free! Everybody Welcome!! 6671

THE BRITISH 'STOP-THE-WAR' COMMITTEE.
WANTED enthusiasts willing to act as local Secretaries, in all parts of the country.
Communicate with—
The Organising Secretary, W. WILLIAM LEWIS, 13, Ferme Park Mansions, Crouch End, London, N. 6673

BIRMINGHAM SOCIALIST SOCIETY.—Debate on "Imperialism," Sunday, Jan. 9, at 7 p.m., in Bristol Street Council Schools. 6663

BIRMINGHAM SOCIALIST SOCIETY.—A Whist Drive will be held at Rodway's Restaurant, Horse Fair, on Saturday, Jan. 22, at 7-30 p.m. Tickets, One Shilling, may be had at Sunday meetings or from Secretary, 191, Mansel Road. 6666

HYDE SOCIALIST CYHURCH.—Owing to enormous success of Hyde Clarion Players in Shakespeare's "Tempest" further performances will take place this Saturday and next Tuesday, 7-30 p.m. Come early to secure a seat. Scores of people were unable to do so last week owing to late arrival. Ask for invitations now. This Sunday, 6-30 p.m., Special Lecture by Mrs. LEO GRINDON and Manchester Shakespeare Tercentenary Association, on "The Tempest" and Shakespeare. Admission free. Collection. Don't miss this treat. —6—1

APARTMENTS.

COMMUNE.—Stanford-le-Hope, Essex. Week end, 2/9 and a little digging.—Apply Secretary. P—10—2

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"MUSIC OF THE PEOPLE."
"THE SOUL OF IRELAND."
South Wales between January 30 and February 18, open dates.
London & Southern Counties between February 20 and March 3, open dates.
Bristol, March 5, open dates.
Brum. & Midlands, March 18, open dates.
Write 9, Chapel Street, Stockport. —6—1

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MISCELLANEOUS.—*Continued.*

ANARCHISM.—For List of Books and Pamphlets send postcard to FREEDOM PRESS, 127, Ossulston Street, London, N.W. P7—1

EPILEPSY.
(FITS).
A new book on above distressing complaint has just been published entitled, "Epilepsy: Its Causes, Symptoms, and Treatment." By J. Gilbert Dale. Contents: Introduction—The Causes of Epilepsy—The Form and Effect of Epilepsy—The Treatment. Price 1s. post free. The Colston Publishing Co., 43, Lambert House, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

NATIONAL UNION OF GASWORKERS & GENERAL LABOURERS (London District).—Watch Competition. Watch stopped, 12 hours, 21 minutes, 29 seconds. —6—1

CHOPWELL S.S.S.—Prize Draw postponed till Jan. 21, owing to books not returned. Result will appear here Jan. 29. —6—1

FROM PIT TO PARLIAMENT

Wright Robinson, Organising Secretary, 20, Broomfields. —6—1

MANCHESTER CENTRAL BRANCH I.L.P.

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KEIGHLEY I.L.P.—Meeting, Sunday, at 6-30 p.m. Whist Drive, Saturday, 7-30 p.m.

LONG EATON I.L.P.—Labour Hall, Sunday, Jan. 9, at 6-30 p.m., Mr. S. BRASSINGTON, "My Work as Poor Law Guardian." —6—1

OLDHAM I.L.P.—Whist Drive, Saturday, at 7-30 p.m. Miss PEMBERTON, of Bolton, Sunday, at 7 p.m. Monday, Members' Meeting at 8 p.m., for instructing and electing delegates to Conference. 6660

WEST BROMWICH LABOUR CHURCH.—People's Hall, Lower High St. Sunday next, 6-30 p.m., "CASEY" and his Violin. —6—1

STAPLEFORD & SANDIACRE I.L.P.—Albert Hall, Stapleford, Sunday, Jan. 9, at 6-30 p.m., Mr. A. FENNER BROCKWAY. Subject: "The War and a Way Out of It." Look out for Mr. BRUCE GLASIER on Jan. 30. 6655

YORK I.L.P.—Sunday, Jan. 9, 7 p.m., I.L.P. Rooms, Micklegate. Speaker: Mr. W. H. FARRAR. Subject: "Conscription." Discussion afterwards. —6—1

LONDON.

CLAPHAM I.L.P.

Morris Hall, 11a, North Street, Clapham, S.W.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 9, at 7-30 p.m.,

Speaker: **C. H. NORMAN.**

Subject: "The Crimes of the Government."

ADMISSION FREE. MUSIC. 6658

BERMONDSEY I.L.P.—Jan. 13, Discussion, "What Should be the Terms of Peace?" To be opened by Dr. SALTER. Jan. 15, Invitation Social to Members. 6675

DULWICH.—Hansler Hall, Hansler Road, Lordship Lane. Friday, 8-30 p.m., W. N. EWER, "Nationality." Sunday, 7 p.m., Dr. ETHEL BENTHAM, "Vitality and the War." Friday, Jan. 14, W. N. EWER (U.D.C.), "Secret Diplomacy." 6661

WOOLWICH I.L.P.—Sunday next, Jan. 9, 7-30 p.m., HERBERT MORRISON will speak "Of Politics Once More" at Lakedale Road Co-op. Room, Plumstead. Members' Meeting at 7 p.m. sharp. —6—1

SCOTLAND.

PAISLEY I.L.P.—Rooms, 111, Causeyside. Open every evening. Branch Meetings Fridays, at 8 p.m. New members welcomed.

IRELAND.

BELFAST I.L.P. (NORTH BRANCH).—Langley St. A meeting will be held every Sunday at 7-30 p.m. All welcome. P—27—1

J. KEIR HARDIE; the man and his message.
Admission: Members, Free; Visitors, 3d. —6—1

Come to the HYDE PARK

SUFFRAGE AND LABOUR
— DEMONSTRATION —

AGAINST CONSCRIPTION

SUNDAY, January 9,
3 p.m.
—6—1

STOURBRIDGE LABOUR CHURCH
(Corner of Enville Street).
JANUARY 16, 1916, at 6-30 p.m.,
"CASEY" AND DOLLY,
"The Wandering Minstrels."
SILVER COLLECTION. —6—1

NORTH LONDON DIVISION HERALD LEAGUE
COME AND HEAR
GEORGE LANSBURY
at ARGYLE HALL, 105, Seven Sisters Road, N. (near Hornsey Road).
SUBJECT: *"TO-DAY."*
Admission Free! Everybody Welcome!! 6671

THE BRITISH 'STOP-THE-WAR' COMMITTEE.

WANTED enthusiasts willing to act as local Secretaries, in all parts of the country.

Communicate with—
The Organising Secretary, W. WILLIAM LEWIS, 13, Ferme Park Mansions, Crouch End, London, N. 6673

BIRMINGHAM SOCIALIST SOCIETY.—Debate on "Imperialism," Sunday, Jan. 9, at 7 p.m., in Bristol Street Council Schools. 6663

BIRMINGHAM SOCIALIST SOCIETY.—A Whist Drive will be held at Rodway's Restaurant, Horse Fair, on Saturday, Jan. 22, at 7-30 p.m. Tickets, One Shilling, may be had at Sunday meetings or from Secretary, 191, Mansel Road. 6666

HYDE SOCIALIST CHURCH.—Owing to enormous success of Hyde Clarion Players in Shakespeare's "Tempest" further performances will take place this Saturday and next Tuesday, 7-30 p.m. Come early to secure a seat. Scores of people were unable to do so last week owing to late arrival. Ask for invitations now. This Sunday, 6-30 p.m., Special Lecture by Mrs. LEO GRINDON and Manchester Shakespeare Tercentenary Association, on "The Tempest" and Shakespeare. Admission free. Collection. Don't miss this treat. —6—1

APARTMENTS.

COMMUNE.—Stanford-le-Hope, Essex. Week-end, 2/9 and a little digging.—Apply Secretary. P—10—2

ISLE OF WIGHT (Free from raids).—Furnished apartments or board; ideal winter home with Socialists; twelve large rooms; two acres of gardens and poultry farm, overlooking Sandown Bay.—Gliddon, "Devonia," Brading. P—14—1

WANTED.

JOB WANTED.—On land if possible, or anything useful; in building trade, but out of work because eligible; varied experience, colonial and home; age 27.—S. W., 27, Geoffrey Gardens, East Ham, London, E. 6669

WANTED.—Men as labourers in small factory, making food; also works mechanic, Liverpool district.—Box 6667, LABOUR LEADER.

JAMES KEIR HARDIE

"HIS memory will live for ever." Often since our comrade passed away have we heard and read these words, and we know them to be true. As a fitting memento of such a career we have secured two strikingly life-like photographs of Keir Hardie, copies of which can be obtained from us in accordance with the particulars given below. The photographs are reproduced on thick white art board, and they will make a beautiful and treasured addition to the home of every Socialist and admirer of our late leader.

SIZE OF PHOTOGRAPH AND MOUNT, 12in. x 7in.
Style: Bust and three-quarter length (when ordering state which style of photograph is required). PRICE 5/- post free.

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(Member of the A.S.E.)

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LLOYD GEORGE MUST GO!

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"CASEY" ON TOUR.
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South Wales between January 30 and February 18, open dates.
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Bristol, March 5, open dates.
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Write 9, Chapel Street, Stockport. —6—1

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MISCELLANEOUS.

A POSTCARD ONLY.

A little knowledge saves much medicine.

You cannot hold your own in life's battle if weak, worn, or easily jaded. Periodical attacks of moodiness, languor, despondency, depression, and groundless fears mean nerve troubles, and lead to brain fag, impaired memory, and unfit one for study, business, or pleasure. The chosen ones in every walk of life are the alert, the bright, the intelligent. Nature's natural gift, but marred for lack of a little knowledge. A postcard to the Useful Knowledge Publishers, P.O. Box 94, Bradford, will put you in possession of a 48-page book, neatly bound, of valuable information, and will be sent post paid free of any charge whatsoever if you mention LABOUR LEADER.

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MISCELLANEOUS.—*Continued.*

ANARCHISM.—For List of Books and Pamphlets send postcard to FREEDOM PRESS, 127, Ossulston Street, London, N.W. P7—1

EPILEPSY.
(FITS).

A new book on above distressing complaint has just been published entitled, "Epilepsy: Its Causes, Symptoms, and Treatment." By J. Gilbert Dale. Contents: Introduction—The Causes of Epilepsy—The Form and Effect of Epilepsy—The Treatment. Price 1s. post free. The Colston Publishing Co., 43, Lambert House, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

NATIONAL UNION OF GASWORKERS & GENERAL LABOURERS (London District).—Watch Competition. Watch stopped, 12 hours, 21 minutes, 29 seconds. —6—1

CHOPWELL S.S.S.—Prize Draw postponed till Jan. 22, owing to books not returned. Result will appear here Jan. 29. —6—1

FROM PIT TO PARLIAMENT

KEIR HARDIE'S
. LIFE STORY .

By FRANK SMITH, L.C.C.

Illustrated, including "Vanity Fair" Caricature of Mr. Hardie.

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679/19

THE DAILY NEWS AND I

ORGANISED LABOUR DEC

LABOUR AGAINST THE BILL.

Direct Challenge to Coalition Government.

DRAMATIC SCENES AT GREAT TRADE UNION CONFERENCE.

(By FRANK DILNOT.)

A specially-summoned Labour Congress, consisting of a thousand delegates, representing three million workers in all parts of the country, decided at Westminster yesterday by a sweeping majority to oppose the Compulsion Bill of the Government. Dramatic scenes marked a historic day. At half-past four, after nearly five hours' spirited discussion, the conference passed a resolution hostile to the Bill by 1,998,000 to 783,000 Hundreds of delegates shouted in their exultation. Many of them sprang on to their seats waving hats and handkerchiefs. In a great chorus the Socialist song, "Keep the Red Flag Flying," rang through the hall.

Such great issues had never lain in front of a Labour Conference before. No one could know what the upshot would be, although everyone was well aware that some kind of a decision was inevitable, and that the decision, whatever it was, must, for good or evil, be a momentous one. What was the situation? The Government in the stress of war urgency had introduced a Bill enforcing military service on single men up to 41 years of age. The Labour movement, ardently desirous of winning the war, was equally strong in a determination to prevent Conscription getting a foothold in these islands.

Which of these two great considerations would triumph? Were they incompatible? If they could be reconciled, how and by what means? These were the issues facing the thousand men who flocked into the Central Hall. Among the personal questions which the day would solve was the official fate of Mr. Arthur Henderson, a member of the Cabinet, and Mr. William Brace and Mr. G. H. Roberts, junior members of the Government, because the three representing the Labour movement form part of the Coalition. A decision by Labour hostile to the Bill would automatically lead to their resignation from the councils of the State.

EXPECTANCY & DETERMINATION.

That was the position when Mr. Harry Gosling, chairman of the Trade Union Congress, took the chair and called for order this morning The delegates seated side by side filled the body of the great hall, talking among themselves. There was no loud manifestation of excitement, and yet any student of human nature would have known that the whole of that gathering was on edge, quivering with determination and expectancy. Up on the platform, to the right of the silver-haired [illegible] face, but with a grim [illegible]ness about him. Among other leaders seated to the left were Mr. Brace and Mr. Roberts. A few yards from them was Mr. Sidney Webb, in the neighbourhood of Mr. Will Thorne.

A printed agenda, circulated among delegates as they came in, outlined the course of procedure. On it was set out a resolution formulated on the previous evening by the leaders of the three National Labour Committees. It was a resolution which bore evidences of compromise. It reaffirmed the decision of the Bristol Trades Congress against compulsory military service, but it went on to express regret at having to recognise that the net results of Lord Derby's scheme, magnificent as they were had to be governed by the Prime Minister's pledge to married recruits.

The point of the resolution was in its concluding phrase, for, coupled with a protest against the Bill, was the condition that the Labour members of Parliament [illegible] ing, and a little group of Independent Labour Party men seated halfway down the hall were openly elated at the way things were going.

Mr. Anderson was the next speaker, a square-built figure of a man, with a rare gift of words and expression. He scouted the danger of a General Election to Labour. He too would rather see the Labour Party wiped out than that it should lose its soul. In the course of his speech he mentioned Sir John Simon, and the name of the late Home Secretary was received with loud cheers. "Single men first," said Mr. Anderson, "a skilful cry—a tricky cry. Does any man here suppose that compulsion is going to stop with single men? If you agree to military compulsion to-day, what will you have to say against industrial compulsion to-morrow? You will have sold the pass."

The delegates went out to lunch knowing that the tide amongst them was steadily set in one direction. When they came back Mr. Henderson rose to stem the tide. He made a fine speech, one of the finest he has ever delivered. He told the conference his beliefs; he practically defied them in defence of those beliefs. If those against this Bill refused to be bound by any decision of the Congress in favour of it, he too would refuse to be bound by any decision of the Congress against it. He turned towards Mr. Thomas and Mr. Anderson. "Other members have not sold their souls," he said, "nor have I." "You haven't got one," shouted a delegate. Fiercely Mr. Henderson pinned the interrupter down. "I have thirty years of Trade Unionism behind me," he said, "which I should imagine is a good deal more than that possessed by the man who made that remark."

He went on to say that the delegates who had made insulting interruptions comprised those who had lifted no finger to help the progress of the war, and were indeed anti-war men This thrust was greeted with loud cheers and counter-cheers. With vehemence and power Mr. Henderson urged the necessity for more men. He revealed the private demands of Lord Kitchener 30,000 men a week were needed to the spring of this year to complete the ranks, and 30,000 a week were needed from that time onward to the end of this year to bring the total up to one and a half millions, which would enable us to meet the enemy man for man. With fierce concentration Mr. Henderson declared that if Lord Kitchener said that we needed these divisions to be victorious in the war he intended to accept Lord Kitchener's decision.

He defended his retention of Cabinet position to the present by saying that he was not there to represent himself, but to represent Labour, and Labour's voice had to be heard before any action could be taken by him. If the decision of the Congress were hostile to the Bill he and his two colleagues in the Government, Mr. Brace and Mr. Roberts, would submit themselves to the decision of the executive committee of the National Labour Party and the Parliamentary Labour Party.

A DRAMATIC MOMENT.

[illegible] that if he resigned from the Cabinet on this question he might resign his seat in the House of Commons and go down to his constituency, Barnard Castle. There was a great outburst at this, cheering predominating over cries of dissent. "I invite others who have taken part in this debate to go down to their constituencies——"

Mr. Henderson got no further, for Mr. Philip Snowden sprang to his feet in the hall and, in an accompanying uproar, signified his willingness to go to Blackburn and face his constituents. Angry words were coming now from all over the hall, and it was impossible to hear clearly what passed between Mr. Henderson and Mr. Snowden, but it was apparent that Mr. Snowden intended to convey an acceptance of Mr. Henderson's challenge.

When Mr. Henderson sat down Mr. Ramsay MacDonald got up on the other side of the platform and proceeded to rub in points made by previous speakers. "You cannot find any final resting place [illegible]

MR. HENDERSON'S POSITION.

The Men Necessary & Must Be Obtained.

MR. ANDERSON ATTACKS MR. LLOYD GEORGE.

In view of the personal issues involved the chief interest of the meeting centred round Mr. Henderson's speech. Having disclosed the fact that Lord Kitchener's demand was for 30,000 men a week, he said he might differ from Lord Kitchener as to the method of obtaining the men, but he was not going to challenge Lord Kitchener's figures. He was going to accept the decision of Lord Kitchener and do what he could to assist Lord Kitchener in his demands.

Believing that the men were necessary, he thought that the men must be obtained, and if the pledge had not been given he was fully of opinion that to-day they would have been in the position of having a measure of Conscription fuller, wider, and more permanent, submitted to the country and to the House of Commons. The men were not there, and he believed that the position, as far as the country was concerned, would have been easier, because there would have been the thought that we were not having this measure of Conscription for the sake of meeting military needs but to placate those who had been Conscriptionists from the beginning. If he thought that that was the position he would do everything in his power to defeat the object. He would be unfaithful to himself and disloyal to his association with the movement if he took up any other attitude.

The Only Alternative.

The men they were asking for now were needed to satisfy the demands of the military authorities. Believing that they were essential to the winning of the war, we had either got to have a measure of compulsion or to call upon at least 500,000 married men. Was there a man present who would demonstrate the desire to call on those men, or who was prepared to go to his constituency and say he was in favour of releasing those 500,000 men from their attestation? There was no man he knew of who would dare to put forward such a proposition.

Dealing with his own position in the Cabinet, Mr. Henderson said that he did not go there of his own accord, but was sent there. Sir John Simon could leave the Government without breaking the Coalition, but if he (Mr. Henderson) and his two colleagues, Mr. Brace and Mr. Roberts, were to leave the Government, they stood a greater risk of breaking it because it would mean the withdrawal of one of the units of the Coalition.

"If," declared Mr. Henderson, emphatically, "the conference decides that the Coalition must be broken I shall refuse to accept their decision. If they say I must oppose this Bill, I shall refuse to accept their decision—(cheers)—and immediately I refuse to accept your decision, I shall apply for the Chiltern Hundreds, and I shall go to Barnard Castle and ask them if they endorse my attitude or not." (Cheers.)

He did not ask them to support the Bill, but he did say that they had no right, in a great crisis like this, to apply such pressure, such force, such compulsion, as to make him sacrifice his conscience, which was as dear to him as theirs, and go contrary to those he represented in the Barnard Castle Division He hoped that the conference would give them a little title to fair play and consideration, and if they did that he believed that in the end the [illegible]

"Khakifying" the Workers.

Another speech which made a great impression was that delivered by Mr. Anderson. Did they not think, he asked, that industrial compulsion was not in the air? Why were the munition workers attested and given their 2s. 9d.? Lord Derby knew. He had tried it at the Liverpool Docks. It was the khakifying of the workers that they had in mind. Mr. Lloyd George would like to have military control over the men on the Clyde. He would not get it. (Loud cheers.)

"The man who is behind this campaign, linked up with Lord Northcliffe is Mr. Lloyd George—(Hear, hear)—and far more than any question of military necessity there is the question of personal and political ambition mixed up with this thing. There is no doubt about it; it is well known inside the House of Commons and by those who take any interest in political matters. Conscription of wealth

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seated to the left were Mr. Brace and Mr. Roberts. A few yards from them was Mr. Sidney Webb, in the neighbourhood of Mr. Will Thorne.

A printed agenda, circulated among delegates as they came in, outlined the course of procedure. On it was set out a resolution formulated on the previous evening by the leaders of the three National Labour Committees. It was a resolution which bore evidences of compromise. It reaffirmed the decision of the Bristol Trades Congress against compulsory military service, but it went on to express regret at having to recognise that the net results of Lord Derby's scheme, magnificent as they were had to be governed by the Prime Minister's pledge to married recruits.

The point of the resolution was in its concluding phrase, for, coupled with a protest against the Bill, was the condition that the Labour members of Parliament should vote upon it as they individually thought fit. This, of course, meant a shelving of responsibility of the whole question on to the shoulders of the Labour members in the Commons. The Congress soon showed that it was in no mood for such a course.

Business began by a speech from Mr. John Hodge, whose patriotic views are well known, and who stated the position with judicial care in accordance with the resolution. "We leave freedom of opinion to Labour members in the House of Commons." "No, no," cried some delegates. "We say 'yes,'" exclaimed Mr. Will Thorne from the platform. "No, no," shouted back delegates from various parts of the hall. "Then you will treat Labour members to-day differently from the way you have treated them in the past," said Mr. Hodge, and he was answered by cheers touched with defiance. Mr. Hodge pointed out the danger of forcing a General Election. "If the General Election comes you will be confronted with Conscription full and complete. This resolution is to save the Labour movement from calamity."

MR. SEXTON'S WARNING.

An even more downright speech came from Mr. Sexton, who seconded the resolution. He leaned over the rail of the gallery and shook his finger warningly at the gathering. "The figures show that there is more than a negligible number of single men left." He explained that if a General Election came they might find the House of Commons committed to Conscription of a drastic character with nobody left in the Chamber to protest against it.

Mr. Havelock Wilson also supported the official view, and during his speech feeling, which had been gradually rising, became very warm. He was subjected to comments during some of his strong passages, and on one occasion he swung round fiercely on his interrupters. On the whole, however, the meeting, though in a tense state, was orderly.

Mr. Ben Turner, a textile leader from Yorkshire, was the first to speak out strongly against the official proposal. When he uttered the cry: "No Conscription!" he was drowned for many seconds by an outburst of fierce cheering. "Is the Prime Minister's pledge binding on the unions?" he asked. "No!" roared the delegates. Dealing with the suggestion that a General Election would be disastrous to Labour members, Mr. Turner said: "Don't let us lose our souls, even if we lose our seats." Again there was loud and continued cheering.

Mr. J. H. Thomas, standing by the side of the chairman's table, appealed to the Congress to have no touch with the suggestion of Conscription. "They don't want Conscription for winning the war," he exclaimed, "but they want it for ulterior purposes." (Loud cheers.) "When they get this Bill the next cry will be 'Married men.'" (Tremendous cheering.) He pointed out that no one in the House of Commons had defended the Bill on military grounds. "It is a huge conspiracy," he cried.

By now it was apparent that Mr. Thomas had the meeting well with him. A flaming figure of a man, he leaned forward with fists upraised above his head, declared the figures had been manipulated, and argued that the Bill introduced compulsion merely for compulsion's sake. Excitement now ranged over all the build-

his seat in the ...
down to his constituency, Barnard Castle. There was a great outburst at this, cheering predominating over cries of dissent. "I invite others who have taken part in this debate to go down to their constituencies——"

Mr. Henderson got no further, for Mr. Philip Snowden sprang to his feet in the hall and, in an accompanying uproar, signified his willingness to go to Blackburn and face his constituents. Angry words were coming now from all over the hall, and it was impossible to hear clearly what passed between Mr. Henderson and Mr. Snowden, but it was apparent that Mr. Snowden intended to convey an acceptance of Mr. Henderson's challenge.

When Mr. Henderson sat down Mr. Ramsay MacDonald got up on the other side of the platform and proceeded to rub in points made by previous speakers. "You cannot find any final resting place between single men and married men," he said. What the Congress had to do was to find out whether it was in favour of Conscription—whether it was in favour of the present Bill being proceeded with. He was strongly against both.

It was at this stage that an amendment in favour of the Bill, provided there was adequate representation of Labour on the tribunal, was defeated by 2,121,000 votes to 541,000 votes. A little later we had the direct and comprehensive challenge to the official resolution. It took the form of an amendment welded from proposals put forward by various trade unions and other bodies.

The amendment, while rejoicing in the magnificent response to the appeal for voluntary recruits, emphatically condemned the Compulsion Bill, declaring that all the men necessary for either military or industrial purposes could be obtained by voluntary methods, and recommending the Labour Party in Parliament to oppose the present Bill in all its stages.

"WAIT AND SEE."

It was the level-headed, slow-speaking Mr. Bellamy, President of the National Union of Railwaymen, who moved this amendment. There was a very important note of warning in his speech. No matter what the figures were, he said, they would lend their voice or vote towards compulsory military service. He paused at this to give emphasis to his next words. "We may be asked what we can do."

"Call a strike," shouted someone among the delegates.

"My answer is——"

"Wait and see," prompted another delegate.

"Exactly," said Mr. Bellamy. "My answer is Mr Asquith's."

He finished his speech by declaring, "Conscription is being introduced to put round the necks of the working classes a chain so strong that it will effectually hold them at any time." At this there was furious cheering from all parts of the hall.

Mr. Egerton Wake seconded, and pointed the moral of the facts. "This Bill means that the legions of Russia, the millions of France, the millions of Italy, the grip of our Navy, our own four or five million men, are useless unless we have this extra paltry 300,000." The vote on the amendment was as follows:

For	1,715,000
Against	934,000

Mr. Sexton apparently was not satisfied with these figures, but Mr. Gosling promptly met the situation.

"The suggestion has been made to me that some of the cards have not been properly counted. I propose that we should have a card count on the question of the amendment as a substantive motion." Another vote was therefore taken. It resulted as follows:

For the new resolution ...	1,998,000
Against	783,000

A scene of great enthusiasm ensued. Cheering and singing the Socialist song, members began to leave the hall.

In the midst of the clamour Mr. Henderson, dour and purposeful, rose to his feet. "All delegates who are members of the National Executive of the Parliamentary Party are asked to meet at the House of Commons at 5.30. It will be a very important meeting."

Here was indicated the coming sequel to a dramatic day. Mr. Henderson's words ended a sitting which cannot fail to leave its mark on the fate of the country.

Another speech which made ... pression was that delivered by Mr. Anderson. Did they not think, he asked, that industrial compulsion was not in the air? Why were the munition workers attested and given their 2s. 9d.? Lord Derby knew. He had tried it at the Liverpool Docks. It was the khakifying of the workers that they had in mind. Mr. Lloyd George would like to have military control over the men on the Clyde. He would not get it. (Loud cheers.)

"The man who is behind this campaign, linked up with Lord Northcliffe is Mr. Lloyd George—(Hear, hear)—and far more than any question of military necessity there is the question of personal and political ambition mixed up with this thing. There is no doubt about it; it is well known inside the House of Commons and by those who take any interest in political matters. Conscription of wealth must go with the Conscription of life. (Loud cheers.) If the people are going to fight," declared Mr. Anderson, amidst a storm of cheering, "let them have a country to fight for."

THE GROUP SYSTEM REOPENED.

Attestation to Begin Again Next Monday.

The Press Bureau yesterday afternoon issued the following notice:

With reference to the announcement by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on Jan. 5 that the group system for attestation was to be reopened, it is notified that military recruiting offices will be available for this purpose on and after Monday, the 10th instant.

The poster calling up the second batch of groups will be sent, together with leaflets dealing with the scheme, to any person in the London area post free or carriage paid.

AMERICAN VISITORS.

President Wilson's Envoy in London.

Colonel E. M. House, President Wilson's Envoy to Europe, was granted special facilities to go ashore at Falmouth on Wednesday evening from the liner Rotterdam, and left by the night train for London.

Mr. Brand Whitlock, United States Minister to Belgium, who is returning to his post at Brussels, and Captain Boy-Ed, the late German Military Attaché at Washington, remain on board the liner, and will proceed in her to Rotterdam. No one is allowed to board the vessel.

BANQUET TO SIR H. LE BAS.

To celebrate the honour conferred upon Sir Hedley F. Le Bas the Aldwych Club of London, of which Sir Hedley is a past president, is organising a complimentary dinner, to be held at the Savoy Hotel on Wednesday, Feb. 2. Lord Northcliffe has consented to take the chair. All those interested in advertising are cordially invited to co-operate. Full particulars of time, etc., can be obained from the Secretary, The Aldwych Club, 18, Exeter-street, Strand, W.C.

CHAPLAINS' DEPARTMENT.

It was officially announced by the Press Bureau last night that the Rev. Canon E. H. Pearce, of Westminster Abbey, has been appointed Assistant Chaplain-General (temporary and honorary) for duty at the War Office.

679/20

Zeppelin Bombs
£10,000
Free Compensation Fund.
SEE PAGE EIGHT.

The Daily & Leader

No. 21787. LONDON AND MANCHESTER.

COMPULSION BILL CARRIED

RESIGNATION OF THREE LABOUR MINISTERS.

Compulsion Bill Carried in the Commons.

MAJORITY: 298.

Organised Labour Declares Against Forced Service.

VOTE OF NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Three members of the Coalition Ministry resigned last night—Mr. Arthur Henderson (President of the Board of Education) and his two Labour colleagues, Mr. Brace and Mr. George Roberts. Their decision was reached at the close of the great Labour Congress in London, at which a resolution rejecting the Compulsion Bill was carried by an overwhelming majority. Following the decision of Sir John Simon, there are now four vacancies in the Coalition Ministry. Our Lobby Correspondent says there is ground for the belief that a strong effort will be made to avert the danger of a General Election.

COMMONS' VOTE.

The House of Commons divided at 11 o'clock last night on the Conscription Bill with the following result:

For the Bill - - -	403
Against - - - - -	105
Majority for - -	298

Mr. Balfour stated in the House last night that, by the voluntary system, we had raised over 6,000,000 men. The announcement created a great sensation.

The National Labour Conference which resulted in the above verdict against Compulsion is fully reported on Page Seven. The first resolution proposed to allow Labour M.P.s to vote on the new measure as they thought fit. After a heated debate the first vote was taken on an amendment supporting a measure of compulsion for the purpose of forcing single men of military age to attest. The card vote resulted: For the amendment, **541,000**; against, **2,121,000.** A second amendment recommended the Labour Party in Parliament to oppose the measure in all its stages, as it would be "economically disastrous to the life of the nation." The voting was: For the amendment, **1,715,000**; against, **934,000.**

OVERWHELMING MAJORITY.

The third and last vote was decisive. The second amendment was put to the Congress as a substantive motion, with the following result:

For the Motion	1,998,000
Against	783,000

The result is thus a majority of about a million and a quarter against the Compulsion Bill.

The decision of the Labour Party to leave the Coalition Government was reached last night at a joint meeting of the National Executive of the Labour Party and the Parliamentary Labour Party. Following this decision, the three Labour Ministers at once decided to resign. The possible effects of the resignations on the political situation are dealt with in another column by our Lobby Correspondent.

and told members below the gangway the news of the Congress. And in the Lords a quieter but not less important step was taking place. The Parliament Act Amendment Bill received a second reading. Not that this implies the passage of the measure. There are other stages still to be arranged.

With Labour overwhelmingly against the Conscription Bill and with Labour Ministers resigning from the Government, a great sensation was created by Colonel John Ward's speech. A splendid figure he looked in his uniform, and every word was utterly honest. He is aflame with righteous anger against the crimes of Prussia. He denies utterly that the Trade Union Congress—with trade unionists away in the trenches—represents Labour. He aroused thunders of applause by his paraphrase of Mr. Asquith's famous declaration about every penny of money, every ounce of effort, and every drop of blood. But the applause came this time, not as in 1914, from the Liberal benches chiefly. The Conservatives did their share, their full share.

As the evening proceeded one was chiefly impressed by the astounding strength of Great Britain's voluntary army. Six millions ready for enlistment—that was Mr. Samuel's figure. Mr. Hemmerde, a Compulsionist for single men, claimed that under the Derby scheme we should reach 4½ millions actually enlisted, this apart from the Dominions, or 10 per cent. of the population, including Ireland, which is the standard for Conscriptionist countries. With the Dominions we shall put quite five million men into the field—and, besides, there is the Navy. Mr. Samuel gave the reasons—Belgium, Poland, Northern France, and Serbia. They are moving reasons, doubtless, but a miraculous response, nevertheless, by a free people!

AN IRISHMAN'S SLIP.

Deeply regretful was Mr. Campbell's tone when, in conciliatory accents, he referred to the Nationalist opposition to the Bill.

"No man could have done more to show his loyalty than the member for Waterford," said Mr. Campbell, "at personal and political risk." A remarkable tribute from an Orangeman—memorable and generous.

"Recruiting meetings are broken up," he continued, "and even Sergeant O'Leary has been jeered at and hooted." Then he added: "All this we are concealing."

It was a slip, that last sentence, and Mr. Balfour and Mr. Asquith joined in the prolonged laughter.

Then—Mr. Barnes—now a Privy Councillor. Weeks ago he stated that he would not object to pressure on young unmarried men.

"I am going to redeem my pledge to-night by voting for the Bill," he said, amid loud cheers. Resistance to the Bill he described as "a travesty of the position."

Mr. Barnes told of a month in France, whence he returned to-day. He mentioned a unit—1,250 strong—who on every spell of four days and four nights, lose 50 casualties.

"Mr. Speaker," he said quietly, "they shouldn't be four days and four nights in the trenches. And they wouldn't have to be there if the single men at home did their duty."

A GEOGRAPHICAL QUESTION.

Mr. Balfour rose to the height of a great occasion. With splendid and daring insight he dwelt on the notable and fundamental unity of purpose which [illegible]

THE RESIGNATIONS

DECISION OF LABOUR EXECUTIVE.

VOTING 13 TO 10.

EFFORTS TO PREVENT A GENERAL ELECTION.

(By Our Lobby Correspondent.)

The immediate sequel to the National Labour Congress yesterday was that at the House of Commons a joint meeting was held of the National Executive of the Labour Party and the Parliamentary Labour Party. At this it was decided that the Labour Party should leave the Coalition Government. As a result of this decision, which, it is said, was carried by 13 votes to 10, the three Labour Ministers in the Government—

Mr. Arthur Henderson,
Mr. Brace, and
Mr. G. H. Roberts—

at once decided to resign their offices in the Government. They will, it is understood, meet this morning, to draft their letters of resignation.

The rumour went round the Lobby in the course of the evening that Mr. Henderson would apply for the Chiltern Hundreds and fight a by-election at Barnard Castle in favour of the Government's Military Service Bill. For this there is apparently no foundation. The rumour arose from a challenge thrown out by Mr. Henderson to Mr. Snowden at the National Congress. It is their offices in the Government that the Labour Ministers are resigning.

The reason is this. The Labour Ministers joined the Coalition on an invitation from the Government, and after consultation with their party, and a majority vote in favour of such a course. The National Congress have now deprived these Ministers of their right to represent Labour in the Cabinet, and it would be contrary to the constitution of the Labour Party if they were to retain office, for as long as they were members of the Government they would be bound to support the Compulsion Bill.

A GENERAL ELECTION.

A prominent Conservative member of the Cabinet stated yesterday that the adverse vote by Labour at the Congress had brought a General Election nearer, and that in his view the Government ought to appeal on the issue of the Compulsory Bill to the rank and file of Labour in the country. I was able to anticipate the decision of the Labour Congress, and this was one of the factors on which was founded the anticipation of a General Election in "The Daily News" yesterday. But there are many members of all parties, Liberal, Labour, and Conservative, who consider that a General Election now would be a grave disadvantage from the national point of view, and that it ought to be stopped. The attempt to stop it is going to be made.

As to the Parliament Act Amendment Bill, the House of Lords expect to take the Committee stage next Wednesday.

A. P. N.

OVERWHELMING MAJORITY.

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LAST NIGHT'S VOTE IN THE COMMONS.

Members who Opposed the Bill.

(By Our Lobby Correspondent.)

In the division on the Compulsion Bill, which was carried by 403 to 105, the minority was made up, as far as could be ascertained last night, in this way:

Liberals	36
Labour	9
Irish Nationalists	58
Independent Nationalists	2

Among the Liberals voting against the Bill were two Privy Councillors, Mr. John Burns and Mr. Thomas Lough, two Liberals in khaki, Mr. Denman and Mr. Lees Smith, the others including Sir W. Runciman, Sir J. Barlow, Sir W. Gelder, Mr. Leif Jones, Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Molteno, Mr. T. Jones, Mr. Llewelyn Williams, and the following Welsh members, who put down a motion to explain their vote: Mr. Ellis Davies, Mr. Raffan, Mr. Haydn Jones, and Mr. Hines. Their motion was:

> That the House declines to discuss the Bill until it is shown that the recruiting appeal under the Derby scheme has left unattested at least 33 per cent. of the unmarried men.

The Labour members voting against the Government were: Mr. Goldstone, Mr. Snowden, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Mr. J. H. Thomas, Mr. Richardson, Mr. W. Thorne, Mr. Clynes, and Mr. Jowett.

Among the Labour members supporting the Government were: Mr. Hodge, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Bowerman, Mr. O'Grady, Mr. Wilkie, and Mr. Duncan.

The three Labour Ministers who are resigning their offices in the Government abstained from voting, and Mr. Henderson did not attend the House during the evening. Some Liberals also abstained from voting, as well as some of the miners' members.

The Nationalist Party, although they have cast their vote against the initial stage of the Bill, have no intention, it is understood, of obstructing its progress. The division on the second reading will probably be taken on Tuesday night.

NEW UNIONIST COMMITTEE.

A committee of the Unionist Party in the House of Commons has been formed for the purpose of supporting a vigorous prosecution of the war. Sir E. Carson has been elected chairman and Sir F. Banbury vice-chairman.

THE PARLIAMENT ACT.

Bill for Prolongation Sanctioned.

By our Parliamentary Correspondent

WESTMINSTER, Thursday Night.

All day the great struggle has raged. As speech followed speech it became clear that the big battalions were rallying for the Bill. We have heard of a khaki election; this was a khaki debate, and at the outset the fierce note of war was sounded by Mr. Duke.

"You are helping the enemy," he cried. "You are wrecking the Empire."

"Old Bailey," retorted Mr. Pringle. "We are honest men."

Mr. William O'Brien's effort was an interlude, yet it told for the Bill. Since Mr. Redmond was against, Mr. O'Brien must needs be for the measure—so glad that Ireland was left out, so glad that Great Britain was brought in; after Mr. Carodoc Rees, in a maiden speech, excellently delivered, and Socratic in its interrogations, repeated Sir John Simon's plea—that the actual number of shirkers should have been ascertained before legislation be applied.

He had an anecdote. Travelling with a peer, who had advocated compulsion, he heard an old workman in the corner retort:

"I go further with Conscription than the lot of you. If you take the children from their parents, we'll have Conscription for your land and your bank books."

"Got it already," murmured a Tory ruefully.

A MASTERFUL SPEECH.

Then it was Mr. Samuel's turn—Mr. Asquith, Mr. Bonar Law, and Mr. Balfour behind him. A most masterful speech it was.

Mr. Samuel began by attacking National Service. He admitted that, taken in all, 6,000,000 men have volunteered for the war, on land and sea, though not all have been taken. He foreshadowed "hard fighting—blow on blow." He stated that Mr. Runciman agreed to another million being added to the colours. The Labour Committee, in their manifesto, announced that in their view 30,000 men are wanted every week. Direct enlistments in 12 weeks have been 275,000, which is 85,000 behind the average, and to this must be added previous arrears. Single attested men number 340,000, which is a supply for eleven weeks. Unless the 400,000 married men be called upon the million will not be obtained.

Echoes of other debates were reaching the House. Mr. Anderson entered night by voting for the Bill," he said, amid loud cheers. Resistance to the Bill he described as "a travesty of the position."

Mr. Barnes told of a month in France, whence he returned to-day. He mentioned a unit—1,250 strong—who on every spell of four days and four nights, lose 50 casualties.

"Mr. Speaker," he said quietly, "they shouldn't be four days and four nights in the trenches. And they wouldn't have to be there if the single men at home did their duty."

A GEOGRAPHICAL QUESTION.

Mr. Balfour rose to the height of a great occasion. With splendid and daring insight he dwelt on the notable and fundamental unity of purpose which underlies the differences over the Bill. He regretted the division. He insisted with the more emphasis on the equal patriotism of all concerned. Let Allies and enemies note.

By a delightful slip he referred to "loyalists" in Ireland. The House laughed heartily. Mr. Balfour was equal to the emergency.

"I regard it as no insult to call anyone in Ireland a loyalist," said he, amid loud cheers.

"I am against universal service," he continued, "not on grounds of principle, but because I live on an island. If by a geological upheaval we became part of the Continent, where would Sir John Simon's principles be?" (Laughter.) "I know of people who make it a matter of principle to take vinegar with their oysters." (Great laughter.)

As to divisions in the Cabinet, Mr. Balfour stated, with great vehemence:

"There is not one Minister on this bench who is not convinced that this Bill is necessary to the proper conduct of the war." (Cheers.) "Every man with an excuse will be excused. Why should we take care of the man who has no excuse? Think of the men, with wives and families, who have gone, knowing that their places will be taken by shirkers."

6,000,000 MEN RAISED.

"By the voluntary system we have raised over 6,000,000 men," he declared—amid great sensation. "This Bill, dealing only with a residue, is thus the strongest argument for the voluntary principle."

Six millions "raised"—it was a stronger version of Mr. Samuel's disclosure.

"Nothing will ever convince me that we shall be turned into a militarist nation," he said. "It is contrary to our traditions. You talk of a glorious revolution. You talk of a Reform Bill. Mr. Speaker—the truth is—*we never change*." The House cheered to the echo.

"This is," he said, in conclusion, "not a debating society. Let us face fact and reality." He talked with passionate earnestness of neutral opinion, of the sentiments of Allies, and urged that the war was "only a matter of a few months—certainly a brief period compared with the life of a nation—nay, of a Parliament." Hence—let there be no division.

The appeal did not succeed. A division was challenged. The figures were:

FOR THE BILL	403
AGAINST	105
MAJORITY FOR	298

The tellers for the Noes were Mr. Whitehouse and Mr. Holt.

Mr. Asquith was loudly cheered as he walked up the House with the Bill.

P. W. W.

and that in his view the Government ought to appeal on the issue of the Compulsory Bill to the rank and file of Labour in the country. I was able to anticipate the decision of the Labour Congress, and this was one of the factors on which was founded the anticipation of a General Election in "The Daily News" yesterday. But there are many members of all parties, Liberal, Labour, and Conservative, who consider that a General Election now would be a grave disadvantage from the national point of view, and that it ought to be stopped. The attempt to stop it is going to be made.

As to the Parliament Act Amendment Bill, the House of Lords expect to take the Committee stage next Wednesday.

A. P. N.

MR. A. HENDERSON.

"There is No Reason to Seek Re-election."

Mr. Henderson informed a Press representative last night, with reference to an incident at the Labour Conference, that he stated there he would resign his seat if he were bound by the vote of the delegates to certain action in the House of Commons. He had not been bound by the vote of the conference, and there was no reason for him to resign and seek re-election. "I am," he continued, "a supporter of the Bill, and though I shall not be able to remain to-night for the first reading, I shall vote for it on every possible occasion."

It is understood that the meeting discussed the action to be taken by the party on the first reading of the Bill. It was suggested by some members that the course might be adopted of voting for the first reading as a matter of form, in order that the Bill might be printed and circulated and its provisions thoroughly examined. Eventually it was decided to leave the matter open.

Late last evening the following statement was made on behalf of the Labour Party:

"A joint meeting of the National Executive of the Labour Party and the Parliamentary Labour Party took place in the House of Commons this evening. It was decided, in view of the decision of the special Trades Congress, to oppose the Military Service Bill, and that the party cease connection with the Coalition Government."

THE LABOUR MINISTERS.

The Right Hon. Arthur Henderson has been, since the formation of the Coalition Government, President of the Board of Education and a member of the Cabinet. He has been Chairman of the Labour Party since the resignation of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald at the beginning of the war, and has taken a prominent part in the recruiting campaign.

Mr. William Brace, M.P. for Glamorgan and Under-Secretary for Home Affairs, as a past President of the South Wales Miners' Federation, represents the mining interest.

Mr. G. H. Roberts, who has been a Junior Lord of the Treasury and has acted as one of the Coalition Whips, belongs to the Independent Labour Party. He sits for Norwich, and is a past President of the Trades Council of that city.

At the present moment, owing to the resignations of Sir John Simon and of Mr. Brace, there is no one to represent the Home Office in the House of Commons.

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be his duty to vote against the Bill, and o oppose it to the bitter end.

Mr. J. H. CAMPBELL (U., Dublin University), speaking on behalf of Sir E. Carson, who was prevented from attending by indisposition, said Irish Unionists would give whole-hearted support to the Bill in the division lobby. At the same time he protested against the unexplained and unaccountable exclusion of Ireland from the Bill. (Cheers.) It was understood that the measure when first drafted included Ireland, and he wanted to know at whose instance it was altered. Why did not the Government throw upon the Nationalists the responsibility of moving to exclude Ireland? They might in the alternative have left it to counties or groups of counties in Ireland to vote themselves out of the Bill. That would have enabled the Ulster people to come under the Bill, as they desired.

LABOUR MEMBER'S SUPPORT.

Mr. BARNES (Lab., Blackfriars, Glasgow) said he was going to redeem a pledge he had already made, and was going to vote for the introduction of the Bill. (Loud cheers.) He spoke for himself and not for the majority of his party, and he spoke under the shadow of the vote of the Trade Union Congress. He knew that there was a strong feeling in his constituency against the Bill and against anything in the nature of compulsion, but men in public life had to take risks, and he was going to take the risk of voting for the Bill. (Cheers.) The men that would be secured by it were wanted. (Cheers.) He had come back from France that day. He had been nearly a month travelling from one end of the line to the other. One unit that he visited had spent four days and nights in the trenches, and had had 53 casualties. They should not have been four days and nights in the trenches—(cheers)—and they would not have been if all the young men of the country had done their duty as these men he saw were doing it. (Loud cheers.) He hoped the Bill would go through, though he hoped that the predictions as to the thin edge of the wedge w[illegible] fulfilled. He supported the Bill because we had got to win the war. (Cheers.)

MR. BALFOUR

PAYS A FINE TRIBUTE TO THE VOLUNTARY SYSTEM.

Mr. BALFOUR (First Lord of the Admiralty) said he did not believe that in all the history of the House a debate had ever shown such a fundamental unity of feeling as the one now ending. All the speeches breathed patriotism. The division might do harm both in and out of the country, but to those who had heard the debate it must be apparent that never before had a nation shown such a unity of front on the essential issue.

Regarding Ireland, he thought that was a point which should be reserved for the Committee stage. This Bill was not intended to place the military institutions of the country on a permanent basis. It was a Bill for an occasion. It was a Bill for this wa ronly. They should, therefore, be as careful as possible not to raise questions of internal controversy. It was impossible to regard Ireland as similar to England and Scotland in this matter. (Nationalist cheers.)

Regarding the general debate, he wished to sweep aside all discussion on what was called "principle." He found it difficult to believe that anything that might truly be called principle would be involved. If this country were in danger of invasion, would these people stick to "principle"? He had always been against compulsory service, not because he believed in the principle of voluntaryism, but because he happened to live on an island. (Laughter.)

The voluntary system, Mr. Balfour declared, had produced over 6,000,000 men during the present war.

Every member of the Cabinet, Mr. Balfour added, held the opinion that the Bill was absolutely essential for the successful carrying on of the war.

LORD MILNER.

Is He Still a German Citizen Under German Law?

In the House yesterday Mr. Lundon asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department whether Lord Milner had ever complied with section 3 of the Act of 1773, under which he claimed to be a British citizen, although born in Germany and the son of a German subject.

Mr. Brace said the section was repealed in 1871.

Mr. Outhwaite: Is the hon. member aware that under German law Lord Milner is still a German citizen?

The Speaker: You cannot expect the hon. member to have a knowledge of German law.

WANTED, A CAR.

(To the Editor.)

Sir,—The French Government has d[illegible]

PROLONGATION OF PARLIAMENT.

Lords Consent to the Bill of the Commons.

GENERAL ELECTION NOT NECESSARY.

The House of Lords yesterday considered the Parliament and Registration Bill brought over from the House of Commons.

The MARQUIS OF CREWE (Leader of the House), in moving the second reading of the Bill, said the measure was founded on the fact that the Quinquennial Parliament which had existed from 1911 would automatically expire on Jan. 31, in which case a General Election would also automatically follow. The measure was founded on the conviction that the majority of the people of the country did not want a General Election at this time for obvious reasons. A vast number of voters were absent from the country, and even beyond that a great number of voters who had removed were untraced in the absence of the ordinary party machinery.

PRECEDENT OF 1716.

On the other hand, there were some Constitutional purists who complained of the fact that Parliament should by its own action be lengthening the term for which by law it was constituted. Their objection was not without substance, but there was a precedent for such action in 1716. During the war party discussion had been hushed, and the object of all parties was to keep it in suspense until after the war.

Some of them cherished sanguine hopes of a complete obliteration of party division and party feeling as a result of the war. He did not quite know about that, but he felt positive that when the conclusion of the war came he and his noble friends who had been previously separated by party division would not awaken like the people in the legend of the fairy princess and desire at once to fly at each other's throats. Of that he was entirely satisfied. They would not desire to plunge at once into the controversies which were active when war broke out. But it was difficult to believe that even a cataclysm of this kind could altogether sweep away the political customs of 300 years under which our party system had grown up, nor should he be prepared to say that if it were possible it would in itself be desirable. What was undoubtedly the desire of all people was that all these controversies should be suspended and the Bill framed so far as possible to secure that result.

TORY TAUNT.

Earl ST. ALDWYN (C.) observed that it was very remarkable that the representatives of the Government which passed the Parliament Act should be obliged to come in the position of humble suppliants to that House, whose powers they had curtailed, and ask them to alter an Act which they had passed deliberately and which if it were permitted to remain unaltered would place the country in an extremely unsatisfactory position.

It was very remarkable that it should rest with their lordships to decide whether or not the present House of Commons should come to an end at the end of this month. That was the reductio ad absurdum of the whole history of the Parliament Act. If it were only a question of whether the present House of Commons was worth preserving there could be only one opinion among their lordships, having regard to the mischief the House of Commons had done to the country during the first four years of its existence. But, of course, the matter could not be looked at solely from that point of view.

LORD LANSDOWNE

REGARDS A GENERAL ELECTION AS UNNECESSARY.

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE (a member of the Cabinet) said he was not at all anxious to contend that the proposal of the Bill was not a somewhat strange and novel proceeding, but then the circumstances of the time in which we lived were also novel and strange. He could not conceive, so far as the main purpose of the Bill was concerned, that anyone could possibly desire that a General Election should be forced at the present time upon a reluctant country. He failed altogether to see what useful purpose an election could serve. It was utterly unnecessary in order to establish the fact that the country was of one mind in its desire to carry the war through to a successful and honourable conclusion.

Should the time come when they had reason to suppose that the people desired a different Government from that which now held the reins of office, it would not be for the present Ministry to stand in the [illegible]

Most Wonderful Cartoons of the War.

Will Dyson, the great war cartoonist, whose powerful drawings have a world-wide fame, will commence on Monday, January 10th, a series of daily cartoons in the **DAILY SKETCH.**

ANOTHER SCRAP OF PAPER. By Will Dyson.

Dyson's grim and expressive exposures of Hun brutality and greed have been among the most potent recruiting forces in the country. His forceful drawings will secure in the **DAILY SKETCH** a wider circulation than ever before. Each day Dyson's cartoons will perform a national service and help to strengthen the hands of the Government in the hour of crisis. No other artist has so vividly brought home to the nation the Kaiser's cynical disregard of honour and humanity.

Hundreds of letters have been received congratulating the **DAILY SKETCH** on its enterprise in securing exclusively the services of Dyson. Newsagents who have not already increased their orders should do so without delay. Readers who have not already done so must order their copies now from their local newsagents, as the demand will be enormous.

A new Serial Story commences **TO-MORROW** entitled "The Unexpected Wife," specially written by Madge Ambrose.

OFFICERS' OUTFITS at

Is He Still a German Citizen Under German Law?

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The Speaker: You cannot expect the hon. member to have a knowledge of German law.

WANTED, A CAR.

(To the Editor.)

Sir,—The French Government has decided to form temporary settlements of Serbian refugees in Corsica, and has asked the Serbian Relief Fund to undertake the administration of these settlements. The principal agent of the Fund, Mr. Bellows, has telegraphed from Ajaccio asking for a touring car to be sent out, as the settlements are at a considerable distance from each other, and means of communication are scanty.

Already the work is very heavy, and the numbers of the refugees, which now amount to several thousands, are likely to increase rapidly.

May I appeal through your columns for the gift of such a touring car suitable for rough and hard work?

LUCY MASTERMAN,
Chairman of the Appeal Committee.
5, Cromwell-road, London, S.W., Jan. 6.

STOLEN ON THE FIELD.

William Jones, a private in the South Wales Borderers, was, at Ebbw Vale yesterday, sent to prison for a month on a charge of having stolen a pair of binoculars and a compass, of the value of £10, belonging to the late Lieut. G. W. Field, of the Gloucesters. The glasses and compass were found on the battlefield at Hulluch, and retained by the prisoner, who endeavoured to pawn them.

BILLIARDS: CLOSE OF PLAY.

Last night's closing scores in the billiard match at Leicester-square were: Falkiner (rec. 2,000), 13,667; Newman, 13,158. Breaks: Falkiner, 362 (full), 94, and 134 (unfinished); Newman, 287.

LAST NIGHT'S BOXING.

At the West London Stadium, last night, Harry Pettifer (Wood Green), knocked out Jim Shires (Roughriders), in the sixth round of a 15-rounds contest.

VESSELS ENTERED INWARDS.

LONDON CUSTOM HOUSE, Jan. 6.—Britannia, Gibraltar, No. 11 Shadwell Basin, London Dock, J Hall, Jun. and Co; Carlton, New York, West India Dock, H Langridge and Co; Fryken, Norrkoping, Mill Hole Tier, C Gee and Co; Elswick, Rouen, Regent's Canal Dock, Fisher, Alimonda and Co; Arigorm, Baltimore, Royal Albert Dock, Atlantic Transport Co; Rose Castle, Portland (Me.), Gravesend, Brown, Jenkinson, and Co; Oranje Nassau, Flushing, Gravesend, A W Hall; Brussel, Christiania, Surrey Commercial Dock, F Dessen and Co; Bulgaric, Alexandria, Gravesend, C Gee and Co; Bedeburn, Buenos Ayres, Higham Bight, J W Dooley; Mesaba, New York, Royal Albert Dock, Atlantic Transport Co; Maria de Larrinaga, Alexandria, Greenwich Buoys and Millwall Dock, Glover Bros.; The Lady Belle, Dieppe, London Dock, London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway; Tinto, Christiania, Millwall Dock, United Shipping Co; Corinthian, St. John (N.B.), Surrey Commercial Dock, Allan Line.

Mr. Herbert N. Casson is speaking after luncheon on Sunday next in the restaurant at the Trocadero. Mr. Casson in May last addressed over 3,000 business men at the Queen's Hall. The Right Hon. Viscount Midleton, who presided, said of his address, "It was the most original and epigrammatic speech I have ever heard in my life."

REGARDS A GENERAL ELECTION AS UNNECESSARY.

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE (a member of the Cabinet) said he was not at all anxious to contend that the proposal of the Bill was not a somewhat strange and novel proceeding, but then the circumstances of the time in which we lived were also novel and strange. He could not conceive, so far as the main purpose of the Bill was concerned, that anyone could possibly desire that a General Election should be forced at the present time upon a reluctant country. He failed altogether to see what useful purpose an election could serve. It was utterly unnecessary in order to establish the fact that the country was of one mind in its desire to carry the war through to a successful and honourable conclusion.

Should the time come when they had reason to suppose that the people desired a different Government from that which now held the seals of office, it would not be for the present Ministry to stand in the way, but at present there was no evidence to show that a change of this kind was desired, and the Ministry at any rate did not feel called upon to go out of their way in order to afford opportunities of bringing about such a change.

PLURAL VOTING BILL.

The suspicion with which this Bill was regarded in some quarters, Lord Lansdowne went on, was no doubt due to the fact that it gave a certain extension of life to the Plural Voting Bill. Some complaint had been made of the leaders of the Unionist Party for having, as it was alleged, lent themselves to an arrangement by which an extension of life had been given to that measure. He was certainly not one of those who believed that the existence of a Coalition Government carried with it the obliteration of party principles, though he anticipated that the members of the Coalition would regard one another somewhat differently from the fact that they had served side by side. But he had no doubt that although they might lay aside party for the time, they would come back to it eventually.

The arrangement which had been come to with regard to the Plural Voting Bill simply carried out in an honourable manner the compact that was made when the war commenced. He agreed with Lord Bryce that considering the difficulty experienced in arriving at an agreed Bill it would be most unwise to reopen the question. He did not value the chance of the Plural Voting Bill passing very highly. Whatever chance the Bill had he believed that the war and the foundation of a Coalition Government had effectually disposed of it. Even if the war ended in the summer it would be impossible for any Government to push the Bill through Parliament in the interval before the expiration of the eight months. He was glad to hear that although Lord St. Aldwyn was not entirely satisfied with the conduct of the war he did not desire a change of Government.

It must be remembered, Lord Lansdowne concluded, that we had to consult our Allies at every step. That explained the hesitation and vacillation with which the Government were sometimes charged. If we treated our Allies as Germany treated her allies our task would be a simpler one but, fortunately, those were not the kind of relations which prevailed between us and our Allies. The Government were not so fatuous as to suppose that during the last few months things might not have been done better, but they asked the House and the country to remember that they were conducting a great war on three Continents, and that the responsibility for the direction of these affairs was not an undivided responsibility, but was one which they must share with others.

The Bill was read a second time and the House adjourned at 6.30.

The sudden illness of Miss Hutin Britt has compelled her to relinquish all hope appearing at the Strand Theatre for t present. Mr. Matheson Lang has therefo been faced with the necessity of findi another leading lady for matinees of "T Merchant of Venice." The new Portia to be Miss Lilian Braithwaite, who w also be seen in her original part of "M Gregory" in "Mr. Wu," when that p goes into the evening bill at the Stra on Saturday.

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SPECIAL CONFERENCE EDITION.

LABOUR LEADER

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LABOUR DEFIES THE BRITISH "PRUSSIANS."

OVERWHELMING MAJORITY AGAINST COMPULSION BILL.

"WE WON'T HAVE THIN END OF WEDGE OF MILITARY AND INDUSTRIAL CONSCRIPTION."

The most momentous Conference in the history of the Labour movement was held in London on Thursday, and by an overwhelming vote it decided to oppose the proposals for Military Compulsion introduced by the Government. This decision carried with it the resignation of the three Labour Ministers in the Government and the withdrawal of the Labour Party from the Coalition. This, again, means that the party-truce is over so far as Labour is concerned, and the Parliamentary group was recommended to oppose the Government measure in all its stages. The significance of this event is already seen to be great; it may be much greater even than it seems.

A GENERAL ELECTION?

If the vote of the Labour Conference has not killed the Government's Bill, it has at least struck it a very serious blow. In the best-informed political circles of London it is held that one of two courses will be followed by the Ministry. First, the Government may hold up the Bill until such time as an investigation of the figures of the Derby scheme and the results of the continued recruiting enable it to say that the number of unmarried men who have not enlisted is "a negligible quantity"; second, it may appeal to the country almost immediately upon the Bill. The first course would probably be preferable to Mr. Asquith, but the Compulsionists in the Cabinet will stop at nothing to get their way, and it is believed that they will even use the House of Lords to force a General Election if necessary. In the event of the Bill remaining a dead letter, the Labour Conference will be able to claim that it has been the greatest force in killing it. Should an election come, Organised Labour may be expected after Thursday's [illegible]

the country. Speaker after speaker declared that the ulterior motive of the Conscriptionists is to fasten chains around the neck of Labour, and every time this declaration was made the Conference endorsed it by passionate applause. Equally clearly the delegates realised that the Conscriptionists would not be satisfied with military Compulsion. They knew that Mr. Lloyd George and his associates want industrial Conscription, and they appreciated that it would be impossible for them to argue in favour of the one and against the other.

TREMENDOUS MAJORITY.

The opinion of the Conference was most clearly tested by an amendment to the indefinite official resolution which was put forward by the Brassworkers and the Boilermakers. On the subsequent resolutions the issue was somewhat confused, but in this case the Conference had before it a definite request to support the Government Bill, and it rejected it by 2,121,000 votes to 541,000. The significance of this tremendous majority is all the greater by reason of the fact that the Miners' Federation, which is known to be opposed to all forms of Compulsion, did not participate in the Conference. Had it done so, the majority against Conscription would have been increased to the extent of 600,000 votes.

Later in the proceedings a second amendment was moved to the official resolution, making it absolutely definite against the Bill and recommending the Parliamentary Party to oppose the measure resolutely. The voting on this amendment was 1,715,000 in favour and 931,000 against. Mr. James Sexton, one of our strongest opponents, did us the service of demanding a second card vote when the amendment was put as a substantive motion, with the result that the majority leaped up by another 784,000 votes. Our only regret was that it was impossible to challenge a third division!

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Even before the proceedings commenced there was an electricity in the atmosphere such as no Conference of recent years has known. Long before the time for opening, a very large body of delegates gathered outside the hall and discussed in eager groups the prospects of the debates. Within the hall there was an excited buzz of conversation, which was not interrupted by the appearance of the officials on the platform. Mr. H. Gosling, white of hair yet young and genial in spirit, presided in his capacity of chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress. To his left sat Mr. C. W. Bowerman, M.P., to his right Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P. Mr. Henderson looked burdened and overwrought; and as the discussion proceeded the weight upon his mind evidently became greater.

Mr. W. Brace, Mr. G. H. Roberts, Mr. Will Crooks, Mr. John Hodge, and a number of other Labour members, "honoured" and still to be "honoured," occupied seats on the platform, but the Conference ignored their appearance. It was not until Mr. Ramsay MacDonald entered that a cheer was raised. Then it was loud and long, mingled with cries of "Good old Mac!"

TEMPER OF CONFERENCE.

This was the first sign of the temper of the delegates.

The Conference was opened by Mr. Gosling reading from the chair a very colourless statement prepared by the three National Committees. Openly it was neither opposed to the Government's scheme of military compulsion nor in favour of it, but the implication of it was on the whole on the side of the scheme. It was soon evident that the Conference was impatient with its indefiniteness. "Organised Labour hates war and it hates Conscription" was one of the platitudes of the introduction, but the delegates by their cheer converted it into much more than a platitude. The first clear indication of the attitude of the Conference came when these sentences were read:

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one could say, and Mr. Hodge's speech was as indefinite as the resolution. Neither the one nor the other meant anything.

THE RESOLUTION.

The resolution read:

> This Conference reaffirms the decision of the Bristol Trade Unions Congress when it unanimously protested, in the name of over 3,000,000 organised workers, against compulsory military service. It regrets that the unity and solidarity of the nation have been gravely imperilled and industrial and political liberty menaced by the action of the compulsionists, against which it makes a most emphatic protest. The Conference rejoices at the magnificent success of the voluntary principle, which in so short a period has supplied the country with an army of 4,000,000 free men, but it is compelled with regret to recognise that, in spite of Lord Derby's scheme having produced nearly 3,000,000 volunteers, the net results are governed by the Prime Minister's pledge to the married recruits, which, in the opinion of the Government, has rendered necessary the Military Service Bill. The Conference regards the result as not yet ascertained with sufficient accuracy and certainty to warrant so momentous a proposal being passed by Parliament, but wishes, nevertheless, to leave the Labour members to vote upon it as they individually think fit.

In his opening remarks Mr. Hodge emphasised the gravity of the crisis, and this the Conference clearly recognised. He explained that the Parliamentary Labour Party had refrained from committing itself before the Conference met, and drew attention to his speech in the House of Commons the previous evening in which he had declared the historical opposition of Labour to compulsory military service. He asserted that the world had never before seen such a magnificent voluntary army as Britain had raised, and urged that before the Premier had decided for compulsion he should have followed his own policy of "wait and see," so that the results of the Derby campaign might have been properly judged. The Derby scheme was said to have been a failure until the Premier's pledge was given, and he agreed that a large number of married men would not have enlisted had it not been given. Nevertheless, he believed it would have been better had the pledge not been made, although under such circumstances we should "have been up against" Conscription pure and simple. To which there was an [illegible]

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The Conference clearly realised that the present measure is only the thin end of the wedge. Once adopt the principle of Compulsion and its operation cannot be limited. Already the Northcliffe Press, which has been the biggest factor in getting the Government to adopt Compulsion of married men, is asking for Compulsion of married men, and if the Government's proposal is enacted, not many months will pass before a complete system of Conscription, with all its dangers to Labour, will be imposed upon the country. Speaker after speaker declared that the ulterior motive of the Conscriptionists is to fasten chains around the neck of Labour, and every time this declaration was made the Conference endorsed it by passionate applause. Equally clearly the delegates realised that the Conscriptionists would not be satisfied with military Compulsion. They knew that Mr. Lloyd George and his associates want industrial Conscription, and they appreciated that it would be impossible for them to argue in favour of the one and against the other.

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Later in the proceedings a second amendment was moved to the official resolution, making it absolutely definite against the Bill and recommending the Parliamentary Party to oppose the measure resolutely. The voting on this amendment was 1,715,000 in favour and 934,000 against. Mr. James Sexton, one of our strongest opponents, did us the service of demanding a second card vote when the amendment was put as a substantive motion, with the result that the majority leaped up by another 434,000 votes. Our only regret was that it was impossible to challenge a third division!

By this decision Organised Labour has proved that despite the circumstances of the moment its soul is alive and its mind alert. The attitude of self-reliance which has been compromised since the beginning of the war has been regained, and it is evident that a new spirit animates its ranks. The Government will be well advised to accept the warning the Conference gave. Labour in this country is not prepared to surrender to our own "Prussians" under the cloak of a war the stated object of which is the crushing of Prussianism in Germany.

THE PROCEEDINGS.

The Central Hall, Westminster, in which the Conference met, is a spacious, high-domed building, with deep galleries and a large platform sloping up to an imposing organ. The delegates filled the body of the hall, but only the first row of the galleries was filled: it was not expected that the public would be admitted. The result was that unless a speaker were stationed in a favourable position, his voice was either lost in the vastness of the hall or it echoed and re-echoed disconcertingly. Fortunately the Conference insisted upon most of the delegates addressing it from the platform, and the most important utterances, delivered as they were by practised speakers, were well heard.

Even before the proceedings commenced there was an electricity in the atmosphere such as no Conference of recent years has known. Long before the time for opening, a very large body of delegates gathered outside the hall and discussed in eager groups the prospects of the debates. Within the hall there was an excited buzz of conversation, which was not interrupted by the appearance of the officials on the platform. Mr. H. Gosling, white of hair yet young and genial in spirit, presided in his capacity of chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress. To his left sat Mr. C. W. Bowerman, M.P., to his right Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P. Mr. Henderson looked burdened and overwrought, and as the discussion proceeded the weight upon his mind evidently became greater.

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> Unfortunately, we cannot dispose of the grave problem created by claiming that organised Labour is in no way bound by the Prime Minister's pledge. *The pledge has been given;* it binds the Government, and under it the married men to certain assured rights.

Cries of "Why?" greeted the statement that the problem could not be disposed of by repudiating responsibility for the pledge so far as Labour is concerned, and when the emphasised sentence, "the pledge has been given," was read there was a storm of protest from all parts of the hall, "Not by Labour," which was renewed by shouts of "Not by us" when Mr. Gosling added, "it binds the Government." The suggestion that the Government measure was necessary on military grounds was greeted with loud cries of "Question," and when the assertion was made that the Bill "terminates with the restoration of peace there was derisive laughter and cries of "I don't think."

Already it was evident that a very strong body of opinion in the hall was uncompromisingly opposed to Compulsion.

When Mr. John Hodge rose to move the official resolution he received a cold welcome. Never has any chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party been greeted with slighter applause by a Labour Conference. His speech was an admirable exposition of the resolution. What the resolution signified no one could say, and Mr. Hodge's speech was as indefinite as the resolution. Neither the one nor the other meant anything.

THE RESOLUTION.

The resolution read:

> This Conference reaffirms the decision of the Bristol Trade Unions Congress when it unanimously protested, in the name of over 3,000,000 organised workers, against compulsory military service. It regrets that the unity and solidarity of the nation have been gravely imperilled and industrial and political liberty menaced by the action of the compulsionists, against which it makes a most emphatic protest. The Conference rejoices at the magnificent success of the voluntary principle, which in so short a period has supplied the country with an army of 4,000,000 free men, but it is compelled with regret to recognise that, in spite of Lord Derby's scheme having produced nearly 3,000,000 volunteers, the net results are governed by the Prime Minister's pledge to the married recruits, which, in the opinion of the Government, has rendered necessary the Military Service Bill. The Conference regards the result as not yet ascertained with sufficient accuracy and certainty to warrant so momentous a proposal being passed by Parliament, but wishes, nevertheless, to leave the Labour members to vote upon it as they individually think fit.

In his opening remarks Mr. Hodge emphasised the gravity of the crisis, and this the Conference clearly recognised. He explained that the Parliamentary Labour Party had refrained from committing itself before the Conference met, and drew attention to his speech in the House of Commons the previous evening in which he had declared the historical opposition of Labour to compulsory military service. He asserted that the world had never before seen such a magnificent voluntary army as Britain had raised, and urged that before the Premier had decided for compulsion he should have followed his own policy of "wait and see," so that the results of the Derby campaign might have been properly judged. The Derby scheme was said to have been a failure until the Premier's pledge was given, and he agreed that a large number of married men would not have enlisted had it not been given. Nevertheless, he believed it would have been better had the pledge not been made, although under such circumstances we should "have been up against" Conscription pure and simple. To which there was an immediate response from the delegates, "We won't have it!"

Mr. Hodge proceeded to emphasise the dangers which would face the Labour movement if the official resolution were rejected. The desire of the three national committees was to prevent disruption: the resolution united all views by leaving Labour members of Parliament freedom to act as they felt impelled.

"No, no, no," shouted a body of the delegates. "We say yes," bawled Mr. Will Thorne from the platform. "We say no," responded the delegates.

"If you bind the Labour members you will treat them differently from what you have before," pleaded Mr. Hodge. "And about time, too," commented the delegates.

MR. ASQUITH'S "PLEDGE."

Mr. Hodge proceeded to say that the rejection of the Bill would result in a general election, and there was some applause when he said that that would prove the worst calamity in the history of the movement. He pointed out that the Bill was of a temporary character, and he said the Premier had given a pledge that it would not be used to depress Labour. When Mr. Hodge explained that the Premier's pledge was given in the form of a

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nod there was loud and prolonged laughter, and when he went on protestingly to explain "Well, he gave a shake of the head that Labour would be protected," the laughter was renewed more loudly than ever. "To my mind Trade Unionism is strong enough to protect itself," added Mr. Hodge. "That's a different matter," shouted a delegate, amidst applause.

SNEERING AT CONSCIENCE.

When Mr. James Sexton rose to second the resolution he was received with laughter and cries of "Where's your friend Lord Derby?" He confessed he would have liked a stronger resolution, and his speech made it clear that the strengthening he desired was on the side of Compulsion. It was significant that when he tried to sound the "patriotic" note there was very little cheering. He claimed that the decision of the Trade Union Congress was now modified by the Derby figures, and on this statement being challenged, he stated that the Labour delegates on the Recruiting Committee had had an opportunity of examining them, which was again challenged. A description of the Premier's pledge as "silly" was greeted with loud cheers, but there was opposition to his comment that the pledge had not been challenged. He described the Government's proposal as being "flabby" in the sense that it did not go far enough in the direction of Compulsion. "Why, it is not even limited Compulsion," he complained, and he sneered at the supposed exemption for conscientious objectors by saying, "They will grow and grow and grow until everybody has a conscience." To Mr. Sexton's discomfort this statement was greeted with loud cries of "Hear, hear," denoting that in the minds of those who cheered this would not be a bad thing at all!

Mr. Sexton concluded by picturing the disaster to the movement which would result from a cleavage of opinion in Parliament and in the country. "If an election comes," he said, "there is a great risk that our members may not be returned." Again ironical cheers greeted his statement.

Mr. Havelock Wilson, who followed, was no more successful in convincing the Conference. He expressed surprise at the cheers which greeted Mr. Sexton's expression of fear that the Labour members might not be returned to Parliament. "Do you mean," he asked, "that the Labour members are of no more use?" "Most of them," shouted back delegates. His championship of the Premier's pledge by a nod, on the ground that it would not have been decorous for him to have interrupted Mr. Hodge's flowing periods created much laughter. When he was asked why he did not oppose compulsory military service since he said he was opposed to it, he replied, "Because I have more sense." He reported that 58 of the 70 branches of his Union had declared their recognition of the validity of the Premier's pledge, and he tried to raise class feeling against the unmarried men who had not attested by saying that they belonged to the middle class. "They have not joined up," he said, "because such a common lot had enlisted."

AT LAST THE WORD!

The Conference had listened impatiently to these speeches, and it was very relieved to hear Mr. Ben Turner. Mr. Turner began by appealing for tolerance. He proceeded to remind the Conference that the Premier's pledge to married men was not the only one given. When Lord Kitchener had appeared before the national executives of the Labour movement he had said that thirty thousand recruits were wanted per week until the spring M.P., has made against Compulsion was recognised by the very warm cheer which welcomed him. Whilst recognising the seriousness of a general election he scouted the idea that Labour should give way for fear of it. The Conscriptionists might raise difficult issues, but Labour would raise difficult issues as well. He did not believe that Labour would be wiped out. We should demand the conscription of wealth, and that would be the last demand the Conscriptionists would desire to face.

Mr. Thomas vigorously denied Mr. Sexton's statement that the Premier's pledge had not been challenged. He reminded the Conference that he had himself challenged it in Parliament as a violation of the Labour agreement on recruiting. Great applause greeted his statement that no figures would satisfy the Conscriptionists. "They do not want Conscription to win the war. They want it for ulterior ends." Again there was loud applause. "That is why we have this simple, humble Bill," he added with infinite sarcasm. He warned the Conference that compulsion of unmarried men would be followed by compulsion of married men. The present distinction could not possibly be defended on military grounds. There was nothing to prevent the present Bill being so amended later on as to satisfy all the desires of the Conscriptionists.

J. H. THOMAS'S APPEAL.

Mr. Thomas appealed to Trade Union leaders not to be carried away by the popular clamour of the moment, and his appeal was thunderously endorsed. "There has never been in the world any precedent to show that Militarism and Conscription have been used for any other purpose than to defeat the workers. It is because I fear that that I am jealously going to guard against it whatever the consequences may be." In a peroration which greatly moved the Conference and raised it to a high pitch of enthusiasm, he said, "If this Congress decides in favour of this measure, and I do not believe it will, whilst I want to be as loyal as I have always been, I can only be loyal by clearing out, and this I would do without hesitation, because I know the Bill is the result of a huge conspiracy. It is because I know and feel that that I am not going to allow the Congress to bind me. The case for Conscription has not been proved. The figures have been manipulated by those who wanted it. Let us express in no uncertain and determined voice our continued opposition to it. The official resolution does not adequately express Trade Union opinion. The press has largely been responsible for creating the present situation, but the speeches of Trade Union leaders who have said that if Mr. Asquith and Lord Kitchener declared in favour of Conscription we would accept it must also bear a share of the responsibility. That is not our attitude. We have always taken the stand that Conscription will fasten the chains of bondage around the necks of the workers. Fear not them who kill the body, fear them most who kill the soul. This Bill, if passed, will kill the soul of the movement. Let Labour be on the alert and sound the battle-cry. Let us be determined to face the issue, whatever it may be, with the knowledge that we are not responsible and that our conscience is clear."

The enthusiasm which Mr. Thomas aroused was maintained at the same high pitch by Mr. W. C. Anderson, M.P. In a powerful and eloquent speech he said his deep conviction against Compulsion could not be affected either by a threat of a general election or of the loss of seats. If an election were forced by the tricks and stratagems which had forced the Compulsion Bill, it would be wrong to consider their own interests or to betray the

Mr. Anderson proceeded to ask how organised Labour could argue against Industrial Conscription if it accepted Military Conscription. He read extracts from the utterances of Conscriptionists to show that the oppression of Labour was their ulterior object. "We have been told that Trade Unionism is strong enough to fight Industrial Conscription," he exclaimed. "Ah, but don't begin the fight by opening the gates to the enemy." He pointed out that under the Derby scheme many workers who could under no circumstances be spared for military service had been enlisted. Lord Derby knew the value of militarising industry. He had tried it at the Liverpool docks. It was the "khakifying" of the workers that the Conscriptionists had in mind. They were far more anxious to have Conscription to obtain military control here than for any other purpose. Mr. Lloyd George would like to have military control over the men on the Clyde. "*He won't get it*," Mr. Anderson exclaimed, and the Conference responded with deep and prolonged cheers.

SEATS OR SOULS?

Mr. Anderson designated Lord Northcliffe and Mr. Lloyd George as linked behind the campaign, and said that it was inspired much more by personal and political ambition than by military necessity. That was a well-known fact inside the House of Commons, and there was no doubt about it. Reverting to the question of a possible election, Mr. Anderson declared, "We do not want to lose our seats, but we must not lose our souls. I would rather see the Labour Party wiped out for the moment than sacrifice its principles, but I don't believe that would happen." The nation wanted money more than men, and if an election came we should raise the issue of conscription of wealth. If lives were to be conscripted, big estates must be conscripted first. "If the people are going to fight, let them have a country to fight for," he cried passionately, and the delegates cheered and cheered again. "So far as I am concerned," he concluded, "be the consequences what they may, I will fight this thing to the death."

At this point the Conference adjourned for lunch. The reception which had been given to the speeches of Mr. Turner, Mr. Thomas, and Mr. Anderson had made it clear that when the time came for taking a decision the delegates would pronounce strongly against compulsion. But at this stage in the proceedings the greatest optimist did not dare to hope for the result which was ultimately obtained.

It was immediately clear after lunch that feeling was no less pronounced than in the morning. When the Chairman stated that a letter had been received addressed to Mr. Tom Johnston, there were cries of "Good old *Forward*," and cheers. It was good to find that the conference had some opportunity of expressing its appreciation of the fight Mr. Johnston has so courageously waged in that paper against militarism and Conscription, and for the freedom of the press. Another significant incident during the reading of the announcements was the ironical laughter with which the Brassworkers' amendment in favour of the Bill was received, and the cheers and cries of "That's it," which greeted the terms of the railwaymen's amendment of whole-hearted opposition.

Mr. Arthur Henderson opened the afternoon's discussion. The welcome accorded him, whilst warm, contrasted distinctly with that given to Mr. Thomas and Mr. Anderson. He began in restrained and dignified language and won the sympathy of the conference, which can always be relied upon to give the exponent of an unpopular attitude a fair hearing. Although he said he would not speak with passion, Mr. Henderson, under the very

ing me and who have been interrupting other speakers who have not raised their little finger to assist in the prosecution of the war, who are against the war, and who, I believe, are not prepared to say that they would like to see us win the war. Yet the conference cannot have its resolution moved without the acting chairman of the Labour Party being interrupted and insulted by one of these anti-war men!" Mr. Henderson spoke with great heat, and evoked loud response from his supporters.

LABOUR AND LORD KITCHENER

The motion, said Mr. Henderson, reaffirmed their position. Could anyone object to that? Referring to Mr. Ben Turner's statement about Lord Kitchener's appearance before the National Executives, he said only half of the truth had been told. Lord Kitchener wanted 30,000 men per week until the spring in order to bring the present divisions up to strength, and he then wanted 30,000 men per week to the end of the year in order that we might have man for man reserves. Could Labour, he asked, set up its opinion against the great official who had been called by the nation to take in hand the conduct of military operations? He disagreed with the method by which Lord Kitchener desired the armies should be obtained, but he would not venture to question his opinion of the size the army should be.

The resolution accurately expressed, Mr. Henderson said, his own position. If he believed for a moment that the Bill were being introduced not to meet a military need but to placate the opinion of the Conscriptionists he would oppose it. If the pledge to married men had not been given he was of the opinion that to-day we would have been in the position of having a measure of Conscription fuller, wider, and more permanent. In his judgment the men who were asked for were necessary to satisfy the demands of the military authorities. We had either got to have a measure of compulsion or to call upon at least 500,000 married men. Was there anyone who desired to call on these men or who was prepared to go to his constituency and say he was in favour of releasing them from their attestation? He know no one who would dare to put forward such a position.

Personally, he had been in favour of investigation of the figures before legislation. Why did he not take the same step as Sir John Simon? When Sir John came out, when Sir John went in, he was concerned with himself alone. "I did not go there on my own accord," continued Mr. Henderson. "I was sent there. Sir John Simon could leave the Government without breaking the Coalition, but if I and my two colleagues, Mr. Brace and Mr. Roberts, were to leave the Government they stood a greater risk of breaking it, because it would mean the withdrawal of one of the units of the Coalition." Mr. Henderson made it clear that if the conference said he must oppose the Bill he would refuse to accept their decision and would go to his constituents and ask them to endorse his attitude by re-electing him. "I do not mind extending an invitation," he added, "to those who have talked so glibly of elections and of the purifying of the Labour Party to accompany me."

MR. SNOWDEN'S CHALLENGE.

Immediately Mr. Philip Snowden rose to his feet and impressing his point by extending his arm and pointing to Mr. Henderson he said, "I accept the challenge. I invite Mr. Henderson to come to my constituency."

For a moment the delegates held their breath. They were taken aback by the suddenness of the incident. Then in the vicinity

of Compulsion. It was significant that when he tried to sound the "patriotic" note there was very little cheering. He claimed that the decision of the Trade Union Congress was now modified by the Derby figures, and on this statement being challenged, he stated that the Labour delegates on the Recruiting Committee had had an opportunity of examining them, which was again challenged. A description of the Premier's pledge as "silly" was greeted with loud cheers, but there was opposition to his comment that the pledge had not been challenged. He described the Government's proposal as being "flabby" in the sense that it did not go far enough in the direction of Compulsion. "Why, it is not even limited Compulsion," he complained, and he sneered at the supposed exemption for conscientious objectors by saying, "They will grow and grow and grow until everybody has a conscience." To Mr. Sexton's discomfort this statement was greeted with loud cries of "Hear, hear," denoting that in the minds of those who cheered this would not be a bad thing at all!

Mr. Sexton concluded by picturing the disaster to the movement which would result from a cleavage of opinion in Parliament and in the country. "If an election comes," he said, "there is a great risk that our members may not be returned." Again ironical cheers greeted his statement.

Mr. Havelock Wilson, who followed, was no more successful in convincing the Conference. He expressed surprise at the cheers which greeted Mr. Sexton's expression of fear that the Labour members might not be returned to Parliament. "Do you mean," he asked, "that the Labour members are of no more use?" "Most of them," shouted back delegates. His championship of the Premier's pledge by a nod, on the ground that it would not have been decorous for him to have interrupted Mr. Hodge's flowing periods created much laughter. When he was asked why he did not oppose compulsory military service since he said he was opposed to it, he replied, "Because I have more sense." He reported that 58 of the 70 branches of his Union had declared their recognition of the validity of the Premier's pledge, and he tried to raise class feeling against the unmarried men who had not attested by saying that they belonged to the middle class. "They have not joined up," he said, "because such a common lot had enlisted."

AT LAST THE WORD!

The Conference had listened impatiently to these speeches, and it was very relieved to hear Mr. Ben Turner. Mr. Turner began by appealing for tolerance. He proceeded to remind the Conference that the Premier's pledge to married men was not the only one given. When Lord Kitchener had appeared before the national executives of the Labour movement he had said that thirty thousand recruits were wanted per week until the spring only. (Afterwards this statement was challenged by Mr. Henderson.) "They've got all they asked for, and still they want more," he commented. He pointed out that the Premier's pledge was not a Trades Congress pledge. The Congress had, indeed, declared against Conscription. If the Government wanted more men it could get them by treating those who enlisted fairly. He ridiculed the idea that the Bill would necessarily end with the war. "Who can say who will be in power at the end of the war?" he asked. "Shall the Prime Minister's pledge bind the soul of the nation?" he exclaimed passionately. "Shall we lose our birthright at the bidding of those who have not told us that the military needs require it? Are we to bow down to the House of Lords for fear it will force an election? If all our members lost their seats—and they would not—it would be better to go down fighting for righteousness. . . . . ."

The moment for which the Conference had waited had come. Mr. Turner could not conclude his sentence. From all parts of the hall cheers rose in a great volume, and were repeated again and again. Many delegates stood and waved their handkerchiefs. It was a long time before Mr. Turner could resume. He had uttered the word so eagerly desired.

In a noble concluding passage Mr. Turner declared that whilst he wanted the Allies to win as strongly as anyone, he did not want them to win by a system which would bring more wars and establish the evils of Prussian militarism in our own land.

The splendid fight which Mr. J. H. Thomas, his statement that no figures would satisfy the Conscriptionists. "They do not want Conscription to win the war. They want it for ulterior ends." Again there was loud applause. "That is why we have this simple, humble Bill," he added with infinite sarcasm. He warned the Conference that compulsion of unmarried men would be followed by compulsion of married men. The present distinction could not possibly be defended on military grounds. There was nothing to prevent the present Bill being so amended later on as to satisfy all the desires of the Conscriptionists.

J. H. THOMAS'S APPEAL.

Mr. Thomas appealed to Trade Union leaders not to be carried away by the popular clamour of the moment, and his appeal was thunderously endorsed. "There has never been in the world any precedent to show that Militarism and Conscription have been used for any other purpose than to defeat the workers. It is because I fear that that I am jealously going to guard against it whatever the consequences may be." In a peroration which greatly moved the Conference and raised it to a high pitch of enthusiasm, he said, "If this Congress decides in favour of this measure, and I do not believe it will, whilst I want to be as loyal as I have always been, I can only be loyal by clearing out, and this I would do without hesitation, because I know the Bill is the result of a huge conspiracy. It is because I know and feel that that I am not going to allow the Congress to bind me. The case for Conscription has not been proved. The figures have been manipulated by those who wanted it. Let us express in no uncertain and determined voice our continued opposition to it. The official resolution does not adequately express Trade Union opinion. The press has largely been responsible for creating the present situation, but the speeches of Trade Union leaders who have said that if Mr. Asquith and Lord Kitchener declared in favour of Conscription we would accept it must also bear a share of the responsibility. That is not our attitude. We have always taken the stand that Conscription will fasten the chains of bondage around the necks of the workers. Fear not them who kill the body, fear them most who kill the soul. This Bill, if passed, will kill the soul of the movement. Let Labour be on the alert and sound the battle-cry. Let us be determined to face the issue, whatever it may be, with the knowledge that we are not responsible and that our conscience is clear."

The enthusiasm which Mr. Thomas aroused was maintained at the same high pitch by Mr. W. C. Anderson, M.P. In a powerful and eloquent speech he said his deep conviction against Compulsion could not be affected either by a threat of a general election or of the loss of seats. If an election were forced by the tricks and stratagems which had forced the Compulsion Bill, it would be wrong to consider their own interests or to betray the interests of their followers. They had a clear issue before them—Conscription or No Conscription. The present measure was only the thin end of the wedge, and the Conference must so declare its opinion that any Labour member of Parliament who supported it would have to do so on his own responsibility and not in the name of the movement. The Bill could not be defended on the ground of military needs. There were at least 100 members of Parliament who would vote against it, who believed there could be no successful termination of the war if we adopted Prussian methods. The figures which had been given were worthless. Sir John Simon had shattered them.

The reference to Sir John Simon evoked loud applause, and Mr. Anderson went on to say that nothing had become his membership of the Cabinet so much as the manner of his leaving it. He expressed the view that so far from Sir John Simon having sacrificed his career by what he had done, he had made it.

Like other speakers, Mr. Anderson poured ridicule upon the idea that the present measure would be the last step towards Compulsion. The cry of "single men first" was skilful and tricky, but they would be foolish if they were duped by it. He was very sarcastic over pledges "by nods of the head." "They gave a pledge that the National Registration Act would not be used for Compulsory Military Service. Have they kept it?" Loud cries of "No, No," showed that his point had struck home. "Accept this Bill," he exclaimed, "and the Northcliffe press will demand more. It *cannot* stop here."

have Conscription to obtain military control here than for any other purpose. Mr. Lloyd George would like to have military control over the men on the Clyde. "*He won't get it*," Mr. Anderson exclaimed, and the Conference responded with deep and prolonged cheers.

SEATS OR SOULS?

Mr. Anderson designated Lord Northcliffe and Mr. Lloyd George as linked behind the campaign, and said that it was inspired much more by personal and political ambition than by military necessity. That was a well-known fact inside the House of Commons, and there was no doubt about it. Reverting to the question of a possible election, Mr. Anderson declared, "We do not want to lose our seats, but we must not lose our souls. I would rather see the Labour Party wiped out for the moment than sacrifice its principles, but I don't believe that would happen." The nation wanted money more than men, and if an election came we should raise the issue of conscription of wealth. If lives were to be conscripted, big estates must be conscripted first. "If the people are going to fight, let them have a country to fight for," he cried passionately, and the delegates cheered and cheered again. "So far as I am concerned," he concluded, "be the consequences what they may, I will fight this thing to the death."

At this point the Conference adjourned for lunch. The reception which had been given to the speeches of Mr. Turner, Mr. Thomas, and Mr. Anderson had made it clear that when the time came for taking a decision the delegates would pronounce strongly against compulsion. But at this stage in the proceedings the greatest optimist did not dare to hope for the result which was ultimately obtained.

It was immediately clear after lunch that feeling was no less pronounced than in the morning. When the Chairman stated that a letter had been received addressed to Mr. Tom Johnston, there were cries of "Good old *Forward*," and cheers. It was good to find that the conference had some opportunity of expressing its appreciation of the fight Mr. Johnston has so courageously waged in that paper against militarism and Conscription, and for the freedom of the press. Another significant incident during the reading of the announcements was the ironical laughter with which the Brassworkers' amendment in favour of the Bill was received, and the cheers and cries of "That's it," which greeted the terms of the railwaymen's amendment of whole-hearted opposition.

Mr. Arthur Henderson opened the afternoon's discussion. The welcome accorded him, whilst warm, contrasted distinctly with that given to Mr. Thomas and Mr. Anderson. He began in restrained and dignified language and won the sympathy of the conference, which can always be relied upon to give the exponent of an unpopular attitude a fair hearing. Although he said he would not speak with passion, Mr. Henderson, under the very trying circumstances, was unable to maintain his own resolution and, if he was interrupted later on, it must be said that he called it upon himself.

MR. HENDERSON'S SPEECH.

Mr. Henderson pointed out that he was unable to be as frank with the conference as he would have desired on account of the fact that it was open to the press and the public. He realised the necessity of the conference speaking to its own rank and file and to the general public, and had not therefore opposed an open conference, but it inevitably placed a restriction upon him. He proceeded to say that the resolution of the National Executive had been drawn up with greater care than any in his experience. "What does this resolution do?" he asked. "Nothing," responded a delegate. "I want to point out that this resolution does something of vast importance. It informs the public, it informs the Government, of the attitude of Labour." Mr. Henderson interpreted, quite unjustly we are sure, a reference which had been made to others who had not "sold their souls" as an implication that he had done so. One delegate exclaimed, "You have not got one," but the feeling of the conference was entirely against this kind of intervention, and there were many demands that the Chairman should insist upon a withdrawal. Mr. Henderson took advantage of it to hit out, apparently, at the I.L.P., though it was not an I.L.P. delegate who interrupted him. "There are those in this audience," he exclaimed, "who are interrupt-

fore the National Executives, he said only half of the truth had been told. Lord Kitchener wanted 30,000 men per week until the spring in order to bring the present divisions up to strength, and he then wanted 30,000 men per week to the end of the year in order that we might have man for man reserves. Could Labour, he asked, set up its opinion against the great official who had been called by the nation to take in hand the conduct of military operations? He disagreed with the method by which Lord Kitchener desired the armies should be obtained, but he would not venture to question his opinion of the size the army should be.

The resolution accurately expressed, Mr. Henderson said, his own position. If he believed for a moment that the Bill were being introduced not to meet a military need but to placate the opinion of the Conscriptionists he would oppose it. If the pledge to married men had not been given he was of the opinion that to-day we would have been in the position of having a measure of Conscription fuller, wider, and more permanent. In his judgment the men who were asked for were necessary to satisfy the demands of the military authorities. We had either got to have a measure of compulsion or to call upon at least 500,000 married men. Was there anyone who desired to call on those men or who was prepared to go to his constituency and say he was in favour of releasing them from their attestation? He know no one who would dare to put forward such a position.

Personally, he had been in favour of investigation of the figures before legislation. Why did he not take the same step as Sir John Simon? When Sir John came out, when Sir John went in, he was concerned with himself alone. "I did not go there on my own accord," continued Mr. Henderson. "I was sent there. Sir John Simon could leave the Government without breaking the Coalition, but if I and my two colleagues, Mr. Brace and Mr. Roberts, were to leave the Government they stood a greater risk of breaking it, because it would mean the withdrawal of one of the units of the Coalition." Mr. Henderson made it clear that if the conference said he must oppose the Bill he would refuse to accept their decision and would go to his constituents and ask them to endorse his attitude by re-electing him. "I do not mind extending an invitation," he added, "to those who have talked so glibly of elections and of the purifying of the Labour Party to accompany me."

MR. SNOWDEN'S CHALLENGE.

Immediately Mr. Philip Snowden rose to his feet and impressing his point by extending his arm and pointing to Mr. Henderson he said, "I accept the challenge. I invite Mr. Henderson to come to my constituency."

For a moment the delegates held their breath. They were taken aback by the suddenness of the incident. Then in the vicinity of Mr. Snowden a tremendous cheer was raised, and as what had happened became clear to the conference the volume of applause increased and increased until it swept like a hurricane from one end of the building to the other. The platform alone was silent.

When at length Mr. Henderson could resume, he said, "I suppose the cheers indicate that that was a fair and straightforward challenge. I am going to repeat my challenge. I have nothing to do with Blackburn. It is time for me to go to Blackburn when I am invited by the Blackburn constituency." Mr. Snowden tried again to intervene, but the excitement was so intense that he could not get in a word. "My challenge was addressed to those who had spoken this morning," shouted Mr. Henderson, "Mr. Snowden had not spoken. If Mr. Snowden is prepared to go to Blackburn, let him go. I am prepared to go to Barnard Castle." Mr. Henderson concluded his speech by saying that he believed that if the conference rejected the resolution it would do more to wreck the political side of the movement than anything else they could do.

Immediately Mr. Henderson sat down, both Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Philip Snowden rose. Each, on seeing the other gave way, but Mr. Snowden indicated that he desired Mr. MacDonald to speak. Mr. MacDonald received the ovation of the day. The cheers rose to a crescendo, they fell, then they rose again, they fell, and then they rose a third time. So challenging was the welcome that some of his opponents

thought it necessary to boo in reply, but it was a pathetic effort. Mr. MacDonald opened by regretting that the question of constituencies had been introduced. Political democracy had wisely chosen the method of testing public opinion periodically by general elections, and it would be an absurd travesty of representative democracy if members of Parliament were to respond to every momentary passion of their electorates. He expressed his desire that the conference should state in black and white what it wanted, although he had little to find fault with in the resolution. It rejoiced in the success of the voluntary principle, but during the last seventeen months voluntaryism had been diluted by certain forms of compulsion. Despite that, however, we must stick together in our opposition to political compulsion. Voluntaryism diluted to the utmost was preferable to Conscription. He believed the voluntary system could only be worked when the people were told the truth, and he expressed the conviction that the time would come when those who had declined to go on the recruiting platform would be able to disabuse the fallacious suggestion that they had not been serving their country.

DRIFTING TO THE DEVIL.

Replying to the suggestion that the Derby scheme would have failed but for the Premier's pledge, Mr. MacDonald said he was not sure it would not have been better for the country to have been faced with the clear issue of Conscription rather than it should take it piece-meal, so that at no moment would we be able to say we had got Conscription at that moment, but had not had it five days before. "There is nothing more terrible," exclaimed Mr. MacDonald with tremendous force, "nothing more terrible in its consequences than to drift, *drift*, DRIFT into a bad system so that at no moment you are facing the devil fair and square and fighting him clear and above board." Mr. MacDonald said the only conclusion one could draw from the resolution was that those who supported it could not support the Bill.

Mr. MacDonald emphasised the point made by previous speakers that the principle of Compulsion cannot be restricted to this measure. "When you start with a Compulsory Bill," he said, "you cannot possibly go back to voluntaryism. The distinction between married and unmarried men is purely artificial. The moment you put a Bill on the Statute Book to say to an individual, 'Single or married, it is part of your ordinary civic duties to join the army,' that moment you have declared for a method which will have to be carried out to its full extent, because there is no half-way house possible for the nation after it has taken that step."

Mr. MacDonald argued that the real difference in the Labour movement at the present time centres on the question of military necessity. "The difference between us," he said, "is whether the democracy, *our movement*, has not a separate attitude as to military necessity. The professional soldier looks at the State from his own point of view, the point of view of military necessity. The function of our movement, the function of a Cabinet, is to co-ordinate the demand of the military expert with other national demands. You know how dangerous the expert always is. National life is not maintained by soldiers only, even in time of war. We cannot possibly afford a purely military view to throw all our other considerations into the background," nor to supply as many men as the War Office may at any time demand, irrespective of other demands."

One of Mr. MacDonald's best sentences was, "You can win the war, and in winning it pay such a price that the nation will have lost." Speaking for those who have taken his point of view, Mr. MacDonald said, "We in our way are fulfilling a national need and performing national service. I criticise military requirements from the point of view of the sum total of the requirements of the war." Concluding, Mr. MacDonald said he was opposed to Conscription and the Government bill.

THE COMPULSION AMENDMENT.

Mr. W. J. Davies, of the Boilermakers, moved the following amendment:

behalf of the Boilermakers, Mr. John Hill said Compulsion was necessary in the interest of Trade Unionism to prevent young men taking the jobs of old men. This statement was received with a number of expressions of indignation. At the conclusion of Mr. Hill's speech there were loud demands that the vote should be taken. The figures were:

For the Amendment—
541,000.

Against the Amendment—
2,121,000.

MAJORITY AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT BILL—
1,580,000.

The announcement of the figures was received with a great wave of cheering.

BELLAMY'S GREAT SPEECH.

Mr. A. Bellamy moved the Railwaymen's amendment:

This Conference reaffirms the decision of the Bristol Trade Unions Congress when it unanimously protested in the name of over three million organised workers against compulsory military service. It regrets that the unity and solidarity of the nation have been gravely imperilled, and industrial and political liberty menaced, by the proposal to introduce such a system, against which it makes a most emphatic protest, and decides to use every means in its power to oppose.

The Conference rejoices at the magnificent success of the appeal to the voluntary principle, which in so short a period has supplied this country with an army of four million free men, and is emphatically of opinion that no case has been made out for any measure of limited or temporary compulsion, which we regard as the first step to a general application of a vicious principle. We declare that all the men required for military and industrial purposes can be obtained by a continuance of the voluntary method.

This Conference further considers that the proposals of the Government would be economically disastrous to the life of the nation, and declares its opposition to the Bill, and recommends the Labour Party in Parliament to oppose the measure in all its stages.

He was received very warmly, and he delivered a masterly speech which probably had a greater effect upon the Conference than any other uttered during the day. Mr. Bellamy spoke quietly, he reasoned his case well, and he revealed the qualities of statesmanship in the highest sense of the word. He said the purpose of the resolution was to enable the Conference to come to a decision about which there might be no misunderstanding. "It is imperative that we should state our position emphatically," he said amidst cheers. He told how he had heard Mr. Bonar Law say that Lord Derby had admitted his figures to be guesswork. "Are we to give up so vital a principle for figures which are admitted to be guesswork?" he asked, and, needless to say, the delegates responded "No!"

A RAILWAY STRIKE?

Mr. Bellamy said the Railwaymen's Executive would not lend their voice or vote to favour compulsory military service; they would take every possible means to oppose the Bill. "Do you mean to say you are going to call a strike," Mr. Bellamy was asked on behalf of the inevitable critic. "You may ask us such questions just now," replied Mr. Bellamy with a smile, "but my answer is 'wait and see.'" He made clear that the railwaymen's representatives had done all they could to make the voluntary system a success, and that they desire to see a victory for the Allies. They agreed that we must see that the Tommies in the trenches were backed up here, "but," said Mr. Bellamy, "a measure of Compulsion would help the Tommies to lose the war, not to win it." The Bill could not possibly get in a sufficiently large number of men to make a difference in the result of the war. "They can fool some of the people some of the time, but not all the people all the time," he commented, to the delight of the Conference. Conscription was not being introduced for the sake of 300,000 men. "It is being introduced, I believe firmly and sincerely, to put around the necks of the working class a chain so strong that it will be able to hold him effectively when [illegible]

Mr. Egerton P. Wake seconded the resolution on behalf of the Barrow Labour Party, and in doing so he was able to say that in all parts of the country local Labour Parties and Trades Councils were vitally hostile to the measure. He mercilessly exposed the cry that the Bill is necessary to win the war. "With all the millions of Russia, France, and Italy, with our free army of four millions, and our powerful navy, we cannot be successful," says the Government, "unless we have these three hundred thousand additional men." The manner in which the delegates laughed showed how they had appreciated Mr. Wake's point. He heaped ridicule upon the reliance which some speakers had placed upon the Government's pledges. "Does not experience teach us," he asked, "that such pledges are more often honoured in the breach than in the observance?" Neither Mr. Asquith nor Mr. Henderson might be in office when the war is over, and a subsequent Government would not be bound by the pledges of this Government. The greatest service that could be rendered by this country to the Allies was to preserve its industrial life. The war was becoming one of attrition between the man power of Germany and the money power of Britain. If we maintain our navy and army, the French army, supply munitions for the Russian army, assist Italy, succoured Belgium and Serbia, maintained our exports and essential industrial services, we should have quite sufficient to do.

THE FINAL VOTES.

On the conclusion of Mr. Wake's speech there were loud cries of "Vote, vote, vote," and so clearly had the delegates come to a decision that they declined to listen to Mr. T. E. Naylor. The amendment was then put to the Conference, with the following result:

For the Amendment	1,715,000
Against the Amendment	934,000
MAJORITY FOR THE AMENDMENT	781,000

The announcement of the figures was received with prolonged and enthusiastic cheers. It was the intention of the Chairman to submit the amendment as a substantive motion formally by a show of hands, but Mr. James Sexton excitedly demanded a second card vote, asserting that the previous vote had not been accurately taken. The second division showed:

For Mr. Bellamy's Resolution	1,998,000
Against Mr. Bellamy's Resolution	783,000
MAJORITY FOR	1,215,000

Whes it was found that the majority had been still further increased the enthusiasm knew no bounds. Delegates leapt to their feet, waved hats and handkerchiefs, and shouted until they were hoarse. In the excitement a resolution was carried without opposition, demanding the complete withdrawal of the Bill, expressing the opinion that the group system should be continued on voluntary methods, and pledging the Labour movement to support the system until the successful conclusion of the war. Some opposition was expressed to this resolution, but it was carried without a card vote. With the previous resolution in their minds, the delegates began to sing "The Red Flag," and left the hall still cheering over their triumph against our British "Prussians."

A VOICE FROM THE ARMY.

Burning to oppose Conscription.

Sir,—Mr. MacDonald is quite correct in his statement that there are to-day men in the Army who are prouder than ever of their association with the I.L.P.

I am one.

My heart and brain are burning to be in this fight against Conscription. Whatever individual views of Socialism may be regarding the righteousness of the nation's participation in the war, surely they, as lovers of liberty, cannot allow the present measure to become a reality.

Do they not yet know the pass to which Conscription can lead? Have they not learned one lesson from the French railway strike?

THE BRAVE ONE HUNDRED.

THE M.P.'S AGAINST THE BILL.

The following members of Parliament voted against the first reading of the Compulsory Military Service Bill in the House of Commons on Thursday, January 6, 1916:

Percy Alden (Rad.)
W. C. Anderson (Lab.)
Sydney Arnold (Rad.)
Jos. A. Baker (Rad.)
Sir J. E. Barlow (Rad.)
John P. Boland (Nat.)
P. J. Brady (Nat.)
Rt. Hn. J. Burns (Rad.)
Sir W. P. Byles (Rad.)
Alfred Byrne (Nat.)
H. G. Chancellor (Rad.)
Jno. Jos. Clancy (Nat.)
William Clough (Nat.)
John R. Clynes (Lab.)
T. J. Condon (Nat.)
James Cosgrave. (Nat.)
Patrick Crumley (Nat.)
William Delany (Nat.)
Hon. R. D. Denman (Rad.)
Joseph Devlin (Nat.)
John Dillon (Nat.)
Cpt. A. Donelan (Nat.)
William Doris (Nat.)
Wm. J. Duffy (Nat.)
Dr. J. Esmonde (Nat).
Sir T. Esmonde (Nat.)
J. P. Farrell (Nat.)
W. Field (Nat.)
J. Fitzgibbon (Nat.)
M. J. Flavin (Nat.)
Sir W. A. Gelder (Rad.)
L. Ginnell (Nat.)
H. J. Glanville (Rad.)
F. Goldstone (Lab.)
E. J. Graham (Nat.)
J. Hackett (Nat.)
A. G. C. Harvey (Rad.)
T. E. Harvey (Rad.)
J. P. Hayden (Nat.)
R. Hazleton (Nat.)
J. M. Hogge (Rad.)
Walter Hudson (Lab.)
E. T. John (Rad.)
Leif Jones (Rad.)
F. W. Jowett (Lab.)
M. Keating (Nat.)
E. Kelly (Nat.)
V. P. Kennedy (Nat.)
D. Kilbride (Nat.)
J. King (Rad.)
R. Lambert (Rad.)
Rt. Hon. T. Lough (Rad.)
T. Lundon (Nat.)
A. A. Lynch (Nat.)
J. R. MacDonald (Lab.)
J. MacVeagh (Nat.)
R. McGheo (Nat.)
D. M. Mason (Rad.)
M. Meagher (Nat.)
F. E. Meehan (Nat.)
P. J. Meehan (Nat.)
M. Molloy (Nat.)
P. A. Molteno (Rad.)
J. J. Mooney (Nat.)
P. Morrell (Rad.)
J. Muldoon (Nat.)
M. J. Murphy (Nat.)
J. Nolan (Nat.)
J. D. Nugent (Nat.)
P. O'Brien (Nat.)
J. O'Connor (Nat.)
P. O'Doherty (Nat.)
T. O'Donnell (Nat.)
J. O'Dowd (Nat.)
J. O'Kelly (Nat.)
W. O'Malley (Nat.)
Dr. C. O'Neill (Nat.)
P. J. O'Shaughnessy (Nat.)
J. J. O'Shee (Nat.)
T. O'Sullivan (Nat.)
R. L. Outhwaite (Rad.)
J. Parker (Lab.)
J. Phillips (Nat.)
A. Ponsonby (Rad.)
W. M. R. Pringle (Rad.)
M. Reddy (Nat.)
J. E. Redmond (Nat.)
G. C. Rees (Rad.)
T. Richards (Lab.)
T. Richardson (Lab.)
A. Rowntree (Rad.)
Sir W. Runciman (Rad.)
T. Scanlon (Nat.)
A. J. Sherwell (Rad.)
Rt. Hn. Sir J. A. Simon (Rad.)
H. B. L. Smith (Rad.)
T. F. Smyth (Nat.)
P. Snowden (Lab.)
J. H. Thomas (Lab.)
W. Thorne (Lab.)
C. P. Trevelyan (Rad.)
G. J. Wardle (Lab.)
J. White (Nat.)
P. Williams (Rad.)
L. Williams (Rad.)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Mr. Holt (Rad.) **and Mr. Whitehouse** (Rad.)

The following members of the Labour Party voted in favour of the Compulsory Military Service Bill:

Rt. Hon. G. N. Barnes.
C. W. Bowerman.
C. Duncan.
John Hodge.
James O'Grady.
J. W. Taylor.
Robert Tootill.
A. Wilkie.

THE BILL AND CONSCIENCE.

EXEMPTION NOT ACCEPTABLE.

In the early summarised reports of the Premier's speech it appeared that the Government had gone far to meet the conscientious objector to military service. From the full report of the speech it is now clear that it is not the intention of the Government to exempt conscientious objectors from military service at all. They may not be obliged to fulfil combatant duties, but they are obliged, under the Bill, as interpreted by Mr. Asquith's speech, to come within the military machine and fulfil military duties. Mr. Asquith said:

Those of us who know the real facts of British life know quite well that there are a great many people belonging to various religious denominations, or to various schools of thought, who are quite prepared to serve their country in the war, but who object, on conscientious grounds, to the taking of life. They are, however, quite willing to perform many other military duties. . . . It is suggested in the case of such men that the exemption which they should get—and which I am curious to all that they would claim—should take the form of exemption from military compulsion during peace only. It is no discredit

to the utmost was preferable to Conscription. He believed the voluntary system could only be worked when the people were told the truth, and he expressed the conviction that the time would come when those who had declined to go on the recruiting platform would be able to disabuse the fallacious suggestion that they had not been serving their country.

DRIFTING TO THE DEVIL.

Replying to the suggestion that the Derby scheme would have failed but for the Premier's pledge, Mr. MacDonald said he was not sure it would not have been better for the country to have been faced with the clear issue of Conscription rather than it should take it piece-meal, so that at no moment would we be able to say we had got Conscription at that moment, but had not had it five days before. "There is nothing more terrible," exclaimed Mr. MacDonald with tremendous force, "nothing more terrible in its consequences than to drift, *drift*, DRIFT into a bad system so that at no moment you are facing the devil fair and square and fighting him clear and above board." Mr. MacDonald said the only conclusion one could draw from the resolution was that those who supported it could not support the Bill.

Mr. MacDonald emphasised the point made by previous speakers that the principle of Compulsion cannot be restricted to this measure. "When you start with a Compulsory Bill," he said, "you cannot possibly go back to voluntaryism. The distinction between married and unmarried men is purely artificial. The moment you put a Bill on the Statute Book to say to an individual, 'Single or married, it is part of your ordinary civic duties to join the army,' that moment you have declared for a method which will have to be carried out to its full extent, because there is no half-way house possible for the nation after it has taken that step."

Mr. MacDonald argued that the real difference in the Labour movement at the present time centres on the question of military necessity. "The difference between us," he said, "is whether the democracy, *our movement*, has not a separate attitude as to military necessity. The professional soldier looks at the State from his own point of view, the point of view of military necessity. The function of our movement, the function of a Cabinet, is to co-ordinate the demand of the military expert with other national demands. You know how dangerous the expert always is. National life is not maintained by soldiers only, even in time of war. We cannot possibly afford a purely military view to throw all our other considerations into the background," nor to supply as many men as the War Office may at any time demand, irrespective of other demands."

One of Mr. MacDonald's best sentences was, "You can win the war, and in winning it pay such a price that the nation will have lost." Speaking for those who have taken his point of view, Mr. MacDonald said, "We in our way are fulfilling a national need and performing national service. I criticise military requirements from the point of view of the sum total of the requirements of the war." Concluding, Mr. MacDonald said he was opposed to Conscription and the Government Bill.

THE COMPULSION AMENDMENT.

Mr. W. J. Davies, of the Brassworkers, moved the following amendment:

> We support the measure of Compulsion for the purpose of enforcing single men of military age to attest under Lord Derby's group system on condition that adequate Labour representation is granted on all local tribunals under that scheme.

His speech was a pleasant interlude. One delegate likened it to Charlie Chaplin's turn in the midst of tragedy, pathos, and drama. Whilst the Conference was amused, however, it would not accept his statements. "We have got to obey the law," he said, anticipating the passage of the Bill. "No, no," shouted the delegates. "If the Government carry the Bill it will be administered," he added. "We will strike," shouted the delegates. The Conference enjoyed this "turn" for some time, but when Mr. Davies began to revert to the reign of George III., the delegates, with cries of "What about Queen Anne?" made clear they had had enough.

Seconding the amendment, as he was careful to explain, not on his own behalf but on

BELLAMY'S GREAT SPEECH.

Mr. A. Bellamy moved the Railwaymen's amendment:

> This Conference reaffirms the decision of the Bristol Trade Unions Congress when it unanimously protested in the name of over three million organised workers against compulsory military service. It regrets that the unity and solidarity of the nation have been gravely imperilled, and industrial and political liberty menaced, by the proposal to introduce such a system, against which it makes a most emphatic protest, and decides to use every means in its power to oppose.
>
> The Conference rejoices at the magnificent success of the appeal to the voluntary principle, which in so short a period has supplied this country with an army of four million free men, and is emphatically of opinion that no case has been made out for any measure of limited or temporary compulsion, which we regard as the first step to a general application of a vicious principle. We declare that all the men required for military and industrial purposes can be obtained by a continuance of the voluntary method.
>
> This Conference further considers that the proposals of the Government would be economically disastrous to the life of the nation, and declares its opposition to the Bill, and recommends the Labour Party in Parliament to oppose the measure in all its stages.

He was received very warmly, and he delivered a masterly speech which probably had a greater effect upon the Conference than any other uttered during the day. Mr. Bellamy spoke quietly, he reasoned his case well, and he revealed the qualities of statesmanship in the highest sense of the word. He said the purpose of the resolution was to enable the Conference to come to a decision about which there might be no misunderstanding. "It is imperative that we should state our position emphatically," he said amidst cheers. He told how he had heard Mr. Bonar Law say that Lord Derby had admitted his figures to be guesswork. "Are we to give up so vital a principle for figures which are admitted to be guesswork?" he asked, and, needless to say, the delegates responded "No!"

A RAILWAY STRIKE?

Mr. Bellamy said the Railwaymen's Executive would not lend their voice or vote to favour compulsory military service; they would take every possible means to oppose the Bill. "Do you mean to say you are going to call a strike," Mr. Bellamy was asked on behalf of the inevitable critic. "You may ask us such questions just now," replied Mr. Bellamy with a smile, "but my answer is 'wait and see.'" He made clear that the railwaymen's representatives had done all they could to make the voluntary system a success, and that they desire to see a victory for the Allies. They agreed that we must see that the Tommies in the trenches were backed up here, "but," said Mr. Bellamy, "a measure of Compulsion would help the Tommies to lose the war, not to win it." The Bill could not possibly get in a sufficiently large number of men to make a difference in the result of the war. "They can fool some of the people some of the time, but not all the people all the time," he commented, to the delight of the Conference. Conscription was not being introduced for the sake of 300,000 men. "It is being introduced, I believe firmly and sincerely, to put around the necks of the working class a chain so strong that it will be able to hold him effectively when the ruling classes desire." The workers had gone on strike and sacrificed their livelihood many times for issues much less vital than this. He believed thousands of workers would do it now if necessary, and not quietly. In South Wales they had attempted to apply a measure of Compulsion, but they had utterly failed. "Put this Bill on the Statute Book," he said to the Government, "and you will arouse a passion so strong that, in the past, even Kings and Governments have not been able to withstand it."

Mr. Bellamy reminded the Conference that nearly a million Trade Unionists were in the army, and by conversation with their French comrades they had learned to hate Conscription. "Talk with a Frenchman," one railwayman in the army had writen to him, "and you will understand the fetters of Conscription. Concluding, Mr. Bellamy appealed to the Conference to vote for the resolution and make it clear to the Government that Trade Unionists would fight it to the death

than in the observance?" Neither Mr. Asquith nor Mr. Henderson might be in office when the war is over, and a subsequent Government would not be bound by the pledges of this Government. The greatest service that could be rendered by this country to the Allies was to preserve its industrial life. The war was becoming one of attrition between the man power of Germany and the money power of Britain. If we maintain our navy and army, the French army, supply munitions for the Russian army, assist Italy, succoured Belgium and Serbia, maintained our exports and essential industrial services, we should have quite sufficient to do.

THE FINAL VOTES.

On the conclusion of Mr. Wake's speech there were loud cries of "Vote, vote, vote," and so clearly had the delegates come to a decision that they declined to listen to Mr. T. E. Naylor. The amendment was then put to the Conference, with the following result:

For the Amendment	1,715,000
Against the Amendment	934,000
MAJORITY FOR THE AMENDMENT	781,000

The announcement of the figures was received with prolonged and enthusiastic cheers. It was the intention of the Chairman to submit the amendment as a substantive motion formally by a show of hands, but Mr. James Sexton excitedly demanded a second card vote, asserting that the previous vote had not been accurately taken. The second division showed:

For Mr. Bellamy's Resolution	1,998,000
Against Mr. Bellamy's Resolution	783,000
MAJORITY FOR	1,215,000

Whes it was found that the majority had been still further increased the enthusiasm knew no bounds. Delegates leapt to their feet, waved hats and handkerchiefs, and shouted until they were hoarse. In the excitement a resolution was carried without opposition, demanding the complete withdrawal of the Bill, expressing the opinion that the group system should be continued on voluntary methods, and pledging the Labour movement to support the system until the successful conclusion of the war. Some opposition was expressed to this resolution, but it was carried without a card vote. With the previous resolution in their minds, the delegates began to sing "The Red Flag," and left the hall still cheering over their triumph against our British "Prussians."

A VOICE FROM THE ARMY.

Burning to oppose Conscription.

Sir,—Mr. MacDonald is quite correct in his statement that there are to-day men in the Army who are prouder than ever of their association with the I.L.P.

I am one.

My heart and brain are burning to be in this fight against Conscription. Whatever individual views of Socialists may be regarding the righteousness of the nation's participation in the war, surely they, as lovers of liberty, cannot allow the present menace to become a reality.

Do they not yet know the uses to which Conscription can be put? Have they not learned any lesson from the French railway strike?

Or is it that they, too, are being blinded by the glamour of patriotism that is being thrown over all the encroachments made upon the liberties won for us by our fathers and forefathers?

There is, however, one great hope for the opponents of compulsion. They will have some unexpected allies. For do not all the great employers cry out at every strike against the interference of the Trade Unionists with the liberty of the blacklegs? Do not the landlords complain of the interference with their liberty of action, caused by the passing of an Act to restrict their rent-grabbing propensities?

Surely, then, these champions of liberty will resist to the uttermost any attempt made to interfere with the bodily and spiritual liberty of the nation. Perhaps an appeal can be made to them by the leaders of the Anti-Conscription movement.

Best of luck to the I.L.P. in this New Year. May we yet be able to see in our time a happy and contented land living in friendship and fellowship with the free peoples of other lands.

—Yours etc., LANCE CORPORAL.

William Clough (Nat.)
John R. Clynes (Lab.)
T. J. Condon (Nat.)
James Cosgrave. (Nat.)
Patrick Crumley (Nat.)
William Delany (Nat.)
Hon. R. D. Denman (Rad.)
Joseph Devlin (Nat.)
John Dillon (Nat.)
Cpt. A. Donelan (Nat.)
William Doris (Nat.)
Wm. J. Duffy (Nat.)
Dr. J. Esmonde (Nat).
Sir T. Esmonde (Nat.)
J. P. Farrell (Nat.)
W. Field (Nat.)
J. Fitzgibbon (Nat.)
M. J. Flavin (Nat.)
Sir W. A. Gelder (Rad.)
L. Ginnell (Nat.)
H. J. Glanville (Rad.)
F. Goldstone (Lab.)
E. J. Graham (Nat.)
J. Hackett (Nat.)
A. G. C. Harvey (Rad.)
T. E. Harvey (Rad.)
J. P. Hayden (Nat.)
R. Hazleton (Nat.)
J. M. Hogge (Rad.)
Walter Hudson (Lab.)
E. T. John (Rad.)
Leif Jones (Rad.)
F. W. Jowett (Lab.)
M. Keating (Nat.)
E. Kelly (Nat.)
V. P. Kennedy (Nat.)
D. Kilbride (Nat.)
J. King (Rad.)
R. Lambert (Rad.)
Rt. Hon. T. Lough (Rad.)
T. Lundon (Nat.)
A. A. Lynch (Nat.)
J. R. MacDonald (Lab.)
J. MacVeagh (Nat.)
J. D. Nugent (Nat.)
P. O'Brien (Nat.)
J. O'Connor (Nat.)
P. O'Doherty (Nat.)
T. O'Donnell (Nat.)
J. O'Dowd (Nat.)
J. O'Kelly (Nat.)
W. O'Malley (Nat.)
Dr. C. O'Neill (Nat.)
P. J. O'Shaughnessy (Nat.)
J. J. O'Shee (Nat.)
T. O'Sullivan (Nat.)
R. L. Outhwaite (Rad.)
J. Parker (Lab.)
J. Phillips (Nat.)
A. Ponsonby (Rad.)
W. M. R. Pringle (Rad.)
M. Reddy (Nat.)
J. E. Redmond (Nat.)
G. C. Rees (Rad.)
T. Richards (Lab.)
T. Richardson (Lab.)
A. Rowntree (Rad.)
Sir W. Runciman (Rad.)
T. Scanlon (Nat.)
A. J. Sherwell (Rad.)
Rt. Hn. Sir J. A. Simon (Rad.)
H. B. L. Smith (Rad.)
T. F. Smyth (Nat.)
P. Snowden (Lab.)
J. H. Thomas (Lab.)
W. Thorne (Lab.)
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> Those of us who know the real facts of British life know quite well that there are a great many people belonging to various religious denominations, or to various schools of thought, who are quite prepared to serve their country in the war, but who object, on conscientious grounds, to the taking of life. *They are, however, quite willing to perform many other military duties. . . It is suggested in the case of such men that the exemption which they should get—and which I am certain is all that they would claim—should take the form of exemption from military combatant duties only.* It is no discredit whatever to a man if he has obtained a certificate of that kind, just as effectively to discharge the duties of a citizen for military purposes within the limits of his own conscientious scruples. He could take—as most of us can—military duties in the fullest sense of the term.

From this extract it wil be seen that Mr. Asquith has entirely misunderstood the position of many thousands of conscientious objectors, who object not merely to taking human life, but to participating in war which is waged by the method of human slaughter. We understand that the Service Committee of the Society of Friends, the Committee of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the Committee of the No-Conscription Fellowship are drawing the attention of the Government and the public to this misconception of their attitude.

TRADES UNIONISTS—Beware of the Plot Against You!

THE CONSCRIPTIONISTS ARE DETERMINED TO CRUSH THE WORKER.

SMASH THEIR PRETTY GAME BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE.

If humour has a place in a situation so serious, it was surely present in the painstaking efforts of the supporters of Compulsion to convince the Labour Conference and the country that they hated nothing so much as Compulsion. Nevertheless, they were determined to register their votes in favour of the hateful principle!

It is noticeable that the people behind the agitation are the people who always wanted Conscription because of the power it would bestow upon the ruling classes, and one Cabinet Minister whose popularity is rapidly declining, and who is doubtless moved by a mixture of personal ambition and a desire for revenge upon the workers he has not been able to hoodwink.

There is no doubt about the reasons of the Conscriptionists. They have stated them themselves. Here are some of their democratic opinions!

Lt.-Col. W. H. Maxwell, in the *Outlook* for September, 1915, said:

Trade Unionism—that shelter for slinking shirkers—is imperilling our existence, and by its action a rot of our national soul has set in. One remedy, and one alone, can eradicate this state of rot—martial law will cure it.

The *Saturday Review* of August 21, 1915, was equally blunt:

National Service is required as much for the effect it will have upon MINERS AND MUNITIONS, as for the part it will play in the actual raising of armies.

The same sentiment found expression in the *Spectator* of August 28, 1915:

Not every man will be wanted as a soldier, but all will be "fetched" to do what is wanted of them, WHETHER IN WORKSHOPS, OR GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS, OR MINES, OR MERCHANT SHIPS.

The following appeared in the *Daily News* of January 29, 1915:

Arguing in favour of compulsory Cadet Corps, he (Lord Methuen) quotes the example of the South African Citizen Army, and he says: "Little did we anticipate that within three years this force should (sic) have SCOTCHED A STRIKE and quelled a rebellion."

On August 28 again spake the *Saturday Review*, saying unto us:

It (Conscription) is not only a question of raising a given number of recruits, but of getting accepted by all citizens, CIVILIAN WORKERS as well as soldiers, the principle of public obligation.

Major-General Sir Alfred E. Turner, who is presumably not suffering from excessive poverty, thus insulted the workers in the *Saturday Review* of August 7, 1915:

The strikers gained their ends, and with them an everlasting stain on their reputation, which not all the rain of heaven can wash out—the stain of showing themselves perfectly ready to betray their country for filthy lucre. Compulsory service might not produce loyalty, but it would produce a sense of duty and discipline that would prevent such disgraceful and damaging incidents.

Col. Lee, M.P., wants to conscript life to save money. Cheap soldiers! According to the *Times* report, he said on August 18, 1915:

Conscription would save an immense amount of money. . . . At present each British soldier costs three times as much as a German, and owing to the necessity of bribing men to enlist we were squandering money at a rate which could only lead us to bankruptcy. The remedy was not fewer soldiers, but less wasteful methods, and those were only possible if we adopted compulsory service.

The *Spectator* expressed the same sentiment four days before. This is what it said:

The compelled man would, of course, receive the same treatment as regards food, clothing, and so forth as the volunteer, BUT THE SEPARATION ALLOWANCE MUST BE MADE ON A LESS GENEROUS SCALE TO THOSE DEPENDENT ON HIM, and only given where genuine poverty existed. It must neither be automatic nor lavish, and A CONSIDERABLY LARGER PROPORTION OF THE ALLOWANCE SO MADE MUST BE DEDUCTED FROM THE COMPELLED SOLDIERS' PAY.

Col. Sir Augustus Fitzgeorge, son of the Royal Duke of Cambridge, said on August 26, 1915:

COMPULSORY SERVICE WAS NECESSARY AT THIS TIME WHEN THE PEOPLE WERE GETTING OUT OF HAND.

We admire the frankness and honesty of these men. They fight openly, and we can meet them on definite and clearly defined ground. They are out to smash us, and we are out not to be smashed!

And now we will give just two quotations to warn the workers against accepting the "thin end of the wedge." If they give the Conscriptionists a start, it will be difficult to stop them! Lord Roberts said on page 13 of his "Fallacies and Facts":

When the people accept the principle of universal military training there will then be no difficulty in adjusting the details of the scheme.

And Lord Dudley, speaking on Compulsory Training in Australia, said:

He felt sure they would have to increase the length of training. . . . But they were right to go slow. . . . It was tactful and politic not to make the term of service too arduous AT FIRST, and to let it grow.—DAILY CHRONICLE, September 18, 1911.

The Labour Conference has given its first word to the Trade Union smashers. It will do well to stick to its word through thick and thin, and not be turned from it by any nonsense about the necessity of Conscription to win the war. At this stage it is perfectly obvious that if the war cannot be won without Conscription it cannot be won with it!

DANGEROUS SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY.

SOUTH WALES MINERS THREATEN TO STRIKE: CLYDE WORKERS DECIDE ON ACTION.

WILL THE GOVERNMENT TAKE WARNING?

Will Parliament dare to proceed with the Prussianising policy in view of the determined resistance of the organised workers declared in Conference? That is the question.

If such incredible action is taken, if Parliament, in its present state of blind obedience to the militarists among us, ignores that momentous decision, what will the Labour forces do? What will the Clyde workers do? What will the South Wales miners do? Let Parliament, and particularly the Government, give careful attention to the possible results of their proposed legislation.

The Labour movement is not in a mood to suffer those very military tyrannies that so many of its members have gone to fight.

The workers have had experience of the tender and affectionate relation of militarism to Trade Unionism. France has supplied it. It happened not many years ago, and the memory is still green.

The railway workers of that country were provoked into a strike. Our railwaymen have been under the same necessity and will fully sympathise with their French comrades. Yes, but a British strike has more power behind it than a French strike. It has the power of comparatively free men. Frenchmen have the power of Conscription against them.

They came out on strike, and immediately the Government, under M. Briand, the present Premier of France, called to the Colours all the men within the conscript system. They were ordered to go back to their work as soldiers.

gigantic stride forward. The miners, the railwaymen, and the transport workers have formed a working alliance. This Triple Alliance is regarded with grave concern by the employers. They are frightened by it. They realise the power it can wield. They see the workers steadily gaining position after position, and terror is taking possession of their souls.

What is the significance of the determined move towards compulsion when it is considered in the light of that Trade Union development?

It is a sinister significance.

If Conscription were allowed to become the law of the land, the Triple Alliance between the miners, the railwaymen, and the transport workers would be utterly useless. Those three Unions must bear in mind the experience of France.

Labour has said decisively that Conscription shall *not* become the law of the land, but the fight is not yet over. Parliament has consented to the first reading of the Thin End of the Wedge Bill by a majority of 298.

That is to say, the position at the moment is that the Labour movement is at grips with Parliament. It has to convince that 298 majority that compulsion cannot be enforced because Labour will not have it.

It has only to stand right through the fight [illegible] by the decision, and the fight is won. The two or three hundred Prussian-minded members of Parliament cannot carry the [illegible]

and the workers by their unbending attitude may yet help him out.

The Clyde is not a happy hunting ground for Lloyd George and his fellow Compulsionists, but what about South Wales?

Mr. James Winstone, President of the South Wales Miners' Federation, speaking at Pontypool on Sunday, said that the Executive of the Federation had unanimously adopted a resolution of opposition to any form of compulsory military service, and he warned the Government of the danger of a stoppage in the South Wales coalfield, which would have serious consequences to the British Navy. The intensity of Mr. Winstone's feeling can be judged by the fact that he would rather be riddled with bullets than accept Conscription.

The Clyde and South Wales just now are certainly strongholds of liberty, but in England the spirit of freedom will not be killed without a tremendous struggle. That is made unmistakably clear by the decision of many local Labour bodies, typical of which is the Birmingham Trades and Labour Council, representing 70,000 working people. The resolution was very strong. It declared:

That in view of the renewed activity of the Conscriptionists inside and outside the Cabinet and the reported division of the Cabinet in favour of Conscription, this Council, representing 70,000 Birmingham workpeople, reaffirms its unalterable opposition to Conscription. It has closely followed the agitation for [illegible]

Your Part in the Fight!

We are in for the biggest fight in the history of the Labour Movement.

We are up against a powerful conspiracy to "Prussianise" our country.

But we can win if we all do our bit.

We are trying to do ours. Will you do yours?

If you want to take a hand you must be well informed.

That is to say—you must read the ***Labour Leader***, which is leading the fight against Conscription.

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They came out on strike, and immediately the Government, under M. Briand, the present Premier of France, called to the Colours all the men within the conscript system. They were ordered to go back to their work as soldiers.

One morning, as railwaymen, they struck to enforce their demands. The next morning, as soldiers, they were compelled, under military law, to run the railways as usual.

They were forced by military tyranny to break their own strike.

They were turned into blacklegs against themselves.

They were trapped into disloyalty to their Trade Unions

All their labour in creating and strengthening the Unions for their own protection was useless because they had not thrown off the grip of the militarists.

AND THAT IS CONSCRIPTION.

Are the British workers expected, under cover of the national difficulty, to place themselves under the same despotism? They would be unworthy Trade Unionists indeed if they did so.

Trade Unionism in Britain has just made a gigantic stride forward. The miners, the railwaymen, and the transport workers have formed a working alliance. This Triple Alliance is regarded with grave concern by the employers. They are frightened by it. They realise the power it can wield. They see the workers steadily gaining position after position, and terror is taking possession of their souls.

What is the significance of the determined move towards compulsion when it is considered in the light of that Trade Union development?

It is a sinister significance.

If Conscription were allowed to become the law of the land, the Triple Alliance between the miners, the railwaymen, and the transport workers would be utterly useless. Those three Unions must bear in mind the experience of France.

Labour has said decisively that Conscription shall *not* become the law of the land, but the fight is not yet over. Parliament has consented to the first reading of the Thin End of the Wedge Bill by a majority of 298.

That is to say, the position at the moment is that the Labour movement is at grips with Parliament. It has to convince that 298 majority that compulsion *cannot* be enforced because Labour will not have it.

It has only to stand right through the fight firmly by its decision, and the fight is won. The two or three hundred Prussian-minded members of Parliament cannot coerce the three million workers who have declared their will.

The temper of the Labour movement in the country indicates a solemn determination to give effect to the Conference decision. In Scotland it will be found a difficult business to enforce such a law. The Clyde Workers' Committee, for instance, has sent this resolution round the workshops and shipyards:

> That this delegate meeting of the Clyde Workers' Committee, recognising that the purport of the Conscriptionists is not a fuller supply of soldiers but the cheapening of soldiers and the military control of industry and thus the abolition of the functions of our Trade Unions, resolves to take such action as is necessary to prevent Conscription.

And steps have been taken to make that resolution effective. That is the kind of determination that will kill the Prussians in our midst. Mr. Asquith's speech very strongly suggests that he is not at all happy in his present position, into which he has been manœuvred by those nagging "Prussians," and the workers by their unbending attitude may yet help him out.

The Clyde is not a happy hunting ground for Lloyd George and his fellow Compulsionists, but what about South Wales?

> **Mr. James Winstone, President of the South Wales Miners' Federation, speaking at Pontypool on Sunday, said that the Executive of the Federation had unanimously adopted a resolution of opposition to any form of compulsory military service, and he warned the Government of the danger of a stoppage in the South Wales coalfield, which would have serious consequences to the British Navy. The intensity of Mr. Winstone's feeling can be judged by the fact that he would rather be riddled with bullets than accept Conscription.**

The Clyde and South Wales just now are certainly strongholds of liberty, but in England the spirit of freedom will not be killed without a tremendous struggle. That is made unmistakably clear by the decision of many local Labour bodies, typical of which is the Birmingham Trades and Labour Council, representing 70,000 working people. The resolution was very strong. It declared:

> That in view of the renewed activity of the Conscriptionists inside and outside the Cabinet and the reported decision of the Cabinet in favour of Conscription, this Council, representing 70,000 Birmingham workpeople, reaffirms its unalterable opposition to Conscription. It has closely followed the agitation for Conscription from the outbreak of the war, and holds the view that the purpose of that agitation has never been directed to securing any national advantage, but has been confessedly pursued for the purpose of smashing the Trade Union movement and undermining the power of the British democracy. We regard the proposed division of the nation's manhood into two parts—viz., married and unmarried—as a trick to divide and diminish the opposition to Conscription by making Conscription appear to be the friend of the married man and winning for it his support. We repudiate such a trick, and pledge ourselves to resist the introduction of this pernicious Prussian principle of Conscription of human life in any and every form to the utmost extent of our power.

The anger which has been aroused throughout the Labour movement, and the powerful and clearly defined opposition, demonstrates at least the absolute failure of the Conscriptionists to secure that general consent which the Prime Minister declared was necessary before the measure could be contemplated.

Will he now withdraw the Bill?

Your Part in the Fight!

We are in for the biggest fight in the history of the Labour Movement.

We are up against a powerful conspiracy to "Prussianise" our country.

But we can win if we all do our bit.

We are trying to do ours. Will you do yours?

If you want to take a hand you must be well informed.

That is to say—you must read the ***Labour Leader***, which is leading the fight against Conscription.

And you must see that your friends read it. ***ALL*** of them.

BUY THE

LABOUR LEADER,

EACH THURSDAY,

Get your friend to buy it; help it and advertise it.

The gain will be yours.

The "LABOUR LEADER" is published each Thursday, price 1d., and it can be obtained from any Newsagent, or from the Publisher, "Labour Leader," 30, Blackfriars Street, Manchester.

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BRITISH CITIZEN.

EDITED BY S. MORTIMER HOLDEN. — THE WEEK'S OPINIONS OF LEADING MEN AND WOMEN.

NO. 5. LONDON, SATURDAY, JAN. 8, 1916. ONE PENNY.

Delegates Vote Against Conscription and save your Trade Unions.

S. MORTIMER HOLDEN

The duty of delegates attending the Labour Conference in London on Conscription is to vote against the Conscription Bills and save their Trade Unions from Aristocratic annihilation.

There was really no necessity for the Conference because the great Trade Union Congress at Bristol in September unanimously passed a resolution against Conscription. And it must be distinctly understood that the Labour Conference at Westminster this week is not a Conference of the Trade Union Congress. It is a conference of those Trade Unions only who support the running of Labour M.P.'s. of representatives of the Fabian Society and of some Women Trade Union representatives. The great Miners' Federation of Great Britain, for example, consisting of nearly a million miners will not be represented. As this Trade Union can carry any Congress by its numbers the result of the Conference this week although it will—nay it must go—against the Conscription Bill will not have the weight of the miners vote. That vote, as is already known, is against Conscription so all that the Conference has to do is to follow the miners. Whether they do so or not the miners will not have Conscription.

There is no new phase to be considered. What the delegates ought to do is therefore, to re-affirm the decision of the Trade Union Congress and declare with a voice of thunder that they will not agree to Conscription, and that they mean to save their Trade Unions from this Northcliffe Press attack to destroy them, that they mean to preserve Individual Liberty and to respect the conscientious objections of those who refuse to be compelled to enlist.

No matter how moderate and in whatever form the Conscription Bill is passed it must be resisted to the uttermost.

All delegates will no doubt be deeply impressed by the able, forcible and unanswerable arguments against Conscription by Professor Arnold Lupton, M P. 190-10, a noble fighter for the People's Freedom and for liberty of Conscience. Delegates, follow Mr. Arnold Lupton, follow Sir John Simon, follow Dr Clifford follow John Burns, follow John Morley, follow your already vehement resolution against Conscription and urge your Labour M.P.'s to vote against the Con-

Why we should not have CONSCRIPTION!

by Professor Arnold Lupton. M.P. 1906-10.

MILITARY AND NAVAL FORCES.

MARRIED OR SINGLE.

CONSCRIPTS OR VOLUNTEERS.

WHICH AND WHY?

In the month of May, 1914, the establishment of our Army and Navy including Reserves and Territorials exceeded one million men. (This was excluding Native Troops and British Volunteers in India.) Since that time, and up till Christmas, 1915, Parliament has voted an additional 3,000,000 men for the Army and an additional 100,000 men for the Navy. Therefore, the present Forces of the United Kingdom are about 4,111,000. If to that number we add 300,000 killed and missing, we have the total number sanctioned by Parliament—4,411,000. In addition we have in the United Kingdom about 300,000 well-trained Volunteers over 40 years of age, only requiring weapons and ammunition to make an efficient force for Home Defence, making a total of 4,711,000.

In addition to these figures are the Canadian, Australian, New Zealand and African Troops, say 500,000; the Indian Volunteers, mostly European—40,000, and the Native Indian Troops, say 200,000, to which we may add, say 50,000 killed and missing.

These figures give us a total number of 5,501,000 fighting men of which at the present time, after deducting killed and missing, we have left 5,151,000.

Out of this total the United Kingdom has supplied 4,711,000. This is not merely those who have volunteered, but those who have been accepted, passed the medical examination, finally retained and actually used for military service. The above figures are given on the assumption that enough men, married and single, have volunteered to supply the last million voted by Parliament.

The total population of the United Kingdom in July, 1914, was 47½ millions.

Those who have studied the question state that the maximum number or men that a country can afford for the fighting services, having due regard to the production of munitions, is one-tenth of the total population. Therefore, the maximum number that this country can advantageously afford to put into the fighting services is 4,750,000, that is to say, we might supply this number if the civilian part of the population had no other duties to perform than to maintain that fighting force, but it is well known that the people of the United Kingdom have to supply the Allies with enormous sums of taking another million of men from the Dominions if they are willing to come but the United Kingdom has already done its full share.

It follows from the above statement that to raise additional men, either by Conscription or Voluntary Enlistment in the United Kingdom will be disastrous and instead of helping, will hinder the victory of the Allies.

Our way to victory, now as 100 years ago, is to find money, guns, ammunition and clothing, for the ten million Russian soldiers who are still waiting for this equipment.

The Conscriptionists have however invented the ingenious plan of dividing the Volunteers into two classes, married and unmarried, and they have said that the married men are not to be taken into the fighting force until all the unmarried men have either volunteered or been driven by force into the Army.

This plan does credit to their ingenuity, because every person acquainted with the working classes of the United Kingdom knows that the more capable and vigorous part marry young, and that therefore, the vast majority of the men suitable for the Army are married men, and that a very large proportion of the unmarried men are unsuitable for the Army.

Under Lord Derby's scheme of enlistment, the idea was adopted of "starring" a large part of the more capable bachelors, such as farmer's sons, so that they should not be even canvassed or asked to enlist, and in this way, the number of bachelors who are not enlisted or attested should be increased to such a figure as to enable them to say that an important proportion of young unmarried men have not volunteered.

The case for Conscription having entirely broken down, the advocates of this system have skilfully engineered a scheme by which to bring it in on this side issue, their object being by hook or crook to get their favourite plan of White Slavery on to the Statute Book.

In former years, when we required only a small army for foreign service, it was quite reasonable to take bachelors, and so save the nation the cost of maintaining the wives and children of soldiers. There was every probability that 90 per cent. of the men enlisting would return to civil life and be able to marry and raise children.

But the present war is very different. The Under-Secretary for War, speaking in Parliament on the 22nd December, 1915, said "15 per cent. per month is the wastage at the Front." That is to say, that if there are 105 men maintained at the Front in the course of seven months 105 other men must be supplied to maintain that number, but out of this 105 new men, about one half will be men recovered from wounds or illness, so that the actual number of entirely new men

Citizen Diary

London, January 8th, 1916.

"To save Mr. Asquith's face because he gave a pledge to the married men which he had no right to make the whole nation have to be stampeded into Conscription and rushed into slavery" exclaimed Councillor Kneeshaw to the Birmingham Trades Council who representing seventy thousand workers passed a resolution against Conscription.

"Since when have politicians pledges or even Prime Ministers pledges become so sacred that the nation should be stampeded into slavery in order that a pledge should be kept?"

Such is the voice of the workers of Birmingham seventy thousand strong. and their voice is the voice of three million more Trade Unionists throughout the country.

"The Nation" the sixpenny Liberal weekly, alone of the Liberal papers has held fast to the faith and resists Conscription to the uttermost.

"The Nation" followed the line of the "British Citizen" last week and blamed Mr. Lloyd George for the Cabinet acceptance of Conscription and practically declared that the Liberal members of Parliament had lost political confidence in him. "The Nation" also said the Liberal Cabinet ministers owing to the acceptance of Conscription and the throwing over of the cardinal principle of Liberalism, had ended the career of the Liberal Party and a new Party would have to be created.

That new Party has already been created in the establishment of the "British Citizen Party" which has been fighting by public meeting, literature and propoganda since the Northcliffe Campaign for six months, and whose programme for the legalising of equal pay for men and women at not less than thirty shillings a week and the right to work, and the limitation of profits will be acceptable to all.

Mr. Lloyd George and all who support the Conscription Bill should no longer be admitted to any Democratic Party.

The "Labour" M.P.'s who support Conscription will no longer have a place in the movement for Human Liberty and Economic Freedom.

The latest development is that the Conscription Bill is to force all single men and widowers from 18 to 41 to enlist.

Why did the Government send out a whip to attend the House of Commons on Wednesday when the Conscription Bill will be introduced and add that a division may be taken? Was it to take a Division on the Wednesday order to anticipate the Labour Conference on Thursday?

Mr. Asquith, with regret as he said, admitting the Tories into the Cabinet. He did so to the dissatisfaction of the Liberal Party. Now he finds that the Tories supported by Mr. Lloyd George have overpowered him and are forcing Conscription on the people.

All honour to Sir John Simon for relinquishing his seat in the Cabinet rather than precipitate the people into the slavery abyss of Conscription. We look to him to lead the campaign against its imposition. Let Mr. McKenna and Mr Runciman follow suit and a nation will

understood that the Labour Conference at Westminster this week is not a Conference of the Trade Union Congress. It is a conference of those Trade Unions only who support the running of Labour M.P.'s, of representatives of the Fabian Society and of some Women Trade Union representatives. The great Miners' Federation of Great Britain, for example, consisting of nearly a million miners will not be represented. As this Trade Union can carry any Congress by its numbers the result of the Conference this week although it will—nay it must go—against the Conscription Bill will not have the weight of the miners vote. That vote, as is already known, is against Conscription so all that the Conference has to do is to follow the miners. Whether they do so or not the miners will not have Conscription.

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We are hoping that Sir John Simon will lead the attack on the Conscription Bill in the House of Commons and that Mr. Hobhouse, and other Liberals followed by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Mr. Philip Snowden, Mr. Whitehouse, Mr. C. P. Trevelyan, Mr. Denman, Mr. Ponsonby, Sir Wm. P. Byles, Mr. John Redmand, and the whole Irish members will fight the Conscription Bill to the death. Let them fight as Charles Bradlough did for Liberty of Conscience and as the Irish Members did against coercion and be carried out rather than yield to the measures for the enslavement of the people.

No matter whether the Conscription Bill is forced through Parliament or not so long as the Trade Unions hold fast to their faith the three million Trade Unionists opposed to Conscription will have to be reckoned with.

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From these figures it is evident that the country has already supplied the fighting services with as many men as it is wise to take from other necessary occupations.

Our Colonial population of European blood in July, 1914 was as follows:—

Canada and Newfoundland	...8,200,000
Australia and New Zealand	...6,100,000
Africa, India, the Indies, etc.	1,700,000
Total	16,000,000

Therefore, the contribution of the Colonies to the War, if on the same ratio as that of the United Kingdom, should be 1,500,000.

I do not know the actual number yet supplied or in process of supply, but I think 500,000 is a liberal estimate. Therefore, there still remains the possibility

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But the present war is very different. The Under-Secretary for War, speaking in Parliament on the 22nd December, 1915, said "15 per cent. per month is the wastage at the Front." That is to say, that if there are 105 men maintained at the Front in the course of seven months 105 other men must be supplied to maintain that number, but out of this 105 new men, about one half will be men recovered from wounds or illness, so that the actual number of entirely new men required is, say, 50 men for every 100 in the trenches in seven months, and from that one may argue that if the war continues for fourteen months, every 100 men maintained at the Front will be all that remain out of 200 supplied. The 100 which no longer exists in the Army will be represented by, say 50 dead men and 50 permanently disabled.

The question therefore arises, how far the Government of this country is justified in sending millions of young unmarried men to destruction, having regard to the fact that they leave behind them no children, no heirs of their undying fame, no means of maintaining the greatness of the British race, that to the extent to which these young bachelors are sacrificed, it is not merely their young lives that are lost, but the future of the British Empire and the British race, which is to that extent injured and weakened.

(Continued on page 5.)

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All honour to Sir John Simon for relinquishing his seat in the Cabinet rather than precipitate the people into the slavery abyss of Conscription. We look to him to lead the campaign against its imposition. Let Mr. McKenna and Mr Runciman follow suit and a nation will bless them.

In order to try and pacify the Irish the Cabinet have decided to exclude Ireland from the Conscription Bill. But it will not avail. The Irish Party as witnessed Mr. John Dillon's onslaught on Conscription in another column, have already decided that it is dangerous for the safety of Irish Home Rule to allow Conscription for England, Wales and Scotland and they will oppose it. They will oppose it on other funds—that the Trade Unions and English Scottish and Welsh Democracy have always supported the Irish Home Hule cause and been the friends of Ireland. And Ireland will stand by their English comrades now in resisting Conscription.

Professor Arnold Lupton's slashing onslaught on Conscription in to-day's "Citizen" will convince anyone in doubt as to the course they should take on Conscription.

S. M. H.

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THE AWFUL MISERY OF THE SERBIAN RETREAT.

GRAPHIC DESCRIPTION BY A LADY.

Twenty-two more of the plucky British women, whose retreat from the heart of Serbia forms one of the most thrilling episodes in the story of the nursing service, reached London recently. By mountain and torrent, through blizzard and abysmal mud and days of drenching rain, sleeping often by the wayside, with rations running short and clothes in tatters, they made the great trek of nearly 300 miles in seven weeks—and made it smiling.

One of the cheeriest spirits in the party, which belonged to the Stobart Hospital, was Mrs. W. H. Aldridge, wife of the well-known secretary of the National Housing Council, and herself for ten years secretary of the Manchester and Salford Women's Trade Union Council. She is an open-air woman, with the grit of a British Tommy—and his soft heart, too. Only women of that stamp can come through the fire of such an adventure unscathed.

Fresh from the journey, with her war-worn camp kit cumbering the passage outside, she drew for "The Daily News" some word vignettes of scenes by the way.

WEARY SOLDIERS.

"It had been a drenching night, and we set out in our kolas (ox-wagons) without breakfast owing to the impossibility of making a fire. Then the rain turned to snow, driven before a gale. By mid-day we were in trouble: two of the string of 30 kolas—one for each of us—stuck, turned over, and had to be abandoned. So two of the others 'took lodgers,' which was a tight fit but kept one cheerful.

"Again and again we passed refugees sheltering in their wagons. The oxen had dropped in their tracks and lay dying in the snow. Parties of soldiers dragged themselves along. In some places scores of rifles were being covered up by the flakes.

"That night we slept—or rested—thirty in one small room at Pristina.

"Next day we saw some of the things the blizzard had done. In a few hours we passed five corpses. They were lying where they had fallen—generally with upturned faces. Nobody touched them. Passers-by just stepped over a body, or drove round it if it was lying right in the track."

Earlier in the trek, between Rashka and Mitrovitza, a painful sight was the hundreds of dead or dying animals that strewed the roadside. When a starved horse or bullock or sheep fell in the clinging mud the peasantry left it to its fate, and the chances were that some of those who came after would take the best part of the carcass for food.

PRISONERS' PLIGHT.

"Our people were afraid to touch the meat offered them for that reason," said Mrs. Aldridge. "There was plenty of it—though very little bread—but the holes in the flayed or half-flayed carcases we were continually passing reminded one to forcibly of the way in which it might have been obtained. Most of the people one saw they were nearly all men, for the women were staying behind to try and keep the homes together were carrying lumps of raw meat. They scorched and gnawed them when they came to the first handy fire.

"It was dreadful to see the Austrian sad Irish songs.

"Then we inspanned, and by and by came out by a pass upon a wonderful prospect of the Montenegrin mountains. Everything was drenched with the clearest silver moonlight. And as we stood there one of the girls said: 'It seems like being in eternity—no time or space.' That was how one felt after going through the Valley of the Shadow in Serbia."

THE GREATEST JOY OF ALL.

A roundabout route to Ipek had to be followed in order to escape the Bulgarian army that was now sweeping rapidly down upon Monastir, which had been the party's original objective. At Ipek the oxen and wagons were sold or exchanged for ponies, and with 15 of these half-starved creatures—for there was no corn, only a little hay to feed them on—the nurse pushed on through the Montenegrin Highlands towards the Albanian frontier.

At Scutari, after seven weeks of constant travel, came the greatest joy of all —"lots of hay that we simply burrowed in, and a hot meal of soup and potatoes actually prepared for us and English marines—the last down from Belgrade, with great beards that they hated and a rich Cockney accent that we simply loved. They had had a fearful time of it, fighting by day and marching by night."

Unfortunately the party sustained two casualties. Miss Clifton, belonging to the Serbian Relief, was wounded by a stray bullet in a dispute between Serbian soldiers and peasants, and one Scottish nurse was killed in a disaster in a flooded river, when 20 motor-cars had to be abandoned.

One of the interesting pieces of news brought back by Mrs Aldridge is that Mrs. Stobart was safe and well with a contingent of the Serbian army at Ipek rather more than a fortnight ago. Considerable anxiety as to her fate had been felt in this country.

THREATENED TITLES.

LOSSES OF THE PEERAGE IN THE WAR.

Mournful interest attaches to the 1916 edition of "Debrett's Peerage, Baronetage, Knightage, and Companionage," which has just been issued by Messrs. Dean and Son (Limited).

"Sixteen months of war have wrought sad changes in very many of the families referred to in 'Debrett,' says Mr. A. G. M. Hesilrige, the editor, who estimates that the number of peers and sons of present or former peers who are actively serving in the naval or military forces of the Crown now considerably exceeds a thousand.

The roll of honour of those who have fallen on the battlefield or died of wounds amounts to 800, and an analysis shows that it contains the names of one member of the Royal Family—Prince Maurice of Battenberg—six peers, 16 baronets, six knights, and seven M.P.'s no fewer than 164 Companions of various Orders, 95 sons of peers, 82 sons of baronets, and 84 sons of knights. Lord Desborough, Sir George Dashwood, Sir H. E. St. Lawrence Clarke and Sir Lulham Pound have each lost two sons. In the list, too, are 81 heirs to hereditary titles, and Mr. Hesilrige finds that, as an immediate result of the war, either the succession has been unduly precipitated or the normal descent has been

THAT INSIDIOUS ENEMY WINTER.

"I have just returned from Italy, where I visited some of the zones of war and many of the hospitals" says Annie Vivanti Chartres in a letter to the "Daily News." "The Italian soldiers, fighting magnificently on the dizzy heights of the Alps, fear one foe and one only—the cold, the biting, torturing cold which assails them in those icy trenches 10,000ft. above the sea.

Many of the Bersaglieri and infantry hail from the sunny south, from Naples and Cicily, and had never beheld a flake of snow. Now they stand hip-deep in it; they sleep in it; they die in it, and all the fire of their ardent souls, all the glow of their enthusiasm, cannot vanquish this truculent and insidious enemy, cannot warm the blood slowly freezing in their veins or stop the gangrene stealing up into their tortured limbs. There is not enough wool in Italy to clothe them as they should be clothed. Every Sunday and on many week-days for months past huge carts have driven slowly through the streets of every town and the cry for wool—"lana, lana"—is raised by the people and by Boy Scouts beating drums. Then windows open and all who have a woollen garment to spare a shawl, a fur wrap, a pair of socks, a jersey—throw it into the cart or into the outspread sheets held under their windows by the Scouts.

"Wool, wool." The Italians have given what they had—their coats, their blankets, their furs—and still half-empty carts pass and the cry of the freezing soldiers is brought home to them in the call of "lana, lana," and in the dull roll of the drum.

Some time ago a noble woman, Signora Majno, suggested that all her compatriots should give up one of the wool mattresses hitherto considered indispensable to every Italian bed. No sooner said than done. The wool speedily woven was transformed into garments for the troops. Most people gave not only one of their mattresses but both, and now they sleep—all the sounder perhaps—on chilly "crine vegetale," or crackly leaves of maize. But the deadly cold on the Alpine heights increases day by day, and many hundreds of Italian soldiers in the thin grey-green uniforms that looked so well when their wearers started out in the warm sunshine of an Italian spring are brought back into the hospitals with their feet frozen, their joints actually breaking off bit by bit, their hands crumbling away, and gangrene eating its way along their maimed and tortured limbs. There they lie, those sad and broken men, sullen and silent amid their cheerful wounded companions, envying them, ashamed of their corroded bodies which shot and shrapnel have spared. They turn their ghastly faces aside when you pause by their bed. They do not answer when unwittingly you ask them of their wounds. "Not wounded frozen," murmurs the nurse, turning sadly away, and you follow quickly, dreading to meet the misery in the dull, despairing eyes of those who are "not wounded frozen."

Will anyone who reads this while sitting by a comfortable fire or travelling [illegible]

PRIMATE AND THE WAR.

NO FLAGGING OR DOUBTING.

Preaching at Canterbury Cathedral from the text, "In your patience ye shall win your souls," the Archbishop of Canterbury said: "This Christmas carries in every land a note of wide and deep disquiet, and of almost unbearable strain. In our own land, nay surely in every Christian land, the high festival is overhung with a dark cloud, a sort of indefinable disquiet, as the war circle widens and the issue, any definite issue and result, seems to recede back and back. We ordinary people have learned in these months, wherein it has been worked out with pitiless and unbending thoroughness, what war in plain prose really means. Yet there is not among us, so far as I know or believe, the very smallest flagging in our high and stern resolve that the cause which we believe in our hearts to be that of righteousness and honour and truth shall, God helping us, go forward to ultimate victory. Nor is there any real doubt that the strife must and shall lead to that issue for the whole world's good.

"We are coming to think with increase of awe what is the fearfulness of sacrifice in country after country which that end seems to require, but we shall face it unflinchingly with brows set firm and lips compressed and mental muscles taut. There will be no flagging or doubting. Of that I think we can be sure. Is it too much to hope that every one of us is trying to find out in what way he or she can make some additional sacrifice of self or leisure or money towards the common good? Make the most of every opporunity given you for unselfish work and for cheering the lives of others. And then—I tell it you in Christ's name —'In your patience ye shall win your souls.'

"A week hence the whole nation is solemnly invited to join in the offering of ourselves to the willing service of Him who enlisted us. We must one and all, in the remaining days of this year, be preparing for that solemn act with which the New Year is to begin—nothing less than the rededication to Him of our life as it is in the firm belief that He will pardon and mend and strengthen us. We brace ourselves anew, soldiers and civilians at home and abroad, to discharge the trust of so arming and so fighting either necessary or possible in years to come—so fighting and so conquering as to establish hereafter among the nations of the earth a simpler life, a simpler faith, a firmer fellowship, an enduring peace."

BISHOP OF SOUTHWARK AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS.

The Bishop of Southwark, at Southwark Cathedral, said we could this year and last year, perhaps, with a deeper and richer meaning than we had ever known before, pass from lip to lip the Christmas greeting, the joy of the Christmas certainty, that nothing could take from us but our own blindness and wilfulness, the peace which passeth all understanding. When duties and interests conflicted, and when motives be-

his soft heart, too. Only women of that stamp can come through the fire of such an adventure unscathed.

Fresh from the journey, with her war-worn camp kit cumbering the passage outside, she drew for "The Daily News" some word vignettes of scenes by the way.

WEARY SOLDIERS.

"It had been a drenching night, and we set out in our kolas (ox-wagons) without breakfast owing to the impossibility of making a fire. Then the rain turned to snow, driven before a gale. By mid-day we were in trouble: two of the string of 30 kolas—one for each of us—stuck, turned over, and had to be abandoned. So two of the others, 'took lodgers,' which was a tight fit but kept one cheerful.

"Again and again we passed refugees sheltering in their wagons. The oxen had dropped in their tracks and lay dying in the snow. Parties of soldiers dragged themselves along. In some places scores of rifles were being covered up by the flakes.

"That night we slept—or rested—thirty in one small room at Pristina.

"Next day we saw some of the things the blizzard had done. In a few hours we passed five corpses. They were lying where they had fallen—generally with upturned faces. Nobody touched them. Passers-by just stepped over a body, or drove round it if it was lying right in the track."

Earlier in the trek, between Rashka and Mitrovitza, a painful sight was the hundreds of dead or dying animals that strewed the roadside. When a starved horse or bullock or sheep fell in the clinging mud the peasantry left it to its fate, and the chances were that some of those who came after would take the best part of the carcass for food.

PRISONERS' PLIGHT.

"Our people were afraid to touch the meat offered them for that reason," said Mrs. Aldridge. "There was plenty of it—though very little bread—but the holes in the flayed or half-flayed carcases we were continually passing reminded one to forcibly of the way in which it might have been obtained. Most of the people one saw—they were nearly all men, for the women were staying behind to try and keep the homes together—were carrying lumps of raw meat. They scorched and gnawed them when they came to the first handy fire.

"It was dreadful to see the Austrian prisoners searching for food, or imploring passers-by for a bit of soldiers' biscuit. They were given what could be spared, but it was not enough to keep life in them. And then there were the convicts from the Serbian prisons—men in chains, hardly able to drag one foot before another through the deep deep mud!"

Here is a more cheerful picture:

"On the road from Prizrend to Ipek we outspanned one beautiful moonlight by the roadside and made a jolly fire. Then one of the Serbian orderlies who were with us brought out some sort of rude bagpipes and played strange melancholy music while the others, linked together, swayed backwards and forwards in a slow rhythmic dance. And some of the nurses from Ireland sang an, and a hot meal of soup and potatoes actually prepared for us and English marines—the last down from Belgrade, with great beards that they hated and a rich Cockney accent that we simply loved. They had had a fearful time of it, fighting by day and marching by night."

Unfortunately the party sustained two casualties. Miss Clifton, belonging to the Serbian Relief, was wounded by a stray bullet in a dispute between Serbian soldiers and peasants, and one Scottish nurse was killed in a disaster in a flooded river, when 20 motor-cars had to be abandoned.

One of the interesting pieces of news brought back by Mrs Aldridge is that Mrs. Stobart was safe and well with a contingent of the Serbian army at Ipek rather more than a fortnight ago. Considerable anxiety as to her fate had been felt in this country.

THREATENED TITLES.

LOSSES OF THE PEERAGE IN THE WAR.

Mournful interest attaches to the 1916 edition of "Debrett's Peerage, Baronetage, Knightage, and Companionage," which has just been issued by Messrs. Dean and Son (Limited).

"Sixteen months of war have wrought sad changes in very many of the families referred to in 'Debrett,' says Mr. A. G. M. Hesilrige, the editor, who estimates that the number of peers and sons of present or former peers who are actively serving in the naval or military forces of the Crown now considerably exceeds a thousand.

The roll of honour of those who have fallen on the battlefield or died of wounds amounts to 800, and an analysis shows that it contains the names of one member of the Royal Family—Prince Maurice of Battenberg—six peers, 16 baronets, six knights, and seven M.P.'s no fewer than 164 Companions of various Orders, 95 sons of peers, 82 sons of baronets, and 84 sons of knights. Lord Desborough, Sir George Dashwood, Sir H. E. St. Lawrence Clarke and Sir Lulham Pound have each lost two sons. In the list, too, are 81 heirs to hereditary titles, and Mr. Hesilrige finds that, as an immediate result of the war, either the succession has been unduly precipitated or the normal descent has been changed in over 100 instances.

In several cases the peerage, or baronetcy, being now without heir in remainder, is threatened with extinction unless the Royal Prerogative is exercised in their favour. Among titles so affected are the Marquisate of Lincolnshire, the Baronies of Knaresborough, Playfair, Ribblesdale, Rosmead, and Stamfordham.

"Dod's Peerage" for 1916—the 76th issue—also gives a list of officers whose names appeared in the 1915 issue and who have lost their lives in the war. There are 435 names in the list—eight peers and 79 peers' sons being included. The peers are Lord Hawarden, Lord Brabourne, Lord Annesley, Lord de Freyne, Lord Vernon, Lord Congleton, Lord Kesteven, and Lord Seafield.

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Will anyone who reads this while sitting by a comfortable fire or travelling snugly wrapped in a warm coat send some fur or woollen garment—fur used or unused and wool in any shape or form (cardigans, shirts, vests, helmets, socks, gloves, belts or blankets) to the Italian Hospital, Queen's square, or to the house of Countess Greppi, 23, Lancaster gate. Each and every gift will be received and acknowledged with the deepest gratitude and immediately be forwarded to our allies fighting their way through the icy winds of the Carso, following over the snow drifts the tricolour with the cross. Surely those who have ever enjoyed Italian sunshine will to-day in their turn thus warm the heart of Italy through her valiant soldier sons. Surely Britain, the befriender of all who suffer, will help to free from its ice-bound fetters the white cross of Savoy.

know or believe, the very smallest flagging in our high and stern resolve that the cause which we believe in our hearts to be that of righteousness and honour and truth shall, God helping us, go forward to ultimate victory. Nor is there any real doubt that the strife must and shall lead to that issue for the whole world's good.

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If we thought of what we called political or social questions, the questions of temperance, housing, the relief of poverty, or the question of the proper relations between capital and labour and their due responsibility one to another for us, in all these questions we at least said that Christmas time declared that we must put expediency and what would pay best and our political prejudices and personal interests in the last place.

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Professor Arnold Lupton's onslaught on Conscription.

(Continued from Front Page.)

I have read that our Indian Contingent (consisting of married men) expressed surprise that this country sent its bachelors to the war having regard to the future of the Empire.

Mr. Outhwaite, M.P., speaking in Parliament on the 21st December, 1915, said "It is a terrible thing to contemplate that the youth of the country should be killed off, and what is to happen to the future of the country? I do not suppose they are doing what I see the German Government is doing: issuing notices to young men who have been called up, that before they go to fight, they are expected to leave children behind."

It is not necessary for our Government to adopt that course, because a sufficient number of married men have volunteered. These men are not only the better fighters, being the more vigorous part of the population, but will for the most part leave children who will maintain the future of the race.

It has been urged by Conscriptionists however, that it is cheaper to send the bachelors because they leave no wives or children to be maintained by the State. These men, who are stopping at home in ease and comfort, desire to force the very young men into the trenches sooner than go themselves (such is their patriotism), or pay the money necessary to maintain the wives and children of married men who are quite ready to go without any compulsion.

One reason why, amongst the masses of the people, the married men are ready to go is because there is a clear understanding as to the allowances to be paid their wives and children; whereas, in the case of the bachelors, there is no clear understanding as to allowances to be paid to those who are partly or entirely, or who may become in course of years, dependent on them. On the contrary, the men who stop at home and manage these things have been trying to economise as regards allowances to dependents of bachelors who go to the Front.

It would appear that the only thing to be gained by a compulsory measure compelling bachelors to go to the Front will be that it will produce disunion in the nation and in Parliament; that the proposition may lead to a change of Government, and that therefore some people who are out of office may come into office.

There are, however, many sincere Conscriptionists in the country and in Parliament who think that that measure is necessary in order to control the industrial classes, not for the purposes of this war, which there is every reason to expect will be concluded before Conscription can be got into working order, but for the future, so that there shall be no nonsense about strikes and such controversies; men refusing to work at the rate of wages that their betters think fit for them, and meeting in riotous assemblies, which would be quickly shot down by a Conscription Army. This, I know, is the view taken by many good and sincere men; but is that the view which any Minister of State will dare to express from his place in Parliament!

There are some people in and out of Parliament, and, I fear, on the Ministerial Bench, who view the principle of liberty so lightly that they think it is only necessary for the Ministry to say courage at the risk of their lives by resisting what they consider to be a wicked law.

But for this threat of Conscription, the nation, except for an insignificant minority (which should be left alone), is united and enthusiastic in helping the Government to carry on the great campaign; some in the fighting services some in munitions, some helping the wounded, some giving voluntary help in a thousand useful ways, others subscribing their money, others simply cheerfully paying taxes, putting their savings into the War Loan, or subscribing in response to innumerable calls.

But let the Government introduce Conscription and there will be an end of this unity, this enthusiasm. There will be a large section, whether a majority or minority time alone can show, but a powerful and determined section of the people who will stop helping the Government, and devote all their intellectual, physical and pecuniary resources to resist this attack upon their liberties.

There are several eminent Conscriptionists represented in both Houses of Parliament who are of German or foreign parentage, and necessarily inherit German or foreign ideas, who have no conception of the British love of liberty. In times of peace it may possibly be not so very imprudent either to "take a leap in the dark" or to "damn the consequences," but at the present time it it not prudent to play tricks with the British people.

It should also be noted that great additional numbers of men would become available for the Army (if such numbers could be spared from other necessary work, which is not the case) by raising the age limit, but it must be borne in mind that a large proportion of the most vehement Conscriptionists are just those who might be caught by raising the age limit. That is my observation, both in town and country. It is men of good health and strength of say 45 who would make admirable recruits for a short service, and who could easily pass the Recruiting Officer if they wished. It is these lusty and loud-tongued patriots that are so anxious to compel the youths to take the place in the trenches that could be filled so much more efficiently by older men.

It must also be noted that the Conscriptionists are, for the most part, men who love compulsion for compulsion's sake. The desire to dominate is one of the strongest passions of human nature. Hence the desire to compel a man to go and fight instead of adopting the easier and simpler plan of paying him such wages as are required to induce him to go.

The Australian soldier, a single man without dependents, has all found and 6s. a day, that is, £2 2s. per week pay in cash to spend as he likes.

The Englishman is offered only 1s. a day for fighting. If he is making munitions, he is perhaps getting 10s. a day. A very slight addition to the pay offered to the British soldier would greatly increase the attractiveness of the service to him. But no, the Conscriptionists will not offer that. They are mostly furious old men and women exceedingly anxious to save their own pockets—which is the first consideration in their mind—otherwise, the simple, natural and obvious plan of paying the soldier a decent wage would be tried in preference to compulsion.

The Conscriptionists make a great deal of the fact that in the American Civil War, Conscription was adopted. Now it is true that Conscription was adopted by both sides. The Confederates who adopted the plan first were ultimately defeated. The Federals adop[illegible] but not more than [illegible] quired for munitions, coal mining, transport, and other labour? Really the case for Compulsion in this work is far stronger than that for the Army, because we have already a million men in the Army who are practically idle for want of weapons and ammunition. The principle of Compulsion once conceded, it is certain to be adopted everywhere.

If the Government should bring into Parliament a Bill for Conscription, it will certainly try to bluff the House into passing it. They will threaten resignation; they will say, "The Germans are coming"; they will ask, "Is England to suffer as Belgium and Servia have suffered?" The reply to these arguments is—our Fleet and the Armies that we have are quite sufficient to protect France, Russia, and Italy, and with their aid, to win this war; that the German offensive has been already effectually smashed and stopped, and that our Fleet gives us complete protection at home; [illegible] to our population, this country has already supplied for the fighting services THREE TIMES as many men as Russia has supplied.

If the Ministry resign—that is to say, if the Ministers all go on strike at once, and any harm results, they will be to blame. Parliament will not be to blame for refusing to adopt Conscription in any form, or however much it may be limited. But if the Ministry should go on strike, the permanent officials will carry on all the Civil, Military, and Naval Services just as well without them, and there will be no difficulty in finding other Members of Parliament just as capable as the present Ministers of answering questions in Parliament and otherwise representing the King in a constitutional manner.

Since writing the above, I have seen in the "Daily News" of the 31st December that there have been over 2,000,000 attestations. That of these, it is expected 1,250,000 will be fit for the Army. There have been, in addition, 300,000 enlistments during the recent Recruiting Campaign. This makes a total of 1,550,000, whereas Parliament has only sanctioned the enlistment of 1,000,000.

The Conscriptionists expect to force in another 200,000 unmarried men, whereas without Compulsion, we have already got 550,000 more men than are required.

It is evident from the above figures that the object of the Conscriptionists is not to get a larger Army, but merely to get the principle of Compulsion established and the destruction of our liberties completed before the end of the war.

All the talk of the Prime Minister's pledge is obviously nonsense. It is impossible to conceive that he has pledged himself and his Government to Compulsion for the sake of a possible addition of 200,000 men to an Army of Volunteers already numbering 5,501,000.

BANK AMALGAMATION.

THE MANCHESTER and LIVERPOOL DISTRICT BANK and the BANK of WHITEHAVEN.

We are officially informed that a provisional agreement has been concluded for the transfer of the business of the Bank of Whitehaven Ltd. to the Manchester and Liverpool District Banking Co. Ltd.

The terms provide for the payment of the sum of £216,766 which is equivalent to £22 for each share. The Whitehaven bank shareholders are entitled to receive one half of the purchase price in shares of the District Bank at £36 per share. The current and deposit accounts of the District Bank after the amalgamation of the figures of the Whitehaven bank will be approximately £[illegible]

CONSCRIPTION TERMS OF THE NEW BILL.

The I.L.P. announce that they will resist the Conscription Bill to the uttermost.

Ministers, the Parliamentary correspondent of the "Times" writes, accepted the principle of compulsion at their last meeting on Tuesday. In the interval, a Committee of the Cabinet has been engaged in drafting a bill to give legislative effect to the decision that the Prime Minister's pledge must be redeemed at once. This Cabinet Committee was appointed some time before the recent crisis arose, and it has therefore been able to examine thoroughly the varied history of compulsory military service. It had all its data to hand and its precedents ready when the Cabinet on Tuesday asked for the draft of a bill which should carry out the Prime Minister's pledge. The draft has been quickly completed, and it was in the hands of every member of the Cabinet

It is understood that the bill, as drafted, is based upon the following principles:—

1. That compulsion shall be applied forthwith to all the single men who have failed to attest under Lord Derby's scheme.
2. That the machinery of the Derby scheme shall be made statutory for this purpose.
3. That these provisions shall only be enacted for the period of the present war.

The bill, of course, may emerge in a very dfferent form from the Cabinet.

NEXT MONTH'S LABOUR CONFERENCE.

The three days' conference of the Labour party will take place at Bristol at the end of January promises to be of exceptional interest.

Many resolutions on recruiting topics —some approving of the part taken by Labour in the campaign and some disapproving—will provide an opportunity for a discussion on compulsion, and on this question there is certain to be much outspoken nd strong comment. Nine different affiliated bodies have given notice to move in most emphatic terms a resoluton protesting against any form of conscription as being dangerous to the national unity.

The conference wil be asked to consider an application from the British Socialist party for affiliation to the Labour party. The application is made on the basis of 20,000 members, and it points out that there are seven Parliamentary candidates which the B.S.P. has already in the field, and which it is pledged to carry forward at the next general election. The Executive Committee suggest that for the purpose of the next general election the candidates of the B.S.P. shall be accepted and placed on the list of candidatures sanctioned by the Labour party executive.

Many resolutions deal with the problem of peace terms. The Ealing, Acton and Chiswick Council call upon the Government to formulate and publicly declare terms of peace which they might be ready to make, and to this the Manchester and Salford party will seek to add: "That no proposals for peace involving the evacuation of invaded territory should be decided by the Cabinet without being first submitted to the House of Commons."

A topic which will undoubtedly arouse keen discussion is the Munitions Act, and as an amendment to a resolution calling for its immediate repeal the London and Provincial Union of Licensed Vehicle Workers will propose that the party "shall obtain from the Govern-

the future of the race.

It has been urged by Conscriptionists however, that it is cheaper to send the bachelors because they leave no wives or children to be maintained by the State. These men, who are stopping at home in ease and comfort, desire to force the very young men into the trenches sooner than go themselves (such is their patriotism), or pay the money necessary to maintain the wives and children of married men who are quite ready to go without any compulsion.

One reason why, amongst the masses of the people, the married men are ready to go is because there is a clear understanding as to the allowances to be paid their wives and children; whereas, in the case of the bachelors, there is no clear understanding as to allowances to be paid to those who are partly or entirely, or who may become in course of years, dependent on them. On the contrary, the men who stop at home and manage these things have been trying to economise as regards allowances to dependents of bachelors who go to the Front.

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There are some people in and out of Parliament, and, I fear, on the Ministerial Bench, who view the principle of liberty so lightly that they think it is only necessary for the Ministry to say that there is to be Conscription and that it will be forced on the country without difficulty.

There, I venture to say, they are entirely mistaken. It is conceivable that a majority in Parliament may pass the law, but the majority of the nation, as distinguished from the majority of the electors, will certainly not approve of such a law, and that there will be strenuous resistance. But is there any man who at the same time is both sane and sober, who thinks that it will strengthen the cause of the Allies for it to be known throughout the world that police and soldiers in this country are engaged in leading gangs of prisoners to a guarded camp and afterwards marched against their will to the Front? It is not that these men will be cowards; on the contrary, many of them may be the bravest of the brave, and they will show their so very imprudent rather to take a leap in the dark" or to "damn the consequences," but at the present time it it not prudent to play tricks with the British people.

It should also be noted that great additional numbers of men would become available for the Army (if such numbers could be spared from other necessary work, which is not the case) by raising the age limit, but it must be borne in mind that a large proportion of the most vehement Conscriptionists are just those who might be caught by raising the age limit. That is my observation, both in town and country. It is men of good health and strength of say 45 who would make admirable recruits for a short service, and who could easily pass the Recruiting Officer if they wished. It is these lusty and loud-tongued patriots that are so anxious to compel the youths to take the place in the trenches that could be filled so much more efficiently by older men.

It must also be noted that the Conscriptionists are, for the most part, men who love compulsion for compulsion's sake. The desire to dominate is one of the strongest passions of human nature. Hence the desire to compel a man to go and fight instead of adopting the easier and simpler plan of paying him such wages as are required to induce him to go.

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The Conscriptionists make a great deal of the fact that in the American Civil War, Conscription was adopted. Now it is true that Conscription was adopted by both sides. The Confederates who adopted the plan first were ultimately defeated. The Federals adopted the plan later, but not more than one soldier in ten fighting in the Federal Ranks had been conscripted, nine-tenths were Volunteers and all of them were paid very high wages, and all their dependents and all the wounded were pensioned and well taken care of to the end of their lives, but that part of the Federal programme does not commend itself to our Conscriptionists.

If Parliament concedes the principle of Compulsory Service of unmarried men in the Army, it will very soon be faced with the demand for Compulsory Service of all men, both married and single in the munition and other works in this country.

If for the most terrible and horrible of all work young men are to be compelled to fight for a 1s. a day, on what possible ground can Parliament resist Compulsion for those who are said to be relimited. But if the Ministry should go on strike, the permanent officials will carry on all the Civil, Military, and Naval Services just as well without them, and there will be no difficulty in finding other Members of Parliament just as capable as the present Ministers of answering questions in Parliament and otherwise representing the King in a constitutional manner.

Since writing the above, I have seen in the "Daily News" of the 31st December that there have been over 2,000,000 attestations. That of these, it is expected 1,250,000 will be fit for the Army. There have been, in addition, 300,000 enlistments during the recent Recruiting Campaign. This makes a total of 1,550,000, whereas Parliament has only sanctioned the enlistment of 1,000,000.

The Conscriptionists expect to force in another 200,000 unmarried men, whereas without Compulsion, we have already got 550,000 more men than are required.

It is evident from the above figures that the object of the Conscriptionists is not to get a larger Army, but merely to get the principle of Compulsion established and the destruction of our liberties completed before the end of the war.

All the talk of the Prime Minister's pledge is obviously nonsense. It is impossible to conceive that he has pledged himself and his Government to Compulsion for the sake of a possible addition of 200,000 men to an Army of Volunteers already numbering 5,501,000.

BANK AMALGAMATION.

THE MANCHESTER and LIVERPOOL DISTRICT BANK and the BANK of WHITEHAVEN.

We are officially informed that a provisional agreement has been concluded for the transfer of the business of the Bank of Whitehaven Ltd. to the Manchester and Liverpool District Banking Co. Ltd.

The terms provide for the payment of the sum of £216,766 which is equivalent to £22 for each share. The Whitehaven bank shareholders are entitled to receive one half of the purchase price in shares of the District Bank at £36 per share. The current and deposit accounts of the District Bank after the amalgamation of the figures of the Whitehaven bank will be approximately £29,500,000.

The Whitehaven bank, which was established in 1837, is one of the few remaining joint stock banks with a note issue; in consequence of the amalgamation the authorised note issue of £32,681, will, of course, lapse.

Three directors of the Whitehaven bank will join the Board of the District Bank, and will continue their active interest in the business of the Whitehaven district. The whole of the staff will be retained.

The progress of the District Bank is shown in the following figures.

CURRENT, DEPOSIT AND OTHER ACCOUNTS.

1910	£22,522,459
1911	23,497,271
1912	25,070,072
1913	25,916,689
1914	27,412,987

2. That the machinery of the Derby scheme shall be made statutory for this purpose.

3. That these provisions shall only be enacted for the period of the present war.

The bill, of course, may emerge in a very dfferent form from the Cabinet.

NEXT MONTH'S LABOUR CONFERENCE.

The three days' conference of the Labour party will take place at Bristol at the end of January promises to be of exceptional interest.

Many resolutions on recruiting topics —some approving of the part taken by Labour in the campaign and some disapproving—will provide an opportunity for a discussion on compulsion, and on this question there is certain to be much outspoken nd strong comment. Nine different affiliated bodies have given notice to move in most emphatic terms a resoluton protesting against any form of conscription as being dangerous to the national unity.

The conference wil be asked to consider an application from the British Socialist party for affiliation to the Labour party. The application is made on the basis of 20,000 members, and it points out that there are seven Parliamentary candidates which the B.S.P. has already in the field, and which it is pledged to carry forward at the next general election. The Executive Committee suggest that for the purpose of the next general election the candidates of the B.S.P. shall be accepted and placed on the list of candidatures sanctioned by the Labour party executive.

Many resolutions deal with the problem of peace terms. The Ealing, Acton and Chiswick Council call upon the Government to formulate and publicly declare terms of peace which they might be ready to make, and to this the Manchester and Salford party will seek to add: "That no proposals for peace involving the evacuation of invaded territory should be decided by the Cabinet without being first submitted to the House of Commons."

A topic which will undoubtedly arouse keen discussion is the Munitions Act, and as an amendment to a resolution calling for its immediate repeal the London and Provincial Union of Licensed Vehicle Workers will propose that the party "shall obtain from the Government a definite pledge to be placed on the Statute book guaranteeing the return of their rights to all trade unions."

Other resolutions will deal with women's war service, and a demand will be made that men of non-military age shall have priority of employment over female labour, and also that women shall be paid not less than the rates paid to men for the same work.

In view of the increased cost of living the raising of the old-age pension from 5s to 7s 6d. will also be suggested.

For the Executive Committee several additional names will be put forward. The nominations for the secretaryship are Messrs W. C. Anderdson, J. R. Clynes, Arthur Henderson, J. Ramsay Macdonald, J. S. Middleton, and Tom Richardson. All but Mr. Henderson declined the nomination.

679/29

Bishop Knox on Women's Thrift.

LESSONS FROM THE WAR.

English people always have been a wasteful people. . . . Our women have not been educated, as the women of France have been educated, to the managment of money.

These remarks were made by the Bishop of Manchester, who, as president of the Manchester and Salford Savings Bank, occupied the chair at the 98th annual meeting, held in the bank. Bishop Knox emphasised the necessity for economy as part of war service. Referring to the conditions of Germany and England, he sopke of the "contest between Individualism and Socialism.

A satisfactory report was presented. It was stated that about 10,000 depositors were subscribers to the 4½ per cent War Loan, the amount being nearly three-quarters of a million pounds.

Supporting the chairman was the Lord Mayor of Manchester (Alderman Copeland and the chairman (Mr. Francis Godlee).

Moving the adoption of the report the Bishop of Manchester said he felt that this year had been one of exceptional trial and searching for the whole of the savings bank system. Never before had there been such an opportunity for investors to obtain such interest on small savings. He considered the bank had stood the test successfully, as was indicated by the figures given.

Continuing, the Bishop remarked that there never was such a time of great prosperity for a large number of those who were known as the working classes, but whom he preferred to call the weekly wage earners. Not only the banks, but the whole nation, he believed would have been intensely gratified if there had been an increase in saving proportionate with the increase of wages. The wage earners should be more fully informed in regard to economy, we must remember that economical habits are not acquired to order. They have to be learnt by discipline and practice," went on Dr. Knox. "The English people have always been a wasteful people, and I think we may add that during this war there has been to some extent a transference in the management of the money. The men in their millions are away, and a large portion of the wages is being received by the women—who, having previously received from their husbands just the sum it was necessary to carry them through the week, now find themselves in the position of having what is to them fabulous wealth. Our women have not been educated as the women of France have been educated to the management of money."

MONEY WELL SPENT.

In France, continued his lordship, the mother was the business head of the household, and had for many generations past exercised the economy of the household and the savings of the household. On the whole one thing to be thankful for at present was that some of the money now coming so largely into the possession of the weekly wage-earners

fierce contest between individualism and socialism on a very large scale. The German nation at the root was managed on Socialistic principles—Socialism in this respect, everybody was taught that his duty to the State came before all other duties. We had all been breathing, individualism in an exaggerated way Now the two principles were at a death grapple.

Dr. Knox asked how it was that in spite of all the pessimism and the headlines of disasters supposed to be happening; in spite of the gloomy Cassandras who were flourishing in the columns of some of the daily papers, there was apparent among the nation to-day a note of optimism—evidence that somehow or other things were looking very different to what they did a little while ago. He thought the justification was this: that while it might be imagined that a few men could satisfactorily administer the affairs of millions [illegible] and turn their energies in one direction with absolute efficiency, yet mistakes crept in, blunders being colossal. With the individuals, however, in spite of weakness and unpreparedness, there was room for making mistakes and for recovery.

THE BANK'S REPORT.

Moving a vote of thanks to the president and others, which was afterwards endorsed, the Lord Mayor remarked that that was his first visit to the bank meeting. Taking occasion to refer to the report Alderman Copeland said he looked upon the working man as being conservative—he did not mean in a political sense—but in the direction that when once he had found he was well treated by an institution he continued with it, in spite of any seeming attraction there might be to go elsewhere.

The report showed that the assets were £6,046,796 and the liabilities £5,899,951, leaving a clear surplus of £146,845 after paying every depositor in full. This was £2,632 more than at the close of the preceding year. The total receipts were £2,362,998, and the repayments £2,578,555; 24,663 accounts had been opened and 17,492 accounts closed, making the total number of accounts remaining open at the close of the year 153,924. The report and balance sheet were adopted.

LINCOLN'S WORDS TO-DAY.

The following letter appears in the "Daily News."

Sir,—About fifty years ago the following sentences were uttered in our mother-tongue by the greatest American statesman that has ever lived. They appear to embody a fine thought for Christmas, 1915:

The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did there. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought there have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from those who are dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that those dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

J. LANDFEAR LUCAS.
Glendora, Hindhead.

ELEVEN SUSPENDED ONE AFTER ANOTHER.

A number of Labour men in the Glasgow Town Council created a disturbance at a meeting of the Council, and in the end eleven of them had to be suspended before the ordinary business on the agenda could be proceeded with.

The Labour members of the Council have been active recently in organising meetings in the city for the purpose of protesting against conscription in any shape or form. They had endeavoured to secure the largest halls in the city for these meetings, but on one occasion they were refused the City Hall and on another St. Andrew's Hall, both of which belong to the Corporation, and the anti-conscription meetings had to be held in the open air.

The Labour [illegible] discussion on the question of the Corporation's refusal to let the halls for anti-conscription meetings. Lord Provost Dunlop was unable to be present at the Council as he was accompanying Mr. Lloyd George to the munitions works in the district. Bailie W. B. Smith presided.

When the minutes of a sub-committee on the halls was submitted the disturbance began by a lively discussion. This committee had refused an application by Mr. John Taylor on behalf of the Independent Labour party (Glasgow Federation, for the use of St. Andrew's Hall on Wednesday, December 8th, for the purpose of holding a demonstration of protest against conscription. This minute, it was stated, was reported for the information of the Corporation.

The Town Clerk, in reply to a question by Mr. George Smith, pointed out that by the time the minute had come before the Finance Committee the date was past, and, therefore, there could be no effective consideration of the subject.

The chairman ruled that the minute could not be discussed at that meeting, and he asked that the business on the agenda be proceeded with.

The Labour members refused to acquiesce in this ruling, and obstructed the business.

After a heated discussion, the suspension of first one Labour member and then another was moved and carried until eleven councillors—almost the entire Labour group present—had to leave the Council.

One of the last men to leave was a Mr Izett, who created a lively scene.

Mr. Izett rose to object to the minute.

The Town Clerk: Oh; I say, this is getting stale.

A Voice: He wants to be suspended.

Bailie Maclure moved that the suspension.

Mr. Izett: This will be the first time I have been suspended, and I am not going to take it so calmly as the others. This is not the way to carry on the business of the city of Glasgow.

On a division the motion for suspension was carried.

The Chairman (to Mr. Izett, who persisted in addressing the Council): Will you leave the house?

Mr. Izett: No, I won't. You are a disgrace to the chair.

Two Council officers approached Mr. Izett, but he refused to move.

Mr. Izett: I am not going out of the

THE DISCUSSION OF PEACE TERMS.

Mr. Geo. Benson in a letter to the "Manchester Guardian" says:—

As your recent article on the German Chancellor's speech pointed out, the Governments of all the belligerent nations have stated that they are fighting for guarantees of futre safety and peace. Such guarantees cannot be obtained by one nation or group of nations alone. Superior military power defensible frontiers, and similar "material guarantees" have never safeguarded peace and never will. To believe that one nation or group can by any [illegible] for itself by repressing another nation or group is an almost childish misunderstanding of history, psychology, and nationality. An attempt to obtain guarantees at the expense of other nations will merely lead to the re-establishment of the balance of power, which has been the cause of half the wars of the last century. No political organisation of Europe can be permanent, and any arrangement in which the balance is tipped against one section will of necessity be temporary. Sooner or later will come the rearrangement, Europe will again become two hostile camps, and the supposed guarantees of peace will have vanished. The one possible effective guarantee of peace is the abolition of antagonism as the basis of European statecraft and the substitution of the mutual insurance of each single nation by all; in other words, the Concert of Europe. Thus the European nations are rending each other to obtain something which co-operation alone can bring, and which isolation or division must immediately destroy.

The position of the English and German Governments, both of which are prepared to consider any terms of peace offered but neither prepared to formulate them, looks unpleasantly like the spectacle of two small boys both tired of the pummelling but each afraid to cry "Hold!" Both sides fear that such a step would be considered a sign of weakness. But how? Surely Surely definition of aim is a source of strength. If the Government is fighting for the unconditional surrender of Germany let it say so. Such a declaration would have less weakness than vague, meaningless phrases about the crushing of Prussian militarism. It would certainly denote strength and determination even if it lacked intelligence If, on the other hand, we are fighting for reasonable terms, what would do more than publication to strengthen our influence with neutrals and to weaken the influence of Prussian militarists over the mind of the German people?

The nation which first puts forward its terms of peace gains a distinct tactical advantage, for terms produced later must be formulated with reference to and receive direction from them. The second nation with its eye upon neutral opinion abroad and public opinion at home will be compelled to go one step further in the direction of reasonableness, and in subsequent negotiations, which would seem to be the inevitable consequence of such statements the nation first in the field would have the advantage.

A CHRISTMAS CALL TO WAR

tors were subscribers to the 4½ per cent War Loan, the amount being nearly three-quarters of a million pounds.

Supporting the chairman was the Lord Mayor of Manchester (Alderman Copeland and the chairman (Mr. Francis Godlee).

Moving the adoption of the report the Bishop of Manchester said he felt that this year had been one of exceptional trial and searching for the whole of the savings bank system. Never before had there been such an opportunity for investors to obtain such interest on small savings. He considered the bank had stood the test successfully, as was indicated by the figures given.

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MONEY WELL SPENT.

In France, continued his lordship, the mother was the business head of the household, and had for many generations past exercised the economy of the household and the savings of the household. On the whole one thing to be thankful for at present was that some of the money now coming so largely into the possession of the weekly wage-earners was being well spent. It was stated, for instance, rents were being readily paid. With regard to furniture, also, the demand was so great that in some cases about 30 per cent. more than in normal times had to be paid, but less satisfactory was the purchase of cheap jewellery. It was not possible to say what the picture shows had been getting. We had ourselves to blame for the lack of economy. We had not succeeded in inculating the self-discipline necessary. "If the war somehow or other brings us to understand that there are other things which are quite as important for our children and young people to learn as many of the things upon the time-table, that we could give instruction on new lines which would be most helpful—well, the war will not have been altogether ruinous to ourselves and may bring us blessings in disguise."

It appeared to be, stated the Bishop that at the present moment there was a was room for making mistakes and for recovery.

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Moving a vote of thanks to the president and others, which was afterwards endorsed, the Lord Mayor remarked that that was his first visit to the bank meeting. Taking occasion to refer to the report Alderman Copeland said he looked upon the working man as being conservative—he did not mean in a political sense—but in the direction that when once he had found he was well treated by an institution he continued with it, in spite of any seeming attraction there might be to go elsewhere.

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J. LANDFEAR LUCAS.

Glendora, Hindhead.

LADIES FREE.

Ladies, if you are wise, before parting with your money for useless remedies, write to me for FREE SAMPLE sufficient for a cure, of my renowned Treatment for all irregularities. No nauseous drugs. No useless injections. Acts like magic in the most obstinate and unyielding cases. Guaranteed absolutely effective under one hour. Failure impossible, so why worry. Send no money Sample, sworn testimonials, guaranteed genuine under penalty of £5,000, and "The Manual of Wisdom," sent absolutely free.

The MANAGERESS, LE BRASSEUR SURGICAL CO., LTD. (Dept. K.A.), Birmingham (sufficient address). Tel. No.: Midland 2598. Telegrams: "Surgical, Birmingham."

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Two Council officers approached Mr. Izett, but he refused to move.

Mr. Izett: I am not going out of the house, as a mark of my displeasure. You have behaved in a scandalous way

The chairman requested the Council officers to remove Mr. Izett, and, if necessary ,to get more assistance.

Mr. Izett: I am not going.

Several members of the Council made personal appeals to Mr. Izett to go quietly, and ultimately he consented to leave the meeting.

The scene lasted for nearly an hour and a half.

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of the balance of power, which has been the cause of half the wars of the last century. No political organisation of Europe can be permanent, and any arrangement in which the balance is tipped against one section will of necessity be temporary. Sooner or later will come the rearrangement, Europe will again become two hostile camps, and the supposed guarantees of peace will have vanished. The one possible effective guarantee of peace is the abolition of antagonism as the basis of European statecraft and the substitution of the mutual insurance of each single nation by all; in other words, the Concert of Europe. Thus the European nations are rending each other to obtain something which co-operation alone can bring, and which isolation or division must immediately destroy.

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A CHRISTMAS CALL TO WAR.

At St. Columba's, Pont street, Dr. Archibald Fleming took for his text the words in Thessalonians, "And the very God of peace sanctify you wholly."

The Christmas call to peace, he said, was ever, in a sense, a call to war. And this year more than ever we were called again to arm ourselves on behalf of the Prince of Peace. We were to go from the Bethlehem cradle fresh-fired to fight for peace. We were pledged more than ever to cast out from the comity of nations, in which it had been given to our own nation to play so powerful and responsible a part, all that made for baseness or corruption, all that dishonoured holiness, all that did violence to the heavenly laws of freedom, justice, and love. In this way, and in this way alone, we were to seek peace and ensue it.

Yorkshire Post

679/30

SUPPORTERS OF SIR JOHN SIMON.

The following letter was handed to Sir John Simon last evening:—

We, the undersigned, desire to express our wholehearted appreciation of your action in regard to conscription, and to assure you of our active and immediate support, whether as private individuals or in so far as we represent organisations, in any opposition to the Bill you and your colleagues decide to organise. We realise that our names are representative of only a limited section of the public, but we had ventured to take the initiative through our conviction that these views reflect a widespread opinion in the country.

The signatories are as follows:—C. G. Ammon, W. A. Appleton, J. H. Banks, Eleanor Barton, Margaret Bondfield, John Clifford, G. D. H. Cole, Margaret Llewellyn Davies, G. Lowes Dickinson, J. W. Graham, F. W. Hirst, J. A. Hobson, Henry T. Hodgkin, George Lansbury, P. W. Pethick Lawrence, Mary Macarthur, Sam Marsh, Catherine Marshall, H. W. Massingham, Francis Meynell, J. S. Middleton, J. Campbell Morgan, Grace Neal, W. E. Orchard, Sylvia Pankhurst, Clarissa Potter, Bertrand Russell, Alfred Salter, Olive Schreiner, Mary Sheepshanks, Robert Smillie, F. R. Swan, John Turner Williams, Robert Williams, and J. Winstone.

Weston Mercury

"ONLY A LIMITED SECTION."

APPRECIATION OF SIR JOHN SIMON'S ATTITUDE.

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Mary McArthur,
Sam Marsh,
Catherine Marshall,
H. W. Massingham,
Francis Meynell,
J. S. Middleton,
J. Campbell Morgan,
Grace Neal,
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Clarissa Potter,
Bertrand Russell,
Alfred Salter,
Olive Schreiner,
Mary Sheepshanks,
Robert Smillie,
F. R. Swan,
John Turner,
J. E. Williams,
Robert Williams,
J. Winstone."

Sussex Daily News

The Member for the Attercliffe Division

Mr. W. C. Anderson, the Labour Member for the Attercliffe Division of Sheffield, who was chosen by the majority of the Labour Party to move that the Military Service Bill be rejected, is a comparatively new figure at Westminster. He was for a number of years a knocker at several doors, and on account of his part in Scottish organization the expectation was that he would come in for some place North of the Tweed. A death, however, brought the vacancy at Attercliffe, and Mr. Anderson got the Labour ticket. However one may differ from him in his views, it must be said that he has courage in his belief, for Sheffield is one of the last cities in the country to hesitate about this matter. It is an armament centre, and is following the war with the utmost eagerness. Possibly Mr. Anderson derives some of his fortitude from the opinions of his wife—who was so well known as Miss Mary MacArthur—a social worker of pronounced views, but of undoubted ability. Miss MacArthur was one of the deputation to the Anti-Compulsion Members at the House of Commons on Monday. It is interesting to note, by the way, that Mr. Will Thorne raised a protest, when Mr. Anderson got up to move his amendment, against his being taken to represent the Labour Party. Mr. Thorne expressed his surprise that the Speaker called upon Mr. Anderson, inasmuch as half a dozen other M.P.'s had earlier handed in similar notices. It is an old custom, however, that the Speaker shall exercise his discretion when an identical motion appears in the names of several M.P.'s. The method of discretion is quaintly described as one of "sight." The Speaker saw Mr. Anderson, and, therefore, called upon him. He did this with an appropriate convenience, for, after all, the Attercliffe Member does speak for the only considerable number of legislators who are declared against the Bill. The Liberal M.P.'s who voted against the first reading are a more uncertain quantity, and the Irish voted rather by way of protest than from resolve to fight the Bill step by step.

The Daily Telegraph
12/1/16

679

SIR JOHN SIMON'S SUPPORTERS.

The following letter has been addressed to the late Home Secretary, Sir John Simon, signed by individuals who are opposed to compulsion:

"18, Bride-lane, London. E.C., 11th January, 1916.

"The Right Hon. Sir John Simon.

"Sir—We, the undersigned, desire to express our whole-hearted appreciation of your action in regard to Conscription, and to assure you of our active and immediate support, whether as private individuals or in so far as we represent organisations, in any opposition to the bill you and your colleagues decide to organise.

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F. W. HIRST.
J. A. HOBSON.
HENRY T. HODGKIN.
GEORGE LANSBURY.
P. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE.
MARY MACARTHUR.
SAM MARSH.
CATHERINE MARSHAM.
H. W. MASSINGHAM.
FRANCIS MEYNELL.
J. S. MIDDLETON.
J. CAMPBELL MORGAN.
GRACE NEAL.
W. E. ORCHARD.
SYLVIA PANKHURST.
CLARISSA E. POTTER.
BERTRAND RUSSELL.
ALFRED SALTER.
OLIVE SCHREINER.
MARY SHEEPSHANKS.
ROBERT SMILLIE.
F. R. SWAN.
JOHN TURNER.
J. E. WILLIAMS.
ROBERT WILLIAMS.
J. WINSTONE.

The Times
12/1/16

SIR J. SIMON'S SUPPORTERS.

LETTER FROM 36 SYMPATHIZERS.

The following letter was handed to Sir John Simon last evening:—

We, the undersigned, desire to express our whole-hearted appreciation of your action in regard to Conscription, and to assure you of our active and immediate support, whether as private individuals or in so far as we represent organizations in any opposition to the Bill you and your colleagues decide to organize.

We realize that our names are representative of only a limited section of the public, but we have ventured to take the initiative through our conviction that these views reflect a widespread opinion in the country. Yours faithfully,

C. G. AMMON
W. A. APPLETON
J. H. BANKS
ELEANOR BARTON
MARGARET BONDFIELD
JOHN CLIFFORD
G. D. H. COLE
MARGARET LLEWELLYN DAVIES
G. LOWES DICKINSON
J. W. GRAHAM
F. W. HIRST
J. A. HOBSON
HENRY T. HODGKIN
GEORGE LANSBURY
F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE
MARY MACARTHUR
SAM MARSH
CATHERINE MARSHALL
H. W. MASSINGHAM
FRANCIS MEYNELL
J. S. MIDDLETON
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F. R. SWAN
JOHN TURNER
J. E. WILLIAMS
ROBERT WILLIAMS
J. WINSTONE

The Yorkshire Post
Leeds
31/1/16

LABOUR AND COMPULSORY SERVICE.

VIEWS OF YORKSHIRE TRADE UNIONISTS.

SIR WILLIAM PRIESTLEY'S OUTSPOKENNESS GIVES OFFENCE.

The attitude of labour towards the conditions set up by the Military Service Act and the Munitions Act, and the influx of women into industrial pursuits, were the main topics discussed at the half-yearly meeting of the Federated Trades Councils of Yorkshire, which was held in Huddersfield Town Hall on Saturday afternoon. In the unavoidable absence of the Mayor (Alderman Blamires) the delegates were welcomed by the Deputy Mayor (Alderman Jessop) and Mr. A. Shaw, president of the Huddersfield Trades Council. The chair was taken by Mr. Barber, of Bradford.

The report of the Secretary (Mr. Ben Turner) stated that the Munitions Act had been one of the most irritating Acts of Parliament passed during the war, and generally speaking there was bad temper in the engineering workshops because of the way in which the Act had been worked. There had been a big call for women to enter munition and other factories, and the points that working women should bear in mind were that they should get equal pay for filling men's places, and that when the war heroes returned home they should cease work and resume home duties. After placing on record the Federation's protest against compulsory military service, the report urged that whenever the franchise was dealt with the bravery and sacrifice of the women should be recognised and justice done to them by giving them the freedom men claimed for themselves.

The Chairman announced that following upon the conferences held by the Federation on the question of military service, copies of a resolution protesting against compulsory measures had been forwarded to various Yorkshire Members of Parliament. The replies received included one from Sir William Middlebrook, who wrote stating that the assurances given by the Prime Minister of the safeguards to be inserted in the Military Service Bill would reassure the members of the Federation. "It is an extremely serious struggle," the letter proceeded, "in which we are engaged, and the need for using all available powers for gaining victory renders it necessary to suspend for the time being many convictions, however distasteful such a course may be to those like ourselves who value most highly our voluntary system." A reply which would astonish the delegates had also been received from Sir William Priestley. This read as follows:—"I am directed by Sir William Priestley to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your favour of recent date in reference to conscription, and to assure you that the same shall receive his careful and prompt attention after the war is won." To his mind, the Chairman said, that was a direct insult to the organised workers of Bradford, who would leave no stone unturned to see that when the next General Election came Sir William Priestley would not have a seat in East Bradford. (Hear, hear.) It was a cowardly reply to any body of workers. Sir William was only a public representative, and he ought to treat the members of the Federation with the same courtesy that he expected from other people.

Mr. Rowan (Mexborough) said he liked calling a spade a spade, and there were those in the country who agreed with compulsory service. Sir William Priestley had given them a direct answer, and it was better to give a direct answer than evade the point and stroke the backs of people. They could not call a man a coward for giving a direct answer, and that was the only good point in the letter.

Mr. T. H. Gill (York) said the matter immediately concerned the trade unionists of Bradford, and he moved that copies of the correspondence be sent to the Bradford Trades Council with a view to that body taking action in the matter.

Mr. G. H. Pearson (Leeds), who seconded the proposal, said the answer was by no means a straight one. It was a direct and deliberate insult to the workers.

The proposal was adopted.

DELEGATES AND A "DOWN TOOLS" POLICY.

The Chairman submitted a resolution regretting the passing of the Military Service (No. 2) Bill, and declaring the intention of the Federation to work for its repeal by all peaceful and constitutional means. He said that, personally, he would have liked to be in a position to have advocated a "down tools" policy, but he was bound to take the facts as they appeared to him. Whatever might be their invididual feelings, they could not fly in the face of the national party. Personally, he did not care for it, but they had to recognise what was the expressed opinion of the organised Labour party of the country.

Mr. C. A. Glyde (Bradford) seconded the resolution.

Mr. Gill (York) complained that no previous notice had been given of the resolution, and he, for one, had no mandate from his Council how to vote. At the present moment they could hardly say where they were with regard to the matter, for with the passing of the Bill the situation had changed considerably since their last conference. He did not like to be in a neutral position, but he would have to be neutral that day.

The resolution was carried with four dissentients, several delegates abstaining from voting.

Mr. J. S. Armitage (Huddersfield), who moved a resolution calling for the complete withdrawal of the Munitions Act, said that so great was the unrest among the trades concerned that only the complete withdrawal of the measure could satisfy the democracy. The Act was being used for political ends, and in its amended state it did not make things much better. It more

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Mr. G. Hutchinson (York), who seconded, said he was a member of the Local Munitions Tribunal in York, and his experience of the Act was that it was most unsatisfactory. It was time they took a definite stand in the matter.

Mr. C. A. Glyde (Bradford) complained of the restrictions that were being imposed upon the country by the Government, and said that, whether he got six months' imprisonment or not, he desired to make the statement that any member of his class who worked in a munitions factory for less than 30s. a week for an ordinary working week was justified in striking in order to get a living wage of 30s.

The resolution was adopted.

The Influx of Women into Industry.

A resolution demanding industrial equality of men and women, and calling upon the trade union movement to prevent employers from using women to lower the standard hitherto obtained by organised workers, was moved by Mr. C. Whitwam (Huddersfield), who said that the resolution embodied a principle that textile workers had been agitating for long before war broke out.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Jenkins (Spen Valley), supported by Mr. G. H. Pearson (Leeds), and adopted, as also was a resolution urging that preparations be made for a national campaign for an eight hours working day.

Certain grievances of the clerical staff of the Great Central Railway Company were aired by Mr. Gill (York), who moved a resolution urging that guarantees be given the Railway Clerks' Association that no member of the staff will be interfered with because of his or her membership in the Association. Mr. Gill said that more women had been introduced on to the railways than into any other industry, and in numerous cases they had been brought in to do work previously done by men at less than half the wages received by the men.

Mr. Riley (Selby) seconded, and the resolution was adopted.

Mr. Brewer (Wakefield) moved a resolution strongly deprecating the action of the West Riding Asylum authorities in placing female nurses in charge of male patients, and calling for an immediate reversion from a course that was physically, morally, and economically bad. Mr. Brewer said that nurses were refusing to do the work simply because from a physical point of view they were helpless to deal with male patients. On account of the war, 110 male attendants had left the Wakefield Asylum to go, many of them, into the military hospitals. Surely, women nurses would be more capable of dealing with sane soldiers than insane asylum patients. Another point was that the nurses were only getting two-thirds of the pay the male attendants received.

Mr. Gill (York) seconded, and the resolution was adopted.

The Chairman, introducing what he termed an urgent question, said that no section of the community had made greater sacrifices than had the organised workers of the country. There was scarcely a vestige of organised labour left now, but some employers were going a step further. They were now attempting to exploit child labour. Some time ago the Bradford Chamber of Commerce asked the local education authority to revise the school-leaving age on the ground that a certain percentage of machinery was standing for want of labour. To its credit, the Education Committee declined the request. Bradford was one of the black spots of England so far as child labour was concerned. They had something like 6,000 half-timers in the city. The Chamber of Commerce had now appealed to the Board of Trade, and on Wednesday last two factory inspectors appeared before the Education Committee to ascertain why they had refused to reduce the school-leaving age. That was not the duty of factory inspectors. The shortage of labour was not due to the lack of half-time labour, for there were more half-timers in Bradford this year than ever before in the history of the city. He moved that the Executive be empowered to go into the question, with a view to a county conference being held to consider the matter.

The proposal was agreed to.

It was decided to hold the next meeting at Mexborough in July, and the following were appointed to vacancies on the Executive:—Mr. Gill (York), Mr. Greenfield (Shipley), Mr. Rowan (Mexborough), and Mr. Calvert (Wakefield).

The Labour Leader 11-1-16 679/32 679

THE CAMPAIGN IN THE COUNTRY.

RISING TIDE OF INDIGNATION AND REVOLT.

The introduction of the Thin-End-of-the-Wedge Bill has aroused a great and widespread opposition. All the varying forces against Conscription are rapidly coming together, and a solid movement of enormous dimensions is developing.

British liberty must not be surrendered on so slender a pretext, even under the cover of a war professedly fought to safeguard it. Men and women of all shades of opinion, differing widely in their interpretations of the war and in their conceptions of Britain's part in it, feel this so strongly that they are sinking their differences and uniting their strength to meet the militarism at home, which would like to raise itself upon the Prussian model.

If the Conscriptionists persist, if they continue to hold the majority view in the Cabinet, and if Parliament sanctions the measure, the country will be the scene of a struggle as determined as the Chartist struggles of the last century. Liberty dies hard.

The campaign against the Bill has already aroused enthusiasm throughout the country. The firm resolve of the Labour Conference has filled the ranks of liberty with a new hope, and the spirit of resolute resistance to this attempt to militarise our national life is spreading like fire through town and village.

The campaign has already assumed proportions which indicate the power of the opposition, and no government with the minutest sense of responsibility can ignore the situation which is being created by this, its crowning act of folly. The opposition is growing in volume every hour. The campaign is strengthening every day. Our readers will appreciate the strength of the movement from the review we give here of the position in the country.

A POWERFUL DEPUTATION.

On Monday night an influential deputation, representing various political, social, and religious organisations, attended the House of Commons to lay before the members who are resisting the Bill the reasons for the opposition of those represented by the deputation. Among many representative persons the following were either present or had expressed their concurrence with the objects of the deputation: Mr. Clifford Allen, Professor Andrews, Councillor W. H. Ayles, Mr. Harrison Barrow, the Rev. S. Beddow, Miss Margaret Bondfield, Mr. Fred Bramley, Mr. A. Fenner Brockway, Mr. Barrow Cadbury, Dr. Clifford, Mr. G. D. H. Cole, Miss Llewellyn Davies, Mrs. Despard, Mr. J. A. Hobson, Mr. J. H. Hudson, Councillor J. W. Kneeshaw, Mr. George Lansbury, Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Mary Macarthur, Miss Catherine Marshall, Mr. H. W. Massingham (Editor of the *Nation*), Rev. Stanley Mellor, Mr. J. S. Middleton, Rev. Dr. Orchard, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Rev. Richard Roberts, Rev. G. T. Sadler, Dr. Alfred Salter, Miss Olive Schreiner, Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, Mr. John Turner, and Mr. Robert Williams.

Mr. J. A. Hobson, referring to Mr. Asquith's stipulation, said there was already evidence that there would be no "general consent" but at least a powerful minority, and he complained that no serious analysis of the figures upon which the Bill was based had been made. Miss Catherine Marshall expressed the views of the women's organisations, and Mr. Clifford Allen spoke for the conscientious objectors, pointing out that the exemption proposals were quite inadequate. He said the conscientious objector was opposed root and branch to the whole measure and did not intend to centre his attention upon that part of the Bill concerning himself.

NATIONAL CENTRAL COUNCIL.

This very influential deputation has now formed itself into a National Council, to co-ordinate and maintain the agitation against the Bill in the country. Local committees which are formed to oppose the Bill should work in co-operation with this Council, who will supply speakers and provide literature of all kinds.

All communications should be addressed to H. N. Langdon Davies, 18, Bride Lane, London, E.C.

THE STRENGTH OF MANCHESTER.

In Manchester a strong Central Committee [illegible] way Guild, the National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society, and the Women's International League "to take immediate steps to organise a vigorous campaign against the Military Service (No. 2) Bill."

This committee is speedily getting to work. It is intended to hold dinner-hour meetings outside the large works in the district. In a communication signed by representatives of the organisations mentioned, it is stated that publication of the terms of the Bill has intensified the opposition of Labour, since it is clear that it involves the application of industrial compulsion. "The feeling throughout the Labour and Trade Union Movement in Manchester and Salford is very strong, and drastic action is threatened should this measure of the Government be enacted and put into operation. . . . The opposition in Manchester and Salford is widespread, determined, and powerful, and it will take every course open to it to defeat the attempt to impose compulsion upon the country."

At a delegate Conference called by the Committee, a resolution, to use every means to oppose compulsory service, was carried by an overwhelming majority. The delegates present numbered 200 and only nine voted against the motion.

CENTRAL COUNCIL FOR GLOUCESTER.

A conference of the anti-Conscription forces in Gloucester has been called for Saturday with the object of establishing a No-Conscription Council representative of all organisations and individuals who are of opinion that the passing of this measure would be a violation of the rights of freedom so long enjoyed by this country, and would constitute a grave menace to the social progress of the nation and the world. Several organisations, including the Trades and Labour Council, have appointed their delegates to the conference.

YORKSHIRE RESOLVES UPON ACTION.

The Yorkshire I.L.P. Divisional Council has circulated all the branches in the Yorkshire area, calling upon them immediately to initiate or co-operate in the formation of local anti-Compulsion Committees to be composed of all organisations in favour of opposing compulsion.

The Huddersfield Trades Council, I.L.P., and B.S.P. have decided to form a local council to organise opinion against the passing of the Compulsory Service Bill.

A Conference, under the auspices of the Yorkshire Federation of Trades Councils, sat at Bradford on Saturday. The Secretary of the Bradford Trades and Labour Council, Mr. Walter Barber, presided over 145 delegates, representing Trades Councils from all over Yorkshire. With only one dissentient, the Conference adopted this resolution: "That this Conference, representing the Trade Unions of Yorkshire, believing that the object of the Conscriptionists is not a fuller supply of soldiers, but the cheapening of soldiers and the military control of industry, and is therefore a menace to the working classes, especially the organised workers, resolves to take such action as is necessary to prevent the passing into law of the Military Service Bill now before Parliament."

VIGOROUS ACTION IN THE MIDLANDS.

The Birmingham and Midlands No-Conscription Council is conducting a very vigorous campaign. Many thousand of leaflets have been distributed during the last few days throughout the whole area. Four of the members rose from their beds at 5 a.m. last Saturday to give leaflets to the men going into the big works in their district. The demands for literature have far exceeded the supply.

Every Trades Council and Labour Party in the kingdom has been made acquainted with the resolution passed by the Birmingham Trades and Labour Council, and has been asked to go and do likewise. They have also been supplied with a list of quotations from the Conscriptionists which shows what those gentlemen are after.

Arrangements are now well in hand for a literature campaign on quite a gigantic scale, and along other lines the agitation is moving rapidly. Birmingham and the Midlands will render a good account of itself.

NONCONFORMIST OPPOSITION.

A large body of Nonconformists is coming out into the open against the bill.

chairman of the N.U.R., presiding, said he had never attended any national conference that was more generally representative than was the special Trade Union Congress. With the exception of the miners, it was safe to say that every industry in the country affiliated with the national bodies was represented at that Congress. He would say to those who alleged that the vote was not representative of Trade Unionists that, taking away the whole of the vote of the Independent Labour Party and of the Trades Councils and local Labour Parties—organisations which were affiliated and entitled to be present and to vote—and leaving only the purely Trade Union vote, there was a majority of over a million for the resolution that was carried. That was his answer to those who, if the vote had gone the other way, would have claimed it as one of the largest votes that had ever been given in the history of the Trade Unions.

He was sorry that representative Labour men should have attempted to belittle the Congress, because some of them were the very people who desired the Conference and helped to bring it into being, and if they were manly they ought to accept the decision of the Congress.

A resolution approving of the Congress decision was adopted with 19 dissentients, and finally the following motion was carried by over 100 votes to 8:

> That this meeting, representing the organised Labour forces of Stockport, hereby records its appreciation of the fine stand made by Mr. A. Bellamy against Conscription in any form, and especially against the Military Service (No. 2) Bill, at the Special Congress at London, and also heartily endorses the vote against the Bill given by Mr. G. J. Wardle, M.P.

ENDORSEMENT FROM LEEDS.

The Leeds Labour Party met on Sunday afternoon to hear the report of the President, Mr. Harold E. Clay, who was the delegate to the Labour Conference in London. In the course of a long discussion on the situation, an amendment in favour of Compulsory Service was defeated, and the meeting later passed a resolution endorsing the National Congress resolution. Another resolution was carried, recommending Labour members of Parliament to secure the holding up of the Compulsion Bill for at least three months, and an extension of the time for attestation under the group system to the same period.

MEN OF MILITARY AGE RESIST.

A meeting of men of military age in Leeds and District was held in Leeds on Friday evening. Unanimously the meeting passed a resolution regretting the introduction of the Military Service (No. 2) Bill, believing that it is neither necessary nor justifiable and is an infringement of the right of freedom of conscience, and asking the Government to withdraw it. The meeting pledged itself individually and collectively, should the Bill become law, to assist to the utmost of its power all who for conscience sake withstand its provisions, and to resist the enactment by refusing to take part in the prosecution of the war.

RESISTANCE OF LABOUR COUNCILS.

Strong opposition to the Military Service Bill is expressed in a resolution passed at a special delegate meeting of the Borough of Camberwell Trades and Labour Council representing 4,000 organised workers. The members of the House of Commons, and the Labour Party in particular, are urged to "fight the Bill in all its stages and so save the country from the hands of the British Junkers and the curse of militarism." Instruction was given to the executive to arrange public protests against the Bill and to the delegates present to inform the members of the various societies affiliated to the Council that the Council will endeavour to assist any members who may resist such an Act.

The Blackburn Trades and Labour Council has declared against the Bill by 54 votes against 11.

The Battersea Labour League deeply regrets the introduction of the Bill and records its firm opposition to any measure of compulsion.

The Carnarvonshire Labour Council at the third annual conference expressed its opposition to every form of compulsory service, both [illegible]

ing Committee and purporting to be "representative of all political parties." Arrangements were made for effective opposition to the Bill in the district.

TRADE UNION DETERMINATION.

The Executive Council of the Building Workers' Industrial Union resolves to support the attitude against Conscription taken by the Labour Conference and appeals to all its members to give it their unanimous support in the action it may take. Firm resolutions of opposition to the Bill come from the following organisations:

Liverpool Branch of the National Union of Bookbinders and Machine Rulers.

Stratford Branch of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen.

Ebbw Vale Branch of the National Union of Railwaymen.

No. 4 Branch of the National Amalgamated Society of House and Ship Painters and Decorators.

London West Branch of the Society of Amalgamated Toolmakers.

Newport No. 1 Branch of the N.U.R.

THE I.L.P. AT WORK.

The I.L.P. branches all over the country may be relied upon to organise a strong resistance to this attempt to suffocate British liberty. Public meetings in many districts have already been held; others are in preparation. Many more will be organised as the agitation gathers impetus, and the volume of protest will grow, if the effort is persisted in, until it will become a storm which will give our Jingoes reason to wish they had never tampered with the rights of the people under cover of a war for liberty. Resolutions of determined opposition have reached us during the last few days from:

Conference of the Scottish I.L.P.
Newbury I.L.P.
Stockport I.L.P.
Stapleford and Sandiacre I.L.P. (Public meeting: Unanimous).
Northampton I.L.P.
Rotten Park (Birmingham) I.L.P.
Gillingham I.L.P.
Lewisham I.L.P.
Kirkby-in-Ashfield I.L.P.
Erdington Labour Church (Public meeting: Unanimous).
Edinburgh I.L.P. (public meeting, unanimous).
Edinburgh Central I.L.P.
Lewisham I.L.P.
Macclesfield I.L.P.
Galashiels I.L.P.
Jarrow I.L.P.

THE N-C.F. RESOLVE.

The attitude of the No-Conscription Fellowship needs no comment. A number of branches, however, have expressed their solemn determination to resist in definite resolutions. Such resolutions reach us from:

Streatham Branch of the N.-C.F.
Cardiff group of the N.-C.F.
Tottenham Branch of the N.-C.F.
Nelson Branch of the N.-C.F.
Wandsworth and Wimbledon N.-C.F.

The Portsmouth Branch of the N.-C.F., viewing with alarm the danger to the liberty of the subject in the attempt to force compulsory military service on the people, urges the Labour movement to demand the withdrawal of the Bill, and, if necessary, to call for a cessation of all organised Labour in the country.

THE GENERAL PROTEST.

From other sources we have received expressions of protest. Resolutions against the Bill have reached us from the following organisations:

The National Peace Council.
Executive Council of the Liverpool Socialist Sunday Schools Union.
Bristol Socialist Sunday School (public meeting).
Independent Church at Llandrillo, Merioneth (Minister, I. T. Davies).
Dundee Free Religious Movement.
Women's International League (Public meeting: Five dissentients).

COMPULSION FOR FOREIGN SERVICE

Sir,—There is an additional reason, one which I have not yet seen in print, why this Compulsion Bill should not become law. A study of [illegible]

The Labour Leader 14-1-16 6 79/52 679

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chairman of the N.U.R., presiding, said he had never attended any national conference that was more generally representative than was the special Trade Union Congress. With the exception of the miners, it was safe to say that every industry in the country affiliated with the national bodies was represented at that Congress. He would say to those who alleged that the vote was not representative of Trade Unionists that, taking away the whole of the vote of the Independent Labour Party and of the Trades Councils and local Labour Parties—organisations which were affiliated and entitled to be present and to vote—and leaving only the purely Trade Union vote, there was a majority of over a million for the resolution that was carried. That was his answer to those who, if the vote had gone the other way, would have claimed it as one of the largest votes that had ever been given in the history of the Trade Unions.

He was sorry that representative Labour men should have attempted to belittle the Congress, because some of them were the very people who desired the Conference and helped to bring it into being, and if they were manly they ought to accept the decision of the Congress.

A resolution approving of the Congress decision was adopted with 19 dissentients, and finally the following motion was carried by over 100 votes to 8:

> That this meeting, representing the organised Labour forces of Stockport, hereby records its appreciation of the fine stand made by Mr. A. Bellamy against Conscription in any form, and especially against the Military Service (No. 2) Bill, at the Special Congress at London, and also heartily endorses the vote against the Bill given by Mr. G. J. Wardle, M.P.

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MEN OF MILITARY AGE RESIST.

A meeting of men of military age in Leeds and District was held in Leeds on Friday evening. Unanimously the meeting passed a resolution regretting the introduction of the Military Service (No. 2) Bill, believing that it is neither necessary nor justifiable and is an infringement of the right of freedom of conscience, and asking the Government to withdraw it. The meeting pledged itself individually and collectively, should the Bill become law, to assist to the utmost of its power all who for conscience sake withstand its provisions, and to resist the enactment by refusing to take part in the prosecution of the war.

RESISTANCE OF LABOUR COUNCILS.

Strong opposition to the Military Service Bill is expressed in a resolution passed at a special delegate meeting of the Borough of Camberwell Trades and Labour Council representing 4,000 organised workers. The members of the House of Commons, and the Labour Party in particular, are urged to "fight the Bill in all its stages and so save the country from the hands of the British Junkers and the curse of militarism." Instruction was given to the executive to arrange public protests against the Bill and to the delegates present to inform the members of the various societies affiliated to the Council that the Council will endeavour to assist any members who may resist such an Act.

ing Committee and purporting to be "representative of all political parties." Arrangements were made for effective opposition to the Bill in the district.

TRADE UNION DETERMINATION.

The Executive Council of the Building Workers' Industrial Union resolves to support the attitude against Conscription taken by the Labour Conference and appeals to all its members to give it their unanimous support in the action it may take. Firm resolutions of opposition to the Bill come from the following organisations:

Liverpool Branch of the National Union of Bookbinders and Machine Rulers.

Stratford Branch of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen.

Ebbw Vale Branch of the National Union of Railwaymen.

No. 4 Branch of the National Amalgamated Society of House and Ship Painters and Decorators.

London West Branch of the Society of Amalgamated Toolmakers.

Newport No. 1 Branch of the N.U.R.

THE I.L.P. AT WORK.

The I.L.P. branches all over the country may be relied upon to organise a strong resistance to this attempt to suffocate British liberty. Public meetings in many districts have already been held; others are in preparation. Many more will be organised as the agitation gathers impetus, and the volume of protest will grow, if the effort is persisted in, until it will become a storm which will give our Jingoes reason to wish they had never tampered with the rights of the people under cover of a war for liberty. Resolutions of determined opposition have reached us during the last few days from:

Conference of the Scottish I.L.P.
Newbury I.L.P.
Stockport I.L.P.
Stapleford and Sandiacre I.L.P. (Public meeting: Unanimous).
Northampton I.L.P.
Rotten Park (Birmingham) I.L.P.
Gillingham I.L.P.
Lewisham I.L.P.
Kirkby-in-Ashfield I.L.P.
Erdington Labour Church (Public meeting: Unanimous).
Edinburgh I.L.P. (public meeting, unanimous).
Edinburgh Central I.L.P.
Lewisham I.L.P.
Macclesfield I.L.P.
Galashiels I.L.P.
Jarrow I.L.P.

THE N.-C.F. RESOLVE.

The attitude of the No-Conscription Fellowship needs no comment. A number of branches, however, have expressed their solemn determination to resist in definite resolutions. Such resolutions reach us from:

Streatham Branch of the N.-C.F.
Cardiff group of the N.-C.F.
Tottenham Branch of the N.-C.F.
Nelson Branch of the N.-C.F.
Wandsworth and Wimbledon N.-C.F.

The Portsmouth Branch of the N.-C.F., viewing with alarm the danger to the liberty of the subject in the attempt to force compulsory military service on the people, urges the Labour movement to demand the withdrawal of the Bill, and, if necessary, to call for a cessation of all organised Labour in the country.

THE GENERAL PROTEST.

From other sources we have received expressions of protest. Resolutions against the Bill have reached us from the following organisations:

The National Peace Council.
Executive Council of the Liverpool Socialist Sunday Schools Union.
Bristol Socialist Sunday School (public meeting).
Independent Church at Llandrillo, Merioneth (Minister, J. T. Davies).

raise itself upon the Prussian model.

If the Conscriptionists persist, if they continue to hold the majority view in the Cabinet, and if Parliament sanctions the measure, the country will be the scene of a struggle as determined as the Chartist struggles of the last century. Liberty dies hard.

The campaign against the Bill has already aroused enthusiasm throughout the country. The firm resolve of the Labour Conference has filled the ranks of liberty with a new hope, and the spirit of resolute resistance to this attempt to militarise our national life is spreading like fire through town and village.

The campaign has already assumed proportions which indicate the power of the opposition, and no government with the minutest sense of responsibility can ignore the situation which is being created by this, its crowning act of folly. The opposition is growing in volume every hour. The campaign is strengthening every day. Our readers will appreciate the strength of the movement from the review we give here of the position in the country.

A POWERFUL DEPUTATION.

On Monday night an influential deputation, representing various political, social, and religious organisations, attended the House of Commons to lay before the members who are resisting the Bill the reasons for the opposition of those represented by the deputation. Among many representative persons the following were either present or had expressed their concurrence with the objects of the deputation: Mr. Clifford Allen, Professor Andrews, Councillor W. H. Ayles, Mr. Harrison Barrow, the Rev. S. Beddow, Miss Margaret Bondfield, Mr. Fred Bramley, Mr. A. Fenner Brockway, Mr. Barrow Cadbury, Dr. Clifford, Mr. G. D. H. Cole, Miss Llewellyn Davies, Mrs. Despard, Mr. J. A. Hobson, Mr. J. H. Hudson, Councillor J. W. Kneeshaw, Mr. George Lansbury, Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Mary Macarthur, Miss Catherine Marshall, Mr. H. W. Massingham (Editor of the *Nation*), Rev. Stanley Mellor, Mr. J. S. Middleton, Rev. Dr. Orchard, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Rev. Richard Roberts, Rev. G. T. Sadler, Dr. Alfred Salter, Miss Olive Schreiner, Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, Mr. John Turner, and Mr. Robert Williams.

Mr. J. A. Hobson, referring to Mr. Asquith's stipulation, said there was already evidence that there would be no "general consent" but at least a powerful minority, and he complained that no serious analysis of the figures upon which the Bill was based had been made. Miss Catherine Marshall expressed the views of the women's organisations, and Mr. Clifford Allen spoke for the conscientious objectors, pointing out that the exemption proposals were quite inadequate. He said the conscientious objector was opposed root and branch to the whole measure and did not intend to centre his attention upon that part of the Bill concerning himself.

NATIONAL CENTRAL COUNCIL.

This very influential deputation has now formed itself into a National Council, to co-ordinate and maintain the agitation against the Bill in the country. Local committees which are formed to oppose the Bill should work in co-operation with this Council, who will supply speakers and provide literature of all kinds.

All communications should be addressed to B. N. Langdon Davies, 18, Bride Lane, London, E.C.

THE STRENGTH OF MANCHESTER.

In Manchester a strong Central Committee has been formed, representative of the Manchester and Salford Trades and Labour Council, the Manchester and Salford Labour Party, the Manchester and Salford I.L.P. Federation, the Conscientious Objector's Group of the Society of Friends, the No-Conscription Fellowship, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Manchester and Salford Women's Trade Union Council, the Manchester and Salford Women's Trades and Labour Council, the Women's Co-operative Guild, the Women's Labour League, the Manchester Women's Adult Schools, the Manchester Women's Peace Society, the Stockport Women's Rail-

chester and Salford is very strong, and drastic action is threatened should this measure of the Government be enacted and put into operation. . . . The opposition in Manchester and Salford is widespread, determined, and powerful, and it will take every course open to it to defeat the attempt to impose compulsion upon the country."

At a delegate Conference called by the Committee, a resolution, to use every means to oppose compulsory service, was carried by an overwhelming majority. The delegates present numbered 200 and only nine voted against the motion.

CENTRAL COUNCIL FOR GLOUCESTER.

A conference of the anti-Conscription forces in Gloucester has been called for Saturday with the object of establishing a No-Conscription Council representative of all organisations and individuals who are of opinion that the passing of this measure would be a violation of the rights of freedom so long enjoyed by this country, and would constitute a grave menace to the social progress of the nation and the world. Several organisations, including the Trades and Labour Council, have appointed their delegates to the conference.

YORKSHIRE RESOLVES UPON ACTION.

The Yorkshire I.L.P. Divisional Council has circulated all the branches in the Yorkshire area, calling upon them immediately to initiate or co-operate in the formation of local anti-Compulsion Committees to be composed of all organisations in favour of opposing compulsion.

The Huddersfield Trades Council, I.L.P., and B.S.P. have decided to form a local council to organise opinion against the passing of the Compulsory Service Bill.

A Conference, under the auspices of the Yorkshire Federation of Trades Councils, sat at Bradford on Saturday. The Secretary of the Bradford Trades and Labour Council, Mr. Walter Barber, presided over 145 delegates, representing Trades Councils from all over Yorkshire. With only one dissentient, the Conference adopted this resolution: "That this Conference, representing the Trade Unions of Yorkshire, believing that the object of the Conscriptionists is not a fuller supply of soldiers, but the cheapening of soldiers and the military control of industry, and is therefore a menace to the working classes, especially the organised workers, resolves to take such action as is necessary to prevent the passing into law of the Military Service Bill now before Parliament."

VIGOROUS ACTION IN THE MIDLANDS.

The Birmingham and Midlands No-Conscription Council is conducting a very vigorous campaign. Many thousand of leaflets have been distributed during the last few days throughout the whole area. Four of the members rose from their beds at 5 a.m. last Saturday to give leaflets to the men going into the big works in their district. The demands for literature have far exceeded the supply.

Every Trades Council and Labour Party in the kingdom has been made acquainted with the resolution passed by the Birmingham Trades and Labour Council, and has been asked to go and do likewise. They have also been supplied with a list of quotations from the Conscriptionists which shows what those gentlemen are after.

Arrangements are now well in hand for a literature campaign on quite a gigantic scale, and along other lines the agitation is moving rapidly. Birmingham and the Midlands will render a good account of itself.

NONCONFORMIST OPPOSITION.

A large body of Nonconformists is coming out into the open against the Bill.

They are led by Dr. Clifford and Dr. Campbell Morgan and other well-known Free Churchmen. A strong committee of Nonconformists opposed to compulsion has been formed in Manchester, and at a public meeting held on Tuesday evening a resolution against the Government Bill was carried by an overwhelming majority.

MR. BELLAMY ON THE CONGRESS.

A meeting, representing the organised Labour and Socialist bodies of Stockport, was held on Monday to discuss the Military Service (No. 2) Bill. Mr. A. Bellamy, the

Union vote, there was a majority of over a million for the resolution that was carried. That was his answer to those who, if the vote had gone the other way, would have claimed it as one of the largest votes that had ever been given in the history of the Trade Unions.

He was sorry that representative Labour men should have attempted to belittle the Congress, because some of them were the very people who desired the Conference and helped to bring it into being, and if they were manly they ought to accept the decision of the Congress.

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The Blackburn Trades and Labour Council has declared against the Bill by 54 votes against 11.

The Battersea Labour League deeply regrets the introduction of the Bill and records its firm opposition to any measure of compulsion.

The Carnarvonshire Labour Council at the third annual conference expressed its opposition to every form of compulsory service, both military and industrial, and its appreciation of the efforts of organised Labour in the country in upholding the voluntary system.

The Huddersfield and District Associated Trades and Labour Council, representing 58 societies and over 7,000 members, at a special meeting resolved to offer its uncompromising opposition to the Bill, and it recommends its affiliated bodies to consider means to prevent the Bill becoming operative. It also recognises the valuable aid rendered by Mr. A. J. Sherwell, M.P., by his opposition, and hopes he will continue it. It repudiates the telegram to Mr. Sherwell emanating from the Recruit-

Bookbinders and Machine Rulers.

Stratford Branch of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen.

Ebbw Vale Branch of the National Union of Railwaymen.

No. 4 Branch of the National Amalgamated Society of House and Ship Painters and Decorators.

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THE I.L.P. AT WORK.

The I.L.P. branches all over the country may be relied upon to organise a strong resistance to this attempt to suffocate British liberty. Public meetings in many districts have already been held; others are in preparation. Many more will be organised as the agitation gathers impetus, and the volume of protest will grow, if the effort is persisted in, until it will become a storm which will give our Jingoes reason to wish they had never tampered with the rights of the people under cover of a war for liberty. Resolutions of determined opposition have reached us during the last few days from:

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Rotten Park (Birmingham) I.L.P.

Gillingham I.L.P.

Lewisham I.L.P.

Kirkby-in-Ashfield I.L.P.

Erdington Labour Church (Public meeting: Unanimous).

Edinburgh I.L.P. (public meeting, unanimous).

Edinburgh Central I.L.P.

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The Portsmouth Branch of the N.-C.F., viewing with alarm the danger to the liberty of the subject in the attempt to force compulsory military service on the people, urges the Labour movement to demand the withdrawal of the Bill, and, if necessary, to call for a cessation of all organised Labour in the country.

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From other sources we have received expressions of protest. Resolutions against the Bill have reached us from the following organisations:

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Executive Council of the Liverpool Socialist Sunday Schools Union.

Bristol Socialist Sunday School (public meeting).

Independent Church at Llandrills, Merioneth (Minister, I. T. Davies).

Dundee Free Religious Movement.

Women's International League (Public meeting: Five dissentients).

COMPULSION FOR FOREIGN SERVICE

Sir,—There is an additional reason, one which I have not yet seen in print, why this Compulsion Bill should not become law. A study of the Bill will show that those soldiers (unmarried only—at present) who signed on for *home service* will be conscripted for *general service*. I understand that these men have had more persuasion than the ordinary man has had to enlist for foreign service. Obviously, then, these men who have still refused to sign for foreign service have vital objections to such a course. They have considered it their duty to defend their country, but they may object to taking part in a war which, as Mr. Buxton points out in the *Daily News* of January 8, would be aggressive.

The principle involved is vital—not only to these soldiers, but to the democracies of not this country alone, but of all Europe.—Yours, etc.,

L. Besanvalle.

LLOYD GEORGE ANGERS CLYDE WORKERS.

Mr. Lloyd George is apparently doing his utmost to fan into flame the fire of revolt on the Clyde. His conduct during his recent visit to Glasgow angered the men. His explanations of what occurred during the visit have angered them still more.

The Minister of Munitions will, it seems, stop at nothing to gain his own ends. In the House if Commons on January 5 he not only denied that he had received a hostile reception; he misrepresented almost to the degree of slander the men whom he had met in conference. Mr. George is a discredited man on Clydeside, and before long he will be a discredited man all over the country. Truth must prevail.

The majority of the Trade Union officials on the Clyde would have nothing to do with Mr. George on his recent visit, and only four officials took part in the Christmas Day conference. And yet the Minister of Munitions declares that "the meeting at Glasgow was organised by the Trade Unions"! The truth is, the conference was organised by the officials of the Ministry of Munitions, assisted by the four officials who broke away from the decision of the Clyde District Committee of the Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades. The Federation has agreed to publish a manifesto repudiating the action of these four officials. *The conference was, as a matter of fact, attended by hundreds of men who had no connection with Trade Unions.*

Replying to Mr. Pringle, Mr. George stated that the report of his meeting with the Parkhead shop stewards which appeared in the *Forward* was "absolutely untrue." Four of the Parkhead stewards, including Mr. David Kirkwood, the chairman of the conference, have sworn an affidavit before a Justice of the Peace stating that the *Forward* report is a true report, and before these notes appear in print the affidavit may have been produced in the House of Commons.

Speaking of the situation on the Clyde Mr. George said:

> The revolt was far more against the official leaders of Trade Unionism than against the Government. It was the trouble of a certain section of workmen. They were Syndicalists—some of them Socialists, but most of them Syndicalists—who had been trying to overthrow the official leaders of Trade Unionism for months and months before the war began. There was trouble over a strike which was repudiated by the Trade Union leaders. . . . They had formed an association of their own, and had run newspapers of their own, but they were not official Trade Union papers. . . . It was a powerful minority, and in some respects a very ably led minority. Mr. Kirkwood (a leading member of the Clyde Workers' Committee) was a very able man, an earnest and sincere man, but at any rate the men associated with him were in revolt against Trade Unionism.

In the above statement, which refers to the Clyde Workers' Committee, there are several untruths. First, it is alleged, "the revolt was far more against the official leaders of Trade Unionism than against the Government." The falsehood of this statement is proved by the fact that out of some thirty Union officials who were invited to take part in the Christmas Day Conference only four, as I have already said, responded. Writing of the meeting at which the officials decided to boycott the Conference, Mr. John Brown, the general secretary of the Associated Ironmoulders of Scotland, states in his January report:

> The meeting, however, almost unanimously decided to take no part in the organising of the conference to be held on Christmas Day. We understand that at least four trades broke away; but we hardly need say that the Ironmoulders remained loyal to the decision arrived at by the joint trades.

The revolt, then, was general on the part of the officials, and as a matter of fact the Clyde Workers' Committee attended the conference in opposition to the wishes of the officials.

Second: "They were Syndicalists—some of them Socialists, but most of them Syndicalists—who had been trying to overthrow the official leaders of Trade Unionism for months and months before the war began." That is absolutely untrue. There is no Syndicalist organisation on the Clyde, and a Syndicalist leader has written to the Scottish press repudiating Mr. George's allegation and pointing out that the Syndicalists have observed the industrial truce since the war began. Moreover, the Clyde Workers' Committee was only formed in February, 1915, and could not have been seeking to "overthrow the official leaders" for "months and months before the war began."

Third: "There was trouble over a strike which was repudiated by the Trade Union leaders." Another misstatement! Here reference is made to the engineers' strike in February, 1915, when the men "withdrew their labour" spontaneously as a protest against the delay of the employers in meeting their claim for an advance of 2d. an hour which should have been granted (in part or in whole) on January 9. It is true the men came out without the sanction of the executive, but the delegate conference of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, meeting after the strike, sanctioned it by deciding to pay benefits to the men who participated in the strike. The strike, therefore, although originally unofficial, was *subsequently authorised.*

Fourth: "They had formed an association of their own, and had run newspapers of their own, but they were not official Trade Union papers." It is true the shop stewards, who are officials of Trade Unions, have formed the Clyde Workers' Committee to organise and express the rank and file point of view, but the committee is in no way antagonistic to Trade Unionism. The committee had not "run newspapers of their own" until Monday last, when they issued *The Clyde Worker*, containing a reprint of the article for which the *Forward* was suppressed. *The Clyde Worker* is a modest four-page sheet, and if Lloyd George gets his way the first issue will be the last.

Fifth: "The men associated with him (Mr. Kirkwood) were in revolt against Trade Unionism." Another inaccuracy! The Clyde Workers' Committee is a genuine Trade Union organisation and membership of a Trade Union is a condition of membership. The delegates to the committee are appointed by the shop stewards in the various workshops, and their main business is to see that every workman is a member of a Trade Union. Had it not been for these shop stewards, all of whom are Union branch officials, the Munitions Act would have caused a slump in the membership of the several Unions, and more than one official has expressed his indebtedness to the shop stewards for their voluntary organising work. The following trades are at present represented on the committee:

> Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Amalgamated Society of Toolmakers, Boilermakers, Blacksmiths, Shipwrights, Coppersmiths, Brassfinishers, Patternmakers, Miners, Tinsmiths, Sheet-Iron Workers, Electricians, Joiners, Gas and General Workers' Union, Coopers, Steam Engine Fitters, Ironmoulders, School Teachers, National Federation of Women Workers.

According to Lloyd George, a committee representative of the above trades is out to destroy Trade Unionism! Could ignorance further go? The Clyde Workers' Committee is essentially a Trade Union organisation brought into being to safeguard Trade Unions, and because it is safeguarding Trade Unions Lloyd George is anxious to destroy it. He will fail.

The committee is not disturbed by Lloyd George's misrepresentations, for their followers know the truth. The committee has put vim into the rank and file; it has inspired them with hope; it has taught them how to use their strength. And the committee will yet live to see their antagonist discredited by the very weapons he has employed in vain to discredit it.

MYNER COLLIER.

Russian Union Suppressed in London: Open Letter to British Trade Unionists

Comrades,—In the present grave situation in which the Russian Seamen's Union finds itself, I appeal, as secretary of the Union, to your feelings of justice and Labour solidarity. In your country, on December 20, 1915, the representatives of Scotland Yard raided the office of the Union and seized all the papers, stamps, and documents, practically depriving the organisation of the means of carrying on its work. At the same time, in my absence, my private dwelling, which served as address for the official organ of the Union, was also raided. Not only were the copies of the paper seized, but also documents referring to a whole series of years, my manuscripts, even of ten years ago, my private correspondence, my personal documents. The agents of Scotland Yard declared that they would leave me in freedom for a time but that they may arrest me at any time, according to what they may find in my papers. Needless to say, all this has been not only highly inconvenient to myself, but also damaging to the work of the Union.

A particularly serious aspect of the affair is that it can have particularly unfortunate consequences for persons residing in Russia, with whom myself and the organisation corresponded, and whose names are now in the possession of the authorities.

Comrades, when I left Antwerp in October, 1914, three days before its fall, our organisation which had its headquarters there, resolved to go to England. In coming here, we entrusted our fate and the fate of thousands of our comrades in Russia to free Britain. We thought that the British laws would grant us a temporary asylum, such as we had enjoyed in hospitable little Belgium. We might have gone elsewhere, but we remembered the traditions of the English people in the past, its laws in the present. *We trusted England!*

You will remember that our Comrade Arles (Adamovitch) was handed over to the Russian Government while he was under British rule in Alexandria. We are thus subjected to a second attack from a Government which we had pictured as the defender of freedom. We ask why we should be subjected to insult and persecution in the heart of freedom-loving England such as no British Trade Union would tolerate? The activities of our Union do not differ in essence from those of British Trade Unions. They violate no law of this country. You have here the right of industrial combination, we in Russia have no such rights. Your Unions exist openly at home; we are compelled to fix the centres of our activities in foreign countries. The Russian Combination Law of March 4, 1906, deprives the Russian seamen of the right of organisation, and compels us against our will to be exiles from our native land. Prior to this law, the Russian Seamen's Union was a force to be reckoned with by the shipping companies, and even after the law representatives of the Union were consulted by the Ministry of Commerce. The movement has not ceased with the passing of the law. It has sprung to life ever anew, now on one sea and now on another, on this river and on that. The terrible condition of the ships, the low wages, the absence of every right, the application to the seamen of the ancient laws of Peter the Great; these are the springs of permanence of the Russian seamen's movement.

The Russian Government cannot charge the Seamen's Union with being a political organisation. Its activities are of a purely industrial character. This is clearly laid down in our Central Rules.

Comrades, in appealing to you I will allow myself, as one of the delegates to the International Transport Workers' Conference in 1915, to remind you of the resolution that was carried at that Conference and endorsed at the British Trade Union Congress in September of the same year. You pledged yourselves to defend the just cause of our comrade, Adamovitch, and of the Black Sea sailors. Adamovitch has, unfortunately, been condemned, but the organisation with which he was connected remains, and has sought again protection under the British Flag. Whatever we, as a Union, have done, we have done openly without violating the laws of this country. We accept full responsibility for our actions whatever may happen. We are aware that the path of the active workers of the Russian seamen's movement is a painful and difficult one. But we look in confidence to you, our fellow Trade Unionists, in Great Britain. You will not stand aside in the trials that have befallen us; you will turn away the sword that your country has for a second time drawn over our heads.

With fraternal greetings,

DMITRI ANITCHKIN,

Sec. of the Russian Seamen's Union.

15, Well Street, Cable Street,
London, E. Jan. 4, 1916.

Suppression of "Forward": Military and Police in Control.

Forward, contrary to expectations, was not published last week-end, the military authorities not having relaxed their control of the paper, and at the time of writing (Tuesday) it is not known if the *Forward* will be published this week either. On Monday the Civic Press, Limited, the printers of *Forward*, were allowed to resume "commercial work" under the supervision of the military, and two police officers were stationed on the premises to censor the printing matter! At that juncture the *Forward* was still in the hands of the militarists.

It is understood that the military officers found nothing in the *Forward* premises to warrant a prosecution of the editor or publisher, and in the circumstances it appears, despite denials, the paper was seized because the issue of January 1 contained a report of [illegible] in *Forward* which incurred the displeasure of the Minister of Munitions. *The Worker* has been circulated by the shop stewards in every workshop in the Clyde area, so that the truth will be known, despite Lloyd George.

The LABOUR LEADER and the *Herald* published the same facts about Lloyd George's Clyde visit as the *Forward*, although in a condensed form, and it is rather strange they should not have been proceeded against also. Is Lloyd George taking the Labour papers one at a time?

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If the workers lose their press they are completely at the mercy of the unscrupulous capitalists, who own and control the majority of the ordinary papers.

HOSTILITY TO C[illegible]PULSION.

We have just received [illegible] of a resolution carried at a conference of [illegible] Scottish Federation of the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen, and Clerks [illegible] Government in favour of Conscription, and calls upon the Executive Committee to declare a policy of active hostility. It further calls upon the Committee to declare that it will assist financially all our members who oppose Conscription.

It was seconded by Mr. Hugh Gemmell, of Glasgow, and supported by other speakers, married members declaring their determination to stand with the single young men in the fight. The resolution was carried without a single dissenting voice, and a telegram announcing the decision was immediately despatched to the Prime Minister. A resolution from Muirchurgh condemning Conscription and calling for the national ownership of land and the industrial resources of the country was [illegible]

by the four officials who broke away from the decision of the Clyde District Committee of the Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades. The Federation has agreed to publish a manifesto repudiating the action of these four officials. *The conference was, as a matter of fact, attended by hundreds of men who had no connection with Trade Unions.*

Replying to Mr. Pringle, Mr. George stated that the report of his meeting with the Parkhead shop stewards which appeared in the *Forward* was "absolutely untrue." Four of the Parkhead stewards, including Mr. David Kirkwood, the chairman of the conference, have sworn an affidavit before a Justice of the Peace stating that the *Forward* report is a true report, and before these notes appear in print the affidavit may have been produced in the House of Commons.

Speaking of the situation on the Clyde Mr. George said:

Union officials who were invited to take part in the Christmas Day Conference only four, as I have already said, responded. Writing of the meeting at which the officials decided to boycott the Conference, Mr. John Brown, the general secretary of the Associated Ironmoulders of Scotland, states in his January report:

> The meeting, however, almost unanimously decided to take no part in the organising of the conference to be held on Christmas Day. We understand that at least four trades broke away; but we hardly need say that the Ironmoulders remained loyal to the decision arrived at by the joint trades.

The revolt, then, was general on the part of the officials, and as a matter of fact the Clyde Workers' Committee attended the conference in opposition to the wishes of the officials.

Second: "They were Syndicalists—some of [illegible] without the sanction of the executive, but the delegate conference of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, meeting after the strike, sanctioned it by deciding to pay benefits to the men who participated in the strike. The strike, therefore, although originally unofficial, was *subsequently authorised*.

Fourth: "They had formed an association of their own, and had run newspapers of their own, but they were not official Trade Union papers." It is true the shop stewards, who are officials of Trade Unions, have formed the Clyde Workers' Committee to organise and express the rank and file point of view, but the committee is in no way antagonistic to Trade Unionism. The committee had not "run newspapers of their own" until Monday last, when they issued *The Clyde Worker*, containing a reprint of the article for which the *Forward* was suppressed. *The Clyde Worker* is a modest four-page sheet, and if Lloyd George [illegible] Joiners, Gas and General Workers' Union, Coopers, Steam Engine Fitters, Ironmoulders, School Teachers, National Federation of Women Workers.

According to Lloyd George, a committee representative of the above trades is out to destroy Trade Unionism! Could ignorance further go? The Clyde Workers' Committee is essentially a Trade Union organisation brought into being to safeguard Trade Unions, and because it is safeguarding Trade Unions Lloyd George is anxious to destroy it. He will fail.

The committee is not disturbed by Lloyd George's misrepresentations, for their followers know the truth. The committee has put vim into the rank and file; it has inspired them with hope; it has taught them how to use their strength. And the committee will yet live to see their antagonist discredited by the very weapons he has employed in vain to discredit it.

MYNER COLLIER.

Russian Union Suppressed in London: Open Letter to British Trade Unionists

Comrades,—In the present grave situation in which the Russian Seamen's Union finds itself, I appeal, as secretary of the Union, to your feelings of justice and Labour solidarity. In your country, on December 29, 1915, the representatives of Scotland Yard raided the office of the Union and seized all the papers, stamps, and documents, practically depriving the organisation of the means of carrying on its work. At the same time, in my absence, my private dwelling, which served as address for the official organ of the Union, was also raided. Not only were the copies of the paper seized, but also documents referring to a whole series of years, my manuscripts, even of ten years ago, my private correspondence, my personal documents. The agents of Scotland Yard declared that they would leave me in freedom for a time but that they may arrest me at any time, according to what they may find in my papers. Needless to say, all this has been not only highly inconvenient to myself, but also damaging to the work of the Union.

A particularly serious aspect of the affair is that it can have particularly unfortunate consequences for persons residing in Russia, with whom myself and the organisation corresponded, and whose names are now in the possession of the authorities.

Comrades, when I left Antwerp in October, 1914, three days before its fall, our organisation which had its headquarters there, resolved to go to England. In coming here, we entrusted our fate and the fate of thousands of our comrades in Russia to free Britain. We thought that the British laws would grant us a temporary asylum, such as we had enjoyed in hospitable little Belgium. We might have gone elsewhere, but we remembered the traditions of the English people in the past, its laws in the present. *We trusted England!*

You will remember that our Comrade Arles (Adamovitch) was handed over to the Russian Government while he was under British rule in Alexandria. We are thus subjected to a second attack from a Government which we had pictured as the defender of freedom. We ask why we should be subjected to insult and persecution in the heart of freedom-loving England such as no British Trade Union would tolerate? The activities of our Union do not differ in essence from those of British Trade Unions. They violate no law of this country. You have here the right of industrial combination, we in Russia have no such rights. Your Unions exist openly at home; we are compelled to fix the centres of our activities in foreign countries. The Russian Combination Law of March 4, 1906, deprives the Russian seamen of the right of organisation, and compels us against our will to be exiles from our native land. Prior to this law, the Russian Seamen's Union was a force to be reckoned with by the shipping companies, and even after the law representatives of the Union were consulted by the Ministry of Commerce. The movement has not ceased with the passing of the law. It has sprung to life ever anew, now on one sea and now on another, on this river and on that. The terrible condition of the ships, the low wages, the absence of every right, the application to the seamen of the ancient laws of Peter the Great; these are the springs of permanence of the Russian seamen's movement.

The Russian Government cannot charge the Seamen's Union with being a political organisation. Its activities are of a purely industrial character. This is clearly laid down in our Central Rules.

Comrades, in appealing to you I will allow myself, as one of the delegates to the International Transport Workers' Conference in 1915, to remind you of the resolution that was carried at that Conference and endorsed at the British Trade Union Congress in September of the same year. You pledged yourselves to defend the just cause of our comrade, Adamovitch, and of the Black Sea sailors. Adamovitch has, unfortunately, been condemned, but the organisation with which he was connected remains, and has sought again protection under the British Flag. Whatever we, as a Union, have done, we have done openly without violating the laws of this country. We accept full responsibility for our actions whatever may happen. We are aware that the path of the active workers of the Russian seamen's movement is a painful and difficult one. But we look in confidence to you, our fellow Trade Unionists, in Great Britain. You will not stand aside in the trials that have befallen us; you will turn away the sword that your country has for a second time drawn over our heads.

With fraternal greetings,
DMITRI ANITCHKIN,
Sec. of the Russian Seamen's Union.
15, Well Street, Cable Street,
London, E. Jan. 4, 1916.

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It is understood that the military officers found nothing in the *Forward* premises to warrant a prosecution of the editor or publisher, and in the circumstances it appears, despite denials, the paper was seized because the issue of January 1 contained a report of Lloyd George's conference with the Trade Union officials at Glasgow. Those "in the know" state the report hurt the dignity of Lloyd George, and that the paper was suppressed accordingly.

The Clyde Workers' Committee have asserted the right of freedom of the press by publishing a modest paper called *The Worker*, which contains a reprint in full of the article in *Forward* which incurred the displeasure of the Minister of Munitions. *The Worker* has been circulated by the shop stewards in every workshop in the Clyde area, so that the truth will be known, despite Lloyd George.

The LABOUR LEADER and the *Herald* published the same facts about Lloyd George's Clyde visit as the *Forward*, although in a condensed form, and it is rather strange they should not have been proceeded against also. Is Lloyd George taking the Labour papers one at a time?

The *Vanguard*, the monthly organ of the Glasgow members of the British Socialist Party, has been suppressed absolutely by the order of Lieutenant-General Sir John Spencer Ewart, acting as the competent military authority under the Defence of the Realm Act. The fifth issue of the *Vanguard*, an anti-war issue, was in type in the Civic Press when the order for suppression was made. It may rise again under a new name.

The seizure of *Forward* and the suppression of the *Vanguard* indicates that the Defence of the Realm Act is used to suppress political opinion, and makes it plain that, although we are a long way from Russia geographically, we are close to Russia politically. Neither the *Forward* nor the *Vanguard* has published matter affecting military or naval interests, and the official action against them, without cause, reason, or explanation, should not be tolerated in a free land.

If the workers lose their press they are completely at the mercy of the unscrupulous capitalists, who own and control the majority of the ordinary papers.

HOSTILITY TO COMPULSION.

We have just received [illegible] of a resolution carried at a conference of the Scottish Federation of the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen, and Clerks at Dunfermline on January 1. The delegates present represented 14,500 members. Mr. Morgan, of Dundee, in a very earnest and strong speech, moved the following composite resolution from the Midlands and Glasgow District Councils:

> That this Conference, believing that compulsory service is vitally opposed to the true interests of the workers, emphatically protests against the means being used to influence the Government in favour of Conscription, and calls upon the Executive Committee to declare a policy of active hostility. It further calls upon the Committee to declare that it will assist financially all our members who oppose Conscription.

It was seconded by Mr. Hugh Gemmell, of Glasgow, and supported by other speakers, married members declaring their determination to stand with the single young men in the fight. The resolution was carried without a single dissenting voice, and a telegram announcing the decision was immediately dispatched to the Prime Minister. A resolution from Musselburgh condemning Conscription and calling for the national ownership of land and the industrial resources of the country was also carried unanimously.

ANOTHER DONATION FROM "J.O."

We have received 10s. from "J.O.," which he asks us to devote to assisting *Forward*, "or whatever you think will be most useful and most needed at the moment." We have forwarded it to *Forward*.

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Sir Alfred Mond suggested the Free Trade doctrine that Germany's pre-war commercial successes were due less to her tariffs than her technical and financial skill, and advised that we should reform our deficiencies and conservatism in both these great activities. Mr. Runciman adopted and illustrated this view, but he also seemed to lean to some unspecified policy of commercial war, under which Germany would recover her lost prosperity last of all the great European nations. But when the war is over, can there be impoverishment in any part of Europe in which we shall not share? This is rather elementary doctrine.

* * *

Mr. Pringle moved the adjournment of the House to call attention to the suppression of "Forward" at the instance of the Ministry of Munitions, which was presumably attacked by it in a too truthful report of Mr. Lloyd George's speech at Glasgow and its reception. Mr. George is said not to have been personally responsible for the seizure of the paper. His defence of it revealed no crime in the offending issue (which contained a defence of the war) beyond the candid report. Against earlier issues Mr. George alleged attacks on the King, complaints of the low wages of soldiers (not different in substance from Mr. George's famous pleas for agricultural laborers), and other disrespectful but not seditious utterances. On the worst interpretation of them—*i.e.*, that they were designed to stop the output of munitions—these issues might have been seized; on the best, the Government were wise in taking no notice of them. But neither course excused the suppression of the candid friendship which inspired the impounded number.

* * *

For sheer impudence it would be hard to beat the Austrian demand for safe conduct of their citizens from India to Europe, coupled with a demand for a kind of most-favored-nation treatment. The Austrian Government required that the wives and children of Austrian subjects about to be repatriated from India should be specially protected against the piracy which Germany and Austria-Hungary have instituted. A host of comforts and attentions were demanded, the Austro-Hungarian Government holding us responsible for the lives and welfare of these passengers, "the majority of whom are better-class people." This gave Sir Edward Grey his opening, and his reply showed the touch of a master. "I am at a loss to know," he said, "why 'better-class people' should be thought more entitled to protection from submarine attack than any other non-combatants; but, however that may be, the only danger of the character indicated which threatens any of the passengers of the 'Golconda' is one for which the Austro-Hungarian and German Governments are alone responsible." It was almost superfluous to suggest that if Austria wants to save her subjects from being murdered at sea, she should not murder them.

* * *

From a financial point of view—if pure finance can be separated from questions of expenditure and debt—the war is just now proceeding very satisfactorily. The weather-gauge by which the credit of the belligerents can best be judged is the rate of exchange. Before the war, the bill on London was everything. It provided a sort of international currency. London banked for the world, and the governing rates of exchange were the London rates. The war has altered all this. If London had been neutral, as it was in the wars of 1859, 1866, and 1870, it would have remained the exchange centre, and its foreign banking business would have been greater than ever. As it is, all our financial ties with Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey have been severed, and nearly all the other exchange[illegible] been more or less disturbed by the fact that it is i[illegible]sible to export enough gold to rectify the unfavora[illegible] balance of trade.

* * *

The result is that, instead of being one great exchange centre, with a sort of monopoly, the City of London has had to part with a great deal of its business. Thus Amsterdam and Copenhagen are in a highly favorable position to mediate between German and neutral money. Geneva likewise does a good deal of exchange business for France and Italy, as well as for Germany and Austria. Then, again, the enormous profits made by New York bankers and the companies associated with them who manufacture for the Allies (greatly assisted, of course, by the recent reform of American banking and currency laws) have enabled New York to claim quite a new position as a banking and exchange rival of London, especially as regards the eastern trade with Japan and China, the South American trade, and the Scandinavian trade. When the war began, the United States was heavily indebted to Great Britain. Every month alters this, for month by month the United States is lending money to us and buying back American securities.

* * *

For the purposes of the war we are concerned mainly with the relative credit of London and Berlin. The London exchanges mark the value and purchasing power of the *paper* sovereign in foreign countries, the Berlin exchanges mark the value and purchasing power of the paper mark in foreign countries. We say the *paper* sovereign, because (as has been pointed out) it is impossible to export week by week and month by month the amount of gold necessary to balance the decline of British exports as compared with the enormous volume of imports. For the first six months of the war, when our average daily expenditure was, perhaps, about one-third of what it is now, British currency maintained itself wonderfully well, while the paper mark depreciated about 14 per cent. Then came the Orders in Council and the food blockade of Germany, which gave the German Government an excuse to adopt the bread ticket system and to impose compulsory economy on the whole nation. Then for six months the German exchange remained fairly steady, and the strain of increasing expenditure began to make itself felt upon Allied finance.

* * *

The most serious feature was the decline in the purchasing power of the paper sovereign in New York, which at last fell in the autumn from a normal $4.86 to $4.60. To meet the situation, Mr. McKenna raised an Anglo-French exchange loan in New York, which loan has since been assisted by further banking credits. The result has been, so far, extremely satisfactory, and on Wednesday our exchange rate rose to $4.77, the best that has been recorded for six months. This is very nearly "gold point," allowing for the present excessively high rate of freight and insurance. On the other hand, since the adoption of a more scientific system of blockade and since the opening up of communications with Turkey and Bulgaria, which of course causes a further drain on Germany, the position of the mark has rapidly deteriorated. In peace time, four German marks will buy rather less than a dollar, namely 95¼ cents, in New York. During the last few days they have been worth less than three-quarters of a dollar, say from 73 to 74 cents—a depreciation of about 22 per cent. Meanwhile the Austrian kroner has fallen 35 per cent. in New York. In Switzerland the mark has fallen about 25 per cent., and in Holland, where Germany has heavy debts to pay, the depreciation was recently no less than 38 per cent.

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Politics and Affairs.

THE REAL NATIONAL QUESTION.

NEITHER the Prime Minister nor any other member of the Government will, we think, measure the real hostility to the Conscription Bill by the size of the vote against the second reading. Submission is one thing; "consent" another. The House of Commons is indeed an essentially dependent, even a will-less, body. It cannot stand up against the Executive, which while depriving it of knowledge and withdrawing its national leaders into its arms, saps its control of the war or of the national destinies by appeals either to its patriotism, or its fears, or its merely selfish will to live on through the period of the war. Under a war conducted by a Coalition, ruling a House subject to payment of members, there can be no independent Parliament, and the nation need not look for it. Nevertheless, we believe that its mental attitude to the Conscription Bill remains essentially unchanged. The Liberal, Labor, and Irish National Parties dislike and fear it; the Conservative and Ulster combination applaud it, and wish for more of it. Every means suggested by the perils of the hour has been taken to suppress the first feeling and to exalt the second, but the House makes its approach to Committee as profoundly divided in mind and conscience as when the project was first launched. A Government which works without reason, but leans ever more heavily to an autocratic conduct of the war, must expect no more than the mechanical response it asks for. To enthusiasm and ideas it makes no further appeal, and the moral unity of the nation it has thrown away. Willing sacrifice, yielded on an unprecedented scale of generosity, is now replaced by forced service; and as the nation braces itself for a further effort in its gigantic enterprise, it will nurse a growing grievance against its governors. If statesmanship be the art of maintaining the full resources of the people at their highest pitch of efficiency, and of keeping classes together as the promise and symbol of that national power, the Ministry has failed in that primary duty, and its failure is the measure of the ensuing shrinkage of the real force of England.

For what is it that this Bill accomplishes? It is full enough of the spirit of militarism. Mr. Asquith still proposes the narrow conception of it as a bare redemption of his pledge to certain categories of married men. Its scope is far wider than this. From a given moment of the day or night it places under the shadow and forms of military law for an indefinite period, not merely the single class of civilians at whom it aims, but workmen of the "starred," the "indispensable," or the "reserved" classes. Its agents may sweep in retired soldiers (including officers), volunteers who had offered themselves for service before last August, or men having no special capacity for soldiering, who have during the past months put their special knowledge at their country's disposal and been repelled by its officials. It changes without warning the terms of enlistment for thousands of Territorials, officers and privates, who may be competent only for home service, but may now be held liable to despatch to any of the foreign theatres of war. It sets up military tribunals for the decision of questions of conscience, and enables them to bar out a final appeal against their findings. All over the country perfectly patriotic men may, without realising it, find themselves liable to the pains and penalties of deserters. Here, indeed, are great disturbances of our life, proposed in the dark as to the facts, without a statement of war policy, and with no more reason given than the vague plea of military necessity. Are the material results commensurate? The plan of the Bill gathers in old soldiers far past the best military age, which is not beyond thirty, and rejects young ones in their prime. It works on a theory of the existence of a poor-spirited and therefore an unmilitary class, the mere leavings of the tremendous rally of our public spirit, and creates new obstacles to the training and efficiency of the units to which these "slackers" are to be attached. It must gravely unsettle men doing national work by threatening them with the periodical withdrawal of their certificates of exemption from soldiering. It is thus an almost worthless improvization of a system which cannot be grafted on to free service, and which, if it is to be used at all, should be developed in months and years of organization on a definite plan. It is quite undemocratic, for the new conscripts will form no part of a national levy, and will have nothing in common with Cromwell's levies, who are quoted in excuse for this strange act of irrational discrimination. Hand-to-mouth politics are in it; and politics will destroy it. "Married slackers next" is already a newspaper cry; and the only defence of Conscription in which a scrap of logic or fine feeling resides appears in the speeches of Sir Edward Carson and Mr. Ellis Griffith, who are whole-hearted Conscriptionists. Yet this scheme, the botched issue of a mere Cabinet difficulty, must pass into law, and in the act will carry away with it the right of criticism or even of defence of the great liberty that has disappeared in the hour of its signal vindication. We have already established the practice of secret trial under the Defence of the Realm Act, varied by the practice of "interning" men and women without formal trial at all. It is hard to say how much of England will now be under military law, but we can well imagine how little the rest of England will know about it. Let the Liberal and Labor Parties at least use the coming week to see to it that the great German war does not end, as the great French war ended, amid a general proscription of liberty. A new society, badly organized, ill at ease or at war with itself, seething with fresh ideas, but possessing only an obscure vision of its industrial and economic life and social duties, is not a body into which can safely be thrown a mixed scheme of military and industrial compulsion, unaccompanied by any preparation of the mind and will, any such thrilling call of belief and passion as filled the national armies of the early French Republic.

The danger of a great extension of the Bill, and therefore of military law, appears in one significant

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ge of the debate and in one omission from the Prime Minister's speech. As we have said, Mr. Asquith treated it in the main as a redemption of his pledge to the married men who put themselves into Lord Derby's hands, but he said nothing as to a future extension to the younger married men. The Minister of Education, however, said, or suggested, a good deal. Mr. Henderson repeated in a less direct form his reference at the Labor Congress to the covering authority of Lord Kitchener for a demand for a million and a half of men before the end of 1916. It is not the business of a Minister, least of all of a representative of Labor, to shield himself behind an uncritical acceptance of a military dictum of this sort. The soldier, of course, asks for all he can get, and more than he thinks he can get. It does not follow that he ought to have them. The Government has to examine the competing demands of the Navy, industry, and finance. But the point is that this number of men cannot be obtained under the Derby scheme, with its annexe of limited compulsion. It is doubtful whether even a million can be so raised. But a call for an extra half-million is the prelude to a new measure of conscription.

Is it possible that the Cabinet are committed to this extension, that they have before them, as the military correspondent of the "Times" suggests, the skeleton of an army which requires to be clothed with this amount of new flesh and blood? If so, not only is the Conscription Bill a blind, but we shall withdraw from our industries half a million more men than, in the view of the President of the Board of Trade, they can afford to yield or the nation can afford to pay for. If Mr. Runciman is right, this fact, stated in plain terms of the obligations of this war, spells bankruptcy of men and money. Do the Government realize it? Have they decided to risk it? If so, the Conscription Bill is the prolific parent of many children in a shaken household. On what plan are we conducting this war? We are thinking in numbers and in soldiers only. We are an island, and we are not thinking of the Navy. The roots of our power in peace and in war are financial, and we are not thinking of expenditure. We are industrials, and we are letting industry be throttled. How can we go on in this total lack of prevision? The Northcliffe press counsels compulsory thrift. We are not averse, but there must be some thrift in soldiering, too, or the country, bleeding at every pore, will exhaust its vitality in the moment of the most urgent call upon it.

INDUSTRIAL CONSCRIPTION.

It requires no microscopic study of the "Military Service Bill" to discover that there is a Bill within the Bill. It purports to be an emergency measure of military conscription. It is from that standpoint the gravest departure from our traditions of personal liberty which this country has known for a century. But it may be urged with some plausibility that the number of persons whose liberties it directly threatens in this war is not large. Its advocates do not estimate them at more han two or three hundred thousand. We question ourselves if they even reach one hundred thousand. They fall into two classes, and if the conscientious objector were really exempted, as he certainly is not, the victim class would consist solely of the genuine "slackers," a type of person whom we take to be negligible in numbers, and useless as a military factor; too mean alike for sympathy or compulsion.

If the Bill were this and nothing more than this, the motive behind it would be barely intelligible. It would commend itself only to those who wish to compel for the pleasure of compelling. We are as a nation a somewhat realistic people, and the fanaticism which counts it a triumph to impose the principle of compulsion is neither widely spread nor deeply seated. The Bill has a more intelligible and a more realistic effect than any abstract wish to assert a principle. Far broader, and far more extensive than any direct effect which it can have in compelling a few thousands of unwilling and unworthy single men to enter the ranks of the Army, will be its indirect but immediate result on the vast numbers of single men who will be exempted. This class is incomparably larger than the other, and it deserves, not merely in right, but in sentiment, the respect which every good citizen may claim. It consists, not merely of those who are physically disqualified for military service, but of those who are held to have a prior duty to their dependents, and also of all the "indispensable" workers, the men in "reserved" occupations, and the "starred" munition workers, if they chance to be unmarried and under forty. The change which the Bill makes in the status of this class is as large and as menacing as the change which it makes in the status of the single "slacker" who can plead no valid claim to exemption. He, indeed, becomes, when he is called up, a soldier. The man who is left behind remains (unless he is physically unfit) always liable to the call to arms, and his exemption depends entirely on his being permitted to perform the "reserved" or "starred" or "indispensable" functions in which he is engaged. That in nine cases out of ten depends in its turn on the good-will of an employer.

Let us see how this arrangement works in practice. A single man is, let us say, a "shop-steward" in a Clyde munition-works. For some offence of word or deed which brings him under suspicion by the foreman he becomes a marked man. At present he may be dismissed from his employment, and if the Munitions Court backs his employer, he will be refused a "leaving certificate," with the result that he cannot hope to obtain similar work while the war lasts. If this Bill becomes law as it stands, a much more serious consequence follows. His certificate of exemption was given to him on certain conditions—that he continued to work at his "starred" trade. He is now required by Clause 3 (2) to give notice that the conditions under which his certificate was granted have changed, under a penalty of a fine which may reach £50, and so soon as his certificate lapses, he becomes automatically a recruit "enlisted and transferred to the Reserve." The case of such a man when he did eventually reach his battalion would not be enviable, if he happened to find himself under a Captain Campbell, already itching to hang him up by his thumbs. The effect of this provision is not, however, to be

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measured by the fate of men who may actually be discharged from their present tasks and handed over to the Army. It is a threat levied at all who remain, a weapon of discipline placed in the hands of every employer and every foreman. Every demand for better conditions or higher wages, every protest against a lowering of conditions, every complaint of harsh or unfair usage, may, and in bad "shops" will, be met with the answer, "Say that again, and I'll send you to the trenches." In its bearing on the munitions worker this doubtless was the effect which the Minister of Munitions produced. This is, at last, the industrial compulsion with which he threatened the men in his Lancashire speeches. There are provisions in the Bill which will enable any director of the Munitions Department to apply the screw with a nice gradation of pressure. "Any Government Department" may issue its certificate of exemption to "men or classes or bodies of men" at its pleasure, and these certificates may be "conditional" or "temporary." It would be in order, we suppose, to make them conditional on "good conduct," and renewable every month. By this ingenious scheme the exempted single man who is to-day a civilian, will be to-morrow a conscript on ticket-of-leave. The effect of this industrial conscription is, however, much wider than this. It will apply to the rebellious munition-makers on the Clyde, but it will also apply to every "indispensable" clerk in a City office, to every agricultural laborer or miner or textile worker who is exempted as a worker in a reserved trade. Let the banker dismiss his clerk, the farmer his dairyman, or the coal company its miner, and he loses at one stroke his status as a civilian. Every private employer of a single man under forty has under this Bill the effective power to send him to the trenches, and with it the right to conduct his business with this weapon of control in his hand. Is he minded to increase working-hours or reduce wages? He has only to point out to the single men whom he employs that the alternatives are submission or the barracks. This is a system not so much of compulsory military service, as of industrial serfdom imposed with the military service as the modern substitute for old-world galley or plantation.

Easy-going people may reply that the "objectionable features" of this Bill can readily be removed in Committee. That is the view of the Prime Minister, and we shall look with close scrutiny to his proposals for eliminating them. But these objectionable features, on our reading of events, are the core and essence of the Bill. There is only one sure way of preventing the use of the threat of conscription as an employer's weapon. It is to strike out bodily the provision for "conditional" and "temporary" exemptions. The courts must make up their minds once for all, in each individual case, whether a man is "indispensable," or "reserved," or "starred," and once exempted, a man's exemption must hold for the duration of the war. That plan might not be altogether logical, but in practice it can cause no appreciable loss to the necessary or military services. The demand for workers will increase as the war goes on, and the supply will diminish. There is no real probability that even a few hundred men, who to-morrow are certified to be doing necessary work, will be unemployed or unproductively employed before the war ends. The risk of a little leakage is as nothing to the certainty that the expedients for stopping it will sweep away the industrial liberties of a whole class.

OUR NEW MILITARY MODEL.

It does not seem to be realized that voluntary and enforced enlistment cannot be conducted upon the same terms. While men freely offered themselves in their millions to the military authorities, they did so presumably with their eyes open to the use that would be made of them. They knew, or they should have known, whether they were being used to the best advantage. It was open to them to remain at home if they were dissatisfied with the use which was being made of soldiers. If they felt that the general idea of recruiting such large armies was detrimental to the best interests of the Allies, or if they felt that men were being wasted by bad leadership, or upon unprofitable ventures, they were under no compulsion to hazard their own lives. But now that a measure of compulsion is before the country, it must be pointed out that the Government cannot have impressed recruits on the same terms as voluntary recruits. They become at once sole trustees for the lives they venture, and we, who are left, the accountants with the duty of exacting the strictest account not only of the way these lives are to be used, but of the great voluntary armies into which this enfeebling element is thrown.

There is an odd feeling abroad that life does not matter. Under the normal rhythm of a democracy the individual life is a paramount concern of the community. The first and greatest victory of Germany so far is that the incidence has been moved, and now men—almost all beyond military age or else already in the army—speak in the same way of sacrificing the lives of others to the nebulous god whom they call "to-morrow," as the ordinary Prussian speaks of sacrificing them to the State. It seems to be completely forgotten that we have the right over one life only—our own. Our right over even that is subject to certain limitations. We have no right whatever over the lives of others, except in so far as it is committed to us by those who are most concerned. If we are to assume the right to expose them to the last risk, then we must be sure that they are not exposed unnecessarily or uselessly. It is a solemn duty, an inevitable correlative of the power we are assuming.

It is a strange thing that no one has been inspired to inquire into the falling off in recruiting during the early summer. It is, of course, quite clear that the recruiting must fall off as the last free and available strata were reached. This seems to be a fact which has been insufficiently realized; but it is none the less true. Clearly there must come a time when, under any conditions, thousands must sink to hundreds and hundreds to tens. But apart from this it is fairly obvious that the circulation of men from the front had something to do with it. Even in the South African War, photograp

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were frequently destroyed as being detrimental to recruiting. It does not seem to be realized that men have heard tales—now commonplaces—which certainly do not inspire a rush to the colors. In the first days of the war, apart from the inevitable risks, the men were used with a certain parsimonious care. Those were the times when an army corps represented a considerable reinforcement. Even units were useful, and required a certain hoarding. It was under that wise and prudent *régime* that the bulk of the voluntary armies enlisted. But when the numbers began to be available, the generals at once began to plunge a little. Neuve Chapelle was the first of these battles in which success became our greatest danger. They seem to follow a well-marked scheme, a carefully thought-out plan, an almost pedantically accurate and successful beginning, then a middle portion, in which the whole thing went to pieces, and finally a withdrawal from the bulk or the most important of the ground won, with heavy loss.

What does this mean? Surely, anyone asked to report upon it would reply with the one word, incompetence. There is no question about the value of the units we can furnish. They have been and are splendid as raw material. They supply an abundance of the crude mass of force, but they do not achieve its effect, because they lack the essential constituent of direction. We are not concerned now with the constant failure which our attacks represent so much as with this one most pertinent fact, that each of these abortive successes means the frittering away of numbers of lives, and it is those who have thus bungled in the past who are now asking for greater, indeed, unlimited numbers. To the plea of necessity which they allege, we might answer by pointing out that nothing could be more necessary than to secure first-rate leaders. Can anyone doubt that with really first-rate leaders, Neuve Chapelle, the May advance, and the Loos advance would all have meant an immeasurably greater gain and a far smaller loss? It is a fact frequently pointed out in German newspapers that whereas it is usual to suffer most casualties in the first advance, we suffer most afterwards. Those who are in command of our destinies at present seem to have definitely abandoned the idea of winning except by numbers.

It seems to be generally admitted that those who are recruited now are to be used as drafts, and not to create new units. This is the reply that is made to those who suggest that there are no officers for the new armies. It is a momentous conclusion to have reached, for that is what confronts the poor handful of "slackers" and the married men whom they will purchase. They will have none of the corporate spirit that new units gather. They will be trained rapidly and sent out to make up the wastage in other battalions. They will thus swell the corporate chance of victory at an enhanced personal risk; for men who have as little training as they will be comparatively helpless as soon as the immediate control of the officers is removed. Moreover, it is a question which has even been in dispute how far such "raw" material can be assimilated without detriment to the value of the unit. There are officers who tell of units so reformed that the men do not know each other, or their officers, and the officers do not know [illegible]

system is open to that objection, and it is one w[illegible] already been operative. And how much greater influ[illegible] will it have as the last few shrinking individuals a[illegible] incorporated against their will.

And this decision for an unlimited recruitment is to be taken when a dispatch has just been issued which emphasizes every fault of direction, and shows the peril of entrusting numbers to the bulk of our leaders. It contains stories of men going far ahead of their companions and being cut off, of whole brigades allowed to remain supine while the enemy was being reinforced and regunned, and of the breakdown in the supply of such necessities as water. And there are again stories behind of unpardonable blundering, of men suffering from dysentery fed upon bread and jam because all other things were lacking, and so on. We seem to know of no other sort of victory than this through the defeat which we encourage by our blundering. We are told that we have made promises in certain quarters. But if the Government is planning to win in spite of this blundering, it means that the force we recruit will only be worth about half its face value. Would it not then be far better to concentrate upon the quality of our troops rather than upon the quantity? We should, in the end, achieve the same effect, but at a smaller price, and the French would probably prefer half-a-million well-trained and really well-led troops to the amateur-led million we are now sending.

In any case, the Government must realize that it will be held strictly to account for the use it makes of its new levies. Unless hand in hand there goes with this unlimited recruitment the greatest care in the training of leaders and staff, so that lives be not jeopardized unnecessarily, those who are associated with this final dealing with the glorious manhood of our nation will live to rue it.

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! and his frank reflections upon a number of others whose names are not always given, the dispatch is a much more damning account of his own part in the fighting than of others. For what is the function of a commander if it is not to command? Sir Ian's indictment of his generals in the last resort amounts to this—that he could not keep them in hand. He could as little order them as inspire or persuade them. When the crucial moment came he saw the inertia which he blames; he saw the gravity of its bearing upon the whole situation. But he had no gifts to blow life into the smouldering embers; and the opportunity was lost.

It is but fair to admit that a great deal of the discredit which must ever attach to the conduct of this campaign can and must be referred to others. The problem of forcing the Dardanelles by means of an army labored under the almost immeasurable handicap of being scheduled in advance. Like the courteous and somewhat stupid duellists of romance, we gave the Turks ample notice of our intention. To the Dardanelles problem, a sufficiently stimulating problem in any case, we gratuitously added the problem of countervailing our own errors. There can be little doubt that this was a far more formidable thing than the taking of the Narrows. Sir Ian's conduct of the campaign must receive a handsome discount upon this account. His was a rather extraordinary problem, and he had never more than a small force to cope with it. The responsibility for that state of affairs must rest on other shoulders. Where was the General Staff? Where was the War Staff which should have regulated these mixed operations? Who was responsible for the dimensions of the force? The French, we have reason to believe, disapproved, and thought the force should be increased. There can be no refuge for those responsible in the suggestion that we had not the numbers. A military project cannot be conceived apart from numbers, and is to be undertaken only if suitable numbers are available.

Taking the campaign as one inevitably to be Oglu Tepe, was a turning movement which would inevitably weaken the Turkish defence. Given the numbers, time was the essential factor in the situation. Clearly, the day could not be won against the whole Turkish force: the point was that the blows should fall so quickly that the advantages of surprise could be gained. The blow from Anzac went home. Reinforcements were landed secretly, and concealed three days. On August 6th the men were loosed. They attacked on the extreme right of the Anzac position as a diversion. The object was gained, for the fighting continued at this point for days afterwards. Meanwhile, the main Anzac movement had been launched against the Chunuk Bair ridge. Major-General Godley directed here, and, when dawn broke on the 7th, his men had penetrated to within a quarter of a mile of Chunuk Bair. Early the next morning, they even seized the position; and on the following day the Gurkhas and 6th South Lancashires looked down upon the silver thread of the Hellespont, which, dividing Europe from Asia, has so ancient a history. So much for the frontal attack, in which the New Army won laurels.

Meanwhile the Suvla expedition was writing another and not less familiar page of our history. The operations here were under the charge of Lieutenant-General Stopford. He had to make his way against but small forces and no wire. His force was more than adequate; it was ample. General Stopford seems to have blundered at the outset by suggesting a change in the landing plans, which afterwards proved a disadvantage. But why did Sir Ian agree to it? The landing was more difficult, and this was a matter of fact, and not of judgment—certainly not an *Army* officer's judgment, at any rate. And there were Turkish pickets awaiting the invaders. This was a matter of preliminary reconnaissance. The other two landings took place without opposition. But when the dawn of the 7th came and the footing had been made good, there was no control of the two brigades. What happened is difficult to understand; but battalion commanders seem to have played their own hand. The Irish Division added the only touch of life to the situation. The water supply broke down. The troops became spread out, so that the chief advantage of their preponderant numbers was lost. The divisional commanders represented the tired state of their troops when belatedly urged to advance. And the commander of the operations again acquiesced. More, he directly gave them every excuse for their indecision. So were frittered away the precious hours when the troops from Anzac were striving to hold, against a concentrated enemy, the ridge which commanded the Narrows.

It is clear that General Stopford was to blame. On the story of this dispatch he is condemned as a leader beyond all redemption. As to the divisional commanders, it is hard to determine how far their inertia was spontaneous, and how far derived from an intuitive sympathy with their chief's point of view. But where was the Commander-in-Chief? He brushes away, in his dispatch, every shred of cover for his subordinate. But why did he not infuse life into the critical wing of the advance? At last he determined to do something. He went to the spot, and, reaching over the heads of corps and divisional commanders, on the evening of the 8th moved a pawn—

679/36

MAKE THE COUNTRY OURS!

By R. L. OUTHWAITE, M.P.

The most fundamental contention urged by the Conscriptionists in the recent debates did not, to my mind, receive the refutation it demanded. Conscription, they contended, is only compelling a man to surrender liberty to his State in order to save him from losing his liberty by conquest. The Tories loudly cheered a statement that Conscription was necessary to prevent invasion. The reply is to be found in the speech made by Mr. Balfour on the first reading, where he said:

> Is there any man who now listens to me who would have believed, if he had been told in July, 1914, that when some seventeen or eighteen months had passed, over 6,000,000 men would have been raised for a cause, which is, indeed, nearest to our dearest and most permanent interests, but which does not involve invasion, or even the serious danger of invasion, of our hearth and home?

This is a statement of a fact that brings the Conscriptionist argument to the ground. Our forefathers for this very reason maintained personal liberty. In the House of Lords, Lord Crewe stated that Conscription had become necessary because of the campaign in the East. This was initiated at the Dardanelles at the request of Russia to secure Constantinople for her. So we see that Conscription is to be imposed for a cause far remote from the safeguarding of liberty, endangered by invasion.

But granted that the need had arisen for the State to over-ride individual rights, the process should have been as follows: First, the State should have demanded the surrender of the communal property that has been appropriated by individuals, *i.e.*, the land: next, the property that can be ascribed to individual effort, namely, the wealth of the community: only in the last resort should the State seize the body of the citizen.

But Conscription is to be enforced by a reverse process. The body of the citizen is forfeit: wealth has been borrowed, not conscripted, and interest paid at a rate to make the lender richer than before, even when increase of taxation is taken into account. Land has been treated as sacrosanct and not touched at all. The Junkers and the plutocrats have forged Conscription to their liking.

The way to defeat the Conscription of men is to demand a just process. First, to the last penny, the communal value of land should be taken by taxation till the State becomes the sole landlord in trust for the people. Then, if needs be wealth must be conscripted till the whole community is on the subsistence level. There will be no need then for the Conscription of men.

Consequently, I am glad to see that at the Labour Conference the I.L.P. is to propose "a special tax on land values" in a resolution on finance. The landowners should be called upon to provide the valuation, and the tax could be imposed forthwith. The Land Valuation Department could check the valuations. This is the method adopted by the Commonwealth Labour Party after it came to office on the issue. To destroy land monopoly, root and branch, is now more than ever essential. Monopoly must be called upon to finance the war. Only by securing Labour access to land can employment be found for the armies when disbanded and the production of wealth proceed.

During the Napoleonic War, the landlord class stole the common lands which were the basis of the workers' independence. This time they hope by Conscription to break down the barrier of Trade Unionism, set up by the dispossessed. Whilst their brothers are fighting for France and Belgium, and to destroy Prussian junkerism (landlordism), let those who remain at home work to rescue the land of Britain from our Junkers, for themselves and those who may return. Their demand should be "no Conscription until the land is ours to fight for."

The proposal of the I.L.P. for a special tax on land values is a true economic corrollary of the Party's splendid fight for individual liberty, and on these lines many Radicals will join with them who feel that Liberal leaders have betrayed the cause of liberty.

TRADE UNION NOTES.

The declaration by the Government that no more demands in wages must be granted is simply scandalous. For this amazing rescript they put forward the plea of national economy. But even in the British House of Commons (and we question if any other legislative body in the world shows itself more ignorant of the conditions of the workers of the country), the Government would scarcely dare to pretend that the repression of advances in wages is either the most obvious or the most advantageous economy. The high earnings prevailing in some trades—usually through heavy overtime—are being spent in articles of household furniture, in various small comforts, and in better feeding of the workers and their families. On the other hand, we have perceived no startling reduction in the number of luxuries enjoyed by the wealthy class. Besides this, the high earnings in certain trades are easily counterbalanced by the increased cost of living in trades that have received no advances—such as building, clothing, clerical work, and domestic service. Once for all, let it be clearly stated that until Britain is treated as a belaguered garrison, until our resources are pooled and shared equally, no Government has the right to demand further sacrifices from that one class whose whole standard of living is a perpetual sacrifice to the exigencies of the workers and owners.

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A curious point has arisen before the Bristol Munitions Tribunal. A turner's term of apprenticeship had expired in September. On his desiring to leave the firm his employers refused him a leaving certificate, and contended that they had reasonable grounds for so doing. Their grounds were that as the young man was doing for 25s. a week operations for which other men were being paid 42s., it was important to them to have the case settled by a Court of Law, and so be able, if the decision was favourable, to gain 17s. a week on each man who had just completed his apprenticeship.

* * *

The case was decided against them. It may be noted that unskilled men were being paid 32s. a week, whereas there was an attempt, based on the custom of "improving," and on the Munitions Act, to get this skilled man for 7s. less. It is important that Trade Unions should endeavour to get this question of "improving" settled once and for all. The thing should be swept away. Once a worker reaches a journeyman's skill he should be paid a journeyman's wage, whatever his years. Unfortunately, follows upon "improver's

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57 Sir William Temple, Essays
58 Religio Medici Sir Thomas Browne

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* * *

Talk of solidarity of the working class is all very well. For a change we are glad to note the prospect of something being done to promote that solidarity. The miners at the Burnley pits, which supply coal to the Harle Syke Mills, are in favour of assisting the weavers on strike there by refusing to dig any more coal for these mills. As our readers will remember, this strike has dragged on from last August. The Harle Syke price lists were so far below the other lists of the Weavers' Amalgamation that it was decided to bring them up to the scratch. When the owners proved obdurate the operatives came out on strike. So far, they have no success; the blackleg element has proved too strong. Now that the miners have expressed a desire to come to the rescue we may expect to have the business speedily settled. It is only by a stern determination to have nothing to do with tainted goods, either by supplying them or working on them, that the Trade Union world will free itself from the menace of blackleg labour.

* * *

It is never safe to trust an employer unless you have sufficient economic power to help him to keep his promise. In Allhallows Colliery, in Cumberland, the management kept back the 2d. per day advance to surface workers, which was settled upon last May. A threat of a strike last week helped the management to recognise its obligations, and the workers have now been paid the advanced rates, and the arrears that had accrued.

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* * *

A particularly bad state of affairs exists amongst the Furnishing Trade Unions. In munitions localities, owing to continuous labour, heavy overtime, and Sunday work, actual earnings are very high among munition workers. One result of this is that, perhaps for the first time since the great depression of 1908 and 1909, the workers are beginning to stock their houses with household goods. They are beginning to buy furniture. As a result of this widespread demand it is well known that certain furnishing firms are having the time of their lives. In spite of this the employers stubbornly refuse to give a 5 per cent. increase in wages. This is true for Bristol, for Birmingham, and for Scotland. Not only are employers making such profits as they never made before, but they have increased their own prices by 30 per cent. The workers' cost of living has gone up in some of these towns by over 40 per cent., and yet they are refused any rise in the cost of their labour.

JACK CADE.

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45 Whittier, Poems
46 Wordsworth, Poems
47 A Sixteenth Century Anthology
48 A Seventeenth Century Anthology
49 An Eighteenth Century Anthology
50 A Book of Parodies
51 Goldsmith, Plays and Poems
53 Marcus Aurelius' Meditations
54 William Blake, Poems
55 Dryden, Poems
56 A. E. Kinglake, "Eothen"
57 Sir William Temple, Essays
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679/37

TREMENDOUS AGITATION IN THE

GREAT DEMONSTRATIONS OF PROTEST.

... THE NATIONAL COUNCIL.

We announced last week the formation of the National Council Against Conscription to act as the centre of the great body of opposition which is being rapidly and effectively organised in the country. Mr. Robert Smillie has become the President, and Mr. B. N. Langdon-Davies is the Secretary. Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence has accepted the position of Hon. Treasurer, and the other members of the Executive Committee are Clifford Allen, C. G. Ammon, Margaret Bondfield, Dr. Clifford, Alexander Gossip, Dr. Hodgkin, George Lansbury, Catherine Marshall, H. W. Massingham, James Mylles, Robert Williams.

The General Council to-date is composed of 116 representative and well-known men and women. New names are being added daily to the list. Our readers will be interested to note the following names:

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compiled and sifted the Bill ought not to have been introduced.

Mr. Bellamy said during the life-and-death struggle of the last eighteen months Great Britain has raised an army of eligible men representing a greater percentage of the population than conscript countries have done, and he pointed out that if once a principle of this kind is established, it becomes very easy for legislators to extend it. Once get the thin end of the wedge in, they will drive it home in the long run. A form of industrial Compulsion never tolerated before in this country is introduced in the Bill. If a railway company wanted to reduce the wages of the railwaymen and the men refused to take the reduction and decided to take a holiday that day, assuming the Bill to be in operation, they would become soldiers. Mr. Bellamy demanded, amid loud cheers, that wealth should be taken before flesh and blood, and he said if they valued their Trade Unionism and freedom, and wanted to keep Great Britain a free country, they must oppose this Bill. "Don't let us beat Germany and find we have Germanised Britain."

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ated his powerful speech. Every individual in the audience was handed literature on the question, and the attitude of the meeting was magnificent.

The Rev. R. Powell, of the English Baptist Chapel, moved a resolution against Conscription on Sunday evening from the pulpit. It was carried, and copies have been sent to the Prime Minister and others.

SHEFFIELD SPEAKS OUT.

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THEY FEAR SMILLIE.

The pro-compulsionists in Scotland are supremely afraid of one man—Mr. Robert Smillie. The *Glasgow Herald* is already suggesting that the Government should take notice of his expressed intention to make the Bill ineffective if enacted. It says:

> If Mr. Smillie had been a German subject—and we should be well pleased to make a gift of him to Prussianism, which is clearly his intellectual home—this apology would have been considered by the State in due course, namely, towards the end of ten years' penal servitude, or most probably after a brief interval with a firing party.

The effect of this suggestion that Mr. Smillie should be dealt with by the Government has been to increase the enthusiasm of the Scottish workers for him. If Mr. Smillie goes to prison it can be taken as certain that the Clyde workers will go to play!

BRISTOL'S TREMENDOUS ACTIVITY.

During the past week a record has been created for Bristol. The week was com- [illegible] all who came, though they were packed as close as possible, could not get in. When the resolution against the Government Bill was put, only four hands were held up against it. The dockers held a big meeting in the Palace Theatre on Sunday morning, and passed a strong resolution unanimously pledging themselves to fight Conscription. A special I.L.P. branch meeting called for Sunday night was the largest ever held in the history of the I.L.P., and the N.A.C. opposition to the Bill was heartily endorsed. On Sunday a further distribution of leaflets against Conscription was organised, bringing the number given out during the week to over 100,000.

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While the chairman, Councillor Yates, was speaking it was apparent that there was a noisy opposition present, but when the resolution was put to the meeting it was also evident that they were in a distinct minority. During the meeting they succeeded in creating considerable uproar. After this meeting there can be no mistaking the attitude of the Crewe railwaymen to Conscription. It will be one of determined opposition.

Mr. Wardle, referring to the famous pledge, which he said had caused all the trouble, remarked that it was given in the middle of the Derby scheme without the consideration it ought to have received. It was given without the knowledge of the Labour Committees who were co-operating with Lord Derby in his scheme. And, he said, the pledge that Asquith gave is not being carried out by the Bill before Parliament, but only part of the pledge. Until the figures had been properly [illegible] never tolerated before in this country is introduced in the Bill. If a railway company wanted to reduce the wages of the railwaymen and the men refused to take the reduction and decided to take a holiday that day, assuming the Bill to be in operation, they would become soldiers. Mr. Bellamy demanded, amid loud cheers, that wealth should be taken before flesh and blood, and he said if they valued their Trade Unionism and freedom, and wanted to keep Great Britain a free country, they must oppose this Bill. "Don't let us beat Germany and find we have Germanised Britain."

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WELSH ENTHUSIASM.

Under the auspices of the Briton Ferry Trades and Labour Council an anti-Conscription meeting was held in the Public Hall, Briton Ferry, on Sunday evening. The platform was filled with the Labour Councillors and the branch officers of the various unions. The chairman of the Trades Council, Councillor E. C. Hutchinson, presided, and made an eloquent appeal to an audience numbering over 1,000 of the townsfolk. Councillor George Davies, of the British Steel Smelters, moved a resolution calling for the withdrawal of the Bill, and urging the Labour members and Mr. J. H. Edwards, M.P., to vote against the third reading, and to do all in their power to prevent it becoming law. Councillor J. Branch, Dockers' Union, seconded the resolution, and Mr. R. C. Wallhead spoke in support. Mr. Wallhead was interrupted only by the exclamations of approval which punctu-

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FOUR TO ONE IN YORK.

The opponents of the Compulsion Bill in York called a public meeting of protest last week. The speeches delivered were subjected to some interruption which, says the *Yorkshire Gazette*, emanated principally from three ladies. A letter from Mr. Seebohm Rowntree was read giving his reasons for believing that "those who are protesting against the introduction of Conscription are performing a patriotic duty." Mr. S. H. Davies presided, and Mr. O. G. Willey moved a resolution calling for the withdrawal of the Bill. This was seconded by Mr. E. Hodgkin (Darlington), and supported by Mr. F. T. Beney, representing Labour. The resolution was carried by a majority of four to one.

INDUSTRIAL ACTION CONTEMPLATED.

One of the most enthusiastic meetings ever held in Glasgow took place in the Camlachie Institute on Monday evening under the auspices of the local I.L.P. The meeting was called as an "Anti-Conscription" demonstration, and hundreds were unable to secure admission. Mr. David Kirkwood, convener of the shop stewards in Parkhead Forge, pre-

COUNTRY AGAINST COMPULSION

SCOTTISH WORKERS RESOLUTE AGAINST THE BILL.

sided, and said this was a time for action and and not for words. Rousing speeches were delivered by the Rev. J. Bell Henderson, Councillors John Wheatley and P. J. Dollan, and Mr. James Maxton, M.A. A resolution against Conscription was carried with one dissentient.

The Chairman, in bringing the meeting to a close, declared he was in favour of industrial action if necessary to prevent Conscription, and the great audience rose *en masse* and cheered repeatedly. As those present are mainly employed in the munitions industry in the East End of Glasgow, their action will count for something when the critical hour arrives.

A SOLDIER SPEAKS.

The Kensington and Paddington Labour Council has formed an Anti-Conscription Committee, which is doing good work. On Saturday a very successful meeting was addressed by a soldier from the front who has lost one leg. His speech made a remarkable impression on the audience. Messrs. H. Roberts (organiser), Vacher (N.-C.F.), Holder, Collier, Lecerf, and Miss G. Neal also addressed the meeting, and the audience was overwhelmingly against Compulsion. A strong resolution against Conscription, moved by the soldier, was carried. Other meetings are being arranged in conjunction with the N.-C.F., and the I.L.P. is well represented in the campaign.

MR TREVELYAN AT KEIGHLEY.

Mr. C. P. Trevelyan, M.P., was the principal speaker at a demonstration held in Keighley on Sunday night under the auspices of the I.L.P. and the N.-C.F. He said the small number of 39 who voted against the second reading did not in the least represent the anger, distress, and sullen resentment of enormous masses of the people of this country. Perhaps this was the turning point in the history of liberty. It was true German militarism was the worst in Europe, but there was no particular magic about the nature of Britons which would make British militarism, if they got it, a milder militarism than German militarism.

If the Conscriptionists got this Bill through they would soon want the whole Conscription system in operation. "I say," Mr. Trevelyan added, "that it is cant, hypocrisy, and sham to say the Bill was introduced merely for the purpose of winning the war. It is being introduced for the period after the war for fastening the chains upon you." The Bill, however much amended, would give additional power to enslave men industrially.

A resolution protesting emphatically against the introduction of the Bill and the violation of the liberties of the people was unanimously adopted.

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nent mounted the platform and asked the audience to give a vote in favour of closing the meeting. Half a dozen hands were held up in response, and after this defeat of the meeting-smashers the audience settled down for an orderly meeting. Alderman Morley, of Halifax, delivered a powerful address against Compulsion, and was accorded a most attentive hearing.

DERISIVE HOWLS AT PRINCIPLE.

On Sunday afternoon Mr. R. L. Outhwaite, M.P., addressed an anti-Conscription demonstration at Oldham. The Rev. M. P. Davies presided, and Mr. Hill, the assistant secretary of the anti-Conscription group in Oldham, explained that the group was composed of the I.L.P., the Free Churches, and the No-Conscription Fellowship. Mr. Outhwaite remarked that in the House of Commons at present the mention of principle was greeted with howls of derision. But if we forfeit our principles, he said, we shall sink to the level of the Prussian conscripts who have surrendered their liberties to the State. A resolution declaring unalterable opposition to any form of compulsory military service was carried by an overwhelming majority.

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The Provisional Committee of the Irish women's International League has issued a statement declaring its belief that any "form of military or industrial compulsory service in Great Britain and Ireland would seriously menace liberty and social progress, because it involves the domination of might rather than right, the crushing of democracy, and the persistence of injustice towards women."

SUPPORT FOR MR. HARVEY.

Mr. A. G. C. Harvey, M.P., has voted against both readings of the Military Service Bill, and the Rochdale Trades Council, the Labour Party, and the Rochdale branch of the U.D.C. have sent resolutions of congratulation to him. The Rochdale branch of the No-Conscription Fellowship has sent a similar message and hopes he will maintain his opposition. Each member of the Fellowship has agreed to send Mr. Harvey a letter stating the objection on conscientious grounds to military service.

PHILIP MORRELL, M.P., EXPLAINS.

Mr. P. Morrell, M.P., voted against the

N.-C.F. AND EXEMPTION.

The branches of the No-Conscription Fellowship are unanimously endorsing the action of the National Committee in rejecting the proposal that conscientious objectors should be employed on non-combatant military duties. Among the branches from whom we have received resolutions to this effect are: London County, Manchester, Birmingham, Wood Green and Tottenham, and Liverpool.

YOUNG SCOTS' OPPOSITION.

The National Council of the Young Scots' Society expresses its satisfaction at the success of the Derby Scheme as a signal triumph of the voluntary system, and protests against the hasty introduction of compulsion on the basis of hypothetical figures.

MANY RESOLUTIONS.

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Norwich Trades Council and Labour Party.
Half yearly Conference of the Lancashire and Cheshire Division of the I.L.P.
Conference of Branches of the National Union of Shop Assistants in the East Midlands.
Metal, Engineering, and Shipbuilding Amalgamation Committee, London.
Crewe I.L.P.

That this Conference expresses its emphatic condemnation of the Government's Military Service No. 2 Bill, and demands that (even at this late hour) it should be withdrawn.

Further, that the Conference warns the Government against any attempt to bring about Industrial Compulsion in this country.

The resolution was moved by Mr. R. Smillie, president of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, who described the Military Service Bill as an insult to the people of this country. In his opinion there was no need for Conscription, as Lord Kitchener had secured the number of men he required as well as the necessary materials. Even if the voluntary system had produced ten million men the Conscriptionists would not have been satisfied and would have insisted on Conscription all the same. He was opposed on principle to the Conscription of young men who had no voice in the affairs of the nation, and he denied the right of any nation to conscript men who were refused the franchise because they were not householders. Although there were plenty of men and a scarcity of money, the Government had not yet thought of conscripting money. If there were Conscription of wealth there would be no need for Conscription of men.

Mr. Smillie, speaking in grave tones, continued:

The Conference Committee, in submitting the resolution, did not think it would be wise to lay down the lines that the workers ought to take in the event of the Bill becoming an Act of Parliament. The probability was that it would become law, but he believed there would be more difficulty in carrying it out when it became law than in passing it. No one knew to what extent the opposition to this compulsory service bill if it became law would go. He remembered the statement made by a one-time eminent statesman that a bad law was more honoured in the breach than the observance, and to him this bill, when it became law, would be a bad law, and he personally would feel he was justified in doing all in his power to make it ineffective. He did not throw that out as a threat in any way, but he was sure there would be considerable opposition to it, and in more than one direction.

Mr. Smillie's statement that he would do all in his power to make the Bill "ineffective" if passed into law roused the conference to great enthusiasm, and it was apparent his declaration of resistance was the lead the delegates were waiting for. They cheered Smillie time and again.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Neil Beaton, of the Shop Assistants' Union, who said that Conscription was meant for the workshop as well as for the army.

An amendment in favour of the Bill was moved by Mr. Peter McLuskie, secretary of the Glasgow Bottlemakers' Union, a small local organisation containing a few hundred members.

Mr. McLuskie's main argument was that as the workers used compulsion in the Trade Unions they ought not to oppose Compulsion for the army. He was afraid that if the Government took up their challenge on this point they would wipe out the Labour Party in a General Election. He asked them who they were to trust in this matter: Smillie or Kitchener? And from the delegates came the almost unanimous reply: "We trust Smillie." Subsequently, when Mr. McLuskie made reference to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, there was a great outburst of cheering, while the mention of a Labour member of the Cabinet was hailed with hisses.

After some appealing, the chairman, Mr. David Gibson, got a seconder for the amendment in the person of Mr. McLean, Boot and Shoe Operatives' Union, which numerically is a [illegible] organisation in Scotland.

The Chairman, in bringing [illegible] a close, declared he was in favour of industrial action if necessary to prevent Conscription, and the great audience rose *en masse* and cheered repeatedly. As those present are mainly employed in the munitions industry in the East End of Glasgow, their action will count for something when the critical hour arrives.

A SOLDIER SPEAKS.

The Kensington and Paddington Labour Council has formed an Anti-Conscription Committee, which is doing good work. On Saturday a very successful meeting was addressed by a soldier from the front who has lost one leg. His speech made a remarkable impression on the audience. Messrs. H. Roberts (organiser), Vacher (N.-C.F.), Holder, Collier, Lecerf, and Miss G. Neal also addressed the meeting, and the audience was overwhelmingly against Compulsion. A strong resolution against Conscription, moved by the soldier, was carried. Other meetings are being arranged in conjunction with the N.-C.F., and the I.L.P. is well represented in the campaign.

MR TREVELYAN AT KEIGHLEY.

Mr. C. P. Trevelyan, M.P., was the principal speaker at a demonstration held in Keighley on Sunday night under the auspices of the I.L.P. and the N.-C.F. He said the small number of 39 who voted against the second reading did not in the least represent the anger, distress, and sullen resentment of enormous masses of the people of this country. Perhaps this was the turning point in the history of liberty. It was true German militarism was the worst in Europe, but there was no particular magic about the nature of Britons which would make British militarism, if they got it, a milder militarism than German militarism.

If the Conscriptionists got this Bill through they would soon want the whole Conscription system in operation. "I say," Mr. Trevelyan added, "that it is cant, hypocrisy, and sham to say the Bill was introduced merely for the purpose of winning the war. It is being introduced for the period after the war for fastening the chains upon you." The Bill, however much amended, would give additional power to enslave men industrially.

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Mr. Richards said conscientious objection did not rest upon the refusal to bear arms, but upon the refusal to take any part in a service which would assist the prosecution of the war. Hundreds of persons would gladly undertake the duty of mine-sweeping if it was under civil control, did not involve any military oath, actual or implied, and if British as well as German mines were swept up.

A TRIAL IN ENDURANCE.

On Sunday afternoon an endurance contest between the Trades Council and the meeting-smashers in Hebden Bridge ended in a win for the Trades Council. An anti-Conscription meeting had been announced, and in some quarters it had been intimated that there would be no meeting. As soon as the doors were opened the recruiting officer—who was in uniform—and his "comrades" rushed into the hall and mounted the platform. The Trades Council speakers walked on to the platform when the time for commencement arrived, and by this time the hall was packed. When the chairman (Mr. J. W. Crowther) began to speak the noise of the hooligans drowned every word. Mr. Arthur Dawson (of Huddersfield) was announced, and for an hour he paraded the platform good-humouredly, making repeated efforts to get a hearing. Then he got in some good hits concerning British freedom, and finished his speech. An opposite[illegible] attentive hearing.

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PHILIP MORRELL, M.P., EXPLAINS.

Mr. P. Morrell, M.P., voted against the Conscription Bill, and in a letter explaining his attitude he says he believes Conscription to be an utterly bad system which, wherever it has been tried, has the effect of depressing labour, lowering wages, and hindering all true progress. "For the first time in our later history men will be taken by force, whether they wish it or not, and sent out to fight on foreign soil. That is in itself a tremendous change in our national ideas, and the greater number of those who supported the Bill in Parliament made no secret whatever of the fact that it was to them but a first instalment of the system of general compulsory service which they hope to see established. The present scheme, indeed, is in many ways so capricious and unjust that it is difficult to see how it can be long allowed to stand. It must, I believe, in common fairness be modified or extended. I cannot help regarding it as a deplorable thing," Mr. Morrell concludes, "that now, when the tide of war seems at last about to turn, when Germany, in spite of her great efforts, is evidently hard pressed, we should abandon a system that has given us splendid results and enter on a method of Compulsion that is opposed to all the traditions and temper of our race."

Green and Tottenham, and Liverpool.

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Metal, Engineering, and Shipbuilding Amalgamation Committee, London.
Crewe I.L.P.
Crewe Public Meeting.

The Executive Committee of the United Patternmakers' Association considers that it is necessary in the interests of Organised Labour, that a Conference of the Executives of the Trade Unions concerned in the Treasury Agreement, together with the Miners' Federation, meet on or before January 22.

SCOTLAND STANDS FIRM.

Organised Labour in Scotland has declared its opposition to the Military Service Bill even more emphatically than the National Labour Congress did two weeks ago.

The declaration was made on Saturday at a conference held in Glasgow under the joint auspices of the Scottish Trades Union Congress and the Scottish Advisory Council of the Labour Party, which was attended by over 300 delegates who had come instructed by their organisations to vote for or against the Bill. Out of this large and instructed delegation, which represented every influential organisation in Scotland, including the National Union of Mineworkers, only three delegates voted in favour of the Bill. The official resolution, in the following terms, was therefore carried with practical unanimity:

Britain, wh[illegible] Bill as an insult to the people of this country. In his opinion there was no need for Conscription, as Lord Kitchener had secured the number of men he required as well as the necessary materials. Even if the voluntary system had produced ten million men the Conscriptionists would not have been satisfied and would have insisted on Conscription all the same. He was opposed on principle to the Conscription of young men who had no voice in the affairs of the nation, and he denied the right of any nation to conscript men who were refused the franchise because they were not householders. Although there were plenty of men and a scarcity of money, the Government had not yet thought of conscripting money. If there were Conscription of wealth there would be no need for Conscription of men.

Mr. Smillie, speaking in grave tones, continued:

The Conference Committee, in submitting the resolution, did not think it would be wise to lay down the lines that the workers ought to take in the event of the Bill becoming an Act of Parliament. The probability was that it would become law, but he believed there would be more difficulty in carrying it out when it became law than in passing it. No one knew to what extent the opposition to this compulsory service bill if it became law would go. He remembered the statement made by a one-time eminent statesman that a bad law was more honoured in the breach than the observance, and to him this bill, when it became law, would be a bad law, and he personally would feel he was justified in doing all in his power to make it ineffective. He did not throw that out as a threat in any way, but he was sure there would be considerable opposition to it, and in more than one direction.

Mr. Smillie's statement that he would do all in his power to make the Bill "ineffective" if passed into law roused the conference to great enthusiasm, and it was apparent his declaration of resistance was the lead the delegates were waiting for. They cheered Smillie time and again.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Neil Beaton, of the Shop Assistants' Union, who said that Conscription was meant for the workshop as well as for the army.

An amendment in favour of the Bill was moved by Mr. Peter McLuskie, secretary of the Glasgow Bottlemakers' Union, a small local organisation containing a few hundred members.

Mr. McLuskie's main argument was that as the workers used compulsion in the Trade Unions they ought not to oppose Compulsion for the army. He was afraid that if the Government took up their challenge on this point they would wipe out the Labour Party in a General Election. He asked them who they were to trust in this matter: Smillie or Kitchener? And from the delegates came the almost unanimous reply: "We trust Smillie." Subsequently, when Mr. McLuskie made reference to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, there was a great outburst of cheering, while the mention of a Labour member of the Cabinet was hailed with hisses.

After some appealing, the chairman, Mr. David Gilmour, got a seconder for the amendment in the person of Mr. McLean, Boot and Shoe Operatives' Union, which numerically is not a strong organisation in Scotland.

The vote resulted:

For the Amendment	**3**
For the Resolution	**300**
MAJORITY AGAINST	**297**

The votes cast for the resolution represent about 250,000 organised workers, and those for the amendment about 1,500 workers.

The delegates knew that three men on the platform—Mr. David Gilmour, the Chairman, Mr. Maxwell Palmer, Aberdeen, and Mr. Robert Allan Edinburgh—were in favour of Conscription, and were surprised that neither Mr. Palmer or Mr. Allan had voted for the amendment moved by Mr. McLuskie. However, they had another card to play in the form of an amendment in favour of a ballot.

In the division, the original resolution was again carried by 300 votes to 6. In this unmistakable manner organised Labour in Scotland pledged itself to resist Conscription.

A Conference of North of England conscientious objectors to military service will be held in Manchester on Saturday afternoon. Tickets may be had from Mr. Lloyd, 41, Oxford Street, Manchester.

679/51

TOWARDS A NEW EUROPE.

By E. D.
(Author of "Ten Years [illegible] acy")

[It is due to Mr. Morel to say that the following article has been in our hands since the end of last month, and that it was written before Mr. Runciman delivered his recent speech in the House of Commons. We were reluctantly compelled to hold it over owing to the great pressure on our space.]

An arrangement for the internationalisation of commercial activity in the extra-European dependencies* of the Colonial Powers and for the neutralisation of the dependencies themselves would remove three-fifths, possibly four-fifths, of the cause of potential conflicts between States. It would be a self-denying ordinance on the part of the Governments, but the peoples would be the material gainers thereby, apart altogether from the immense gain derivable by them from the elimination of the chief irritant in international relations. And if the European Governments could be induced to go thus far, it would be comparatively easy to extend the principle to China, Persia, and other parts of Asia and Africa ruled over by indigenous governments free from direct European tutelage, but necessarily accessible to and swayed by European influence. In other words, if agreement were possible in regard to the dependencies, there could be agreement to refrain from pursuing exclusive commercial or political advantages (which are usually the cloak to cover the former) in independent Asiatic and African territories. There is nothing Utopian or visionary in these suggestions. They are eminently practicable. Their execution would involve no diminution of commercial activity and business enterprise on the part of the nationals of any European State. But all would compete on equal terms. Acumen, applicability to local conditions, up-to-date methods, hard work—these would be the criterions of success.

I mean by the expression "internationalisation of commercial activities" the dependencies of the Powers. That the nationals of all European States shall compete on an equal footing in the colonial dependencies of each, whether in commerce, industry, banking, mining, shipping, or any other form of legitimate enterprise. I mean that a Frenchman, an Italian, a Russian, a Dutchman, a German, a Belgian, an Englishman shall carry on his business on equal terms in a French, British, German, Italian, Russian, Dutch, or Belgian dependency as the case may be. I mean that representatives of all nationalities that care to do so shall have equal rights of tendering for the construction of public works, and a share, if they desire it, in enterprises necessitating large capital outlay, in the dependencies of the various Powers. I do not mean that the local administration of a dependency should not impose taxes on European enterprises in order to raise revenue, but that such taxes, whatever form they take, should be imposed without differentiation. Neither do I suggest that the administration itself should be internationalised, although the creation of International Boards for the discussion and adjustment of local difficulties, upon which commercial representatives of the nations interested would sit, might suggest itself as a feasible development in course of time.

The subject has another side to it, superficially irrelevant, but to those who look beneath the surface indissolubly connected, viz., the treatment of the native races. If economic rivalry between the colonising Powers in the undeveloped or partly developed areas of the world's surface could be done away with, the rights and the wrongs of the native races would receive closer and more sympathetic consideration by the Governments. At present the native races are callously sacrificed to rivalries between the Governments—perfectly futile rivalries for the most part; and the Governments have not yet realised that the perpetration of, or the acquiescence in, moral wrongs inflicted upon the natives react in the most detrimental fashion [illegible]

By the "neutralisation" of the dependencies themselves, the writer means the removal of these over-sea areas from the operations of European war. This was intended by the Berlin and Brussels Acts to apply to a considerable part of the African Continent. But that provision, like everything else, has gone by the board. What chance, then, the sceptic will exclaim, of extending that principle on a vaster and, indeed, universal scale after the war, or by the terms of Settlement? Every chance, if public opinion will but apply itself to the problem in the meantime; and, intrinsically, a very good chance, for a multiplicity of reasons. The Berlin and Brussels Acts laying down the neutralisation of the Congo Basin had been so frequently violated both in the letter and spirit before the war, that it may have been said to have been a dead letter from the start. The war itself has produced many weighty arguments in favour of the neutralisation of African and Asiatic dependencies. When passions have cooled down and a sense of perspective reasserts itself, I do not suppose the British or French Governments will feel particularly proud, or particularly easy in their minds as to the ultimate effects of their action—at having imported Asiatics* and Africans to fight their battles upon the plains of Europe. Experience will suggest to them the doubtful wisdom of consecrating that policy.

It would be idle to deny that the neutralisation of the European dependencies over-seas would entail a sacrifice on Britain's part; while, on the other hand, the internationalisation of commercial activities within them would be to her advantage, because of her commercial experience. For it is evident, of course, that in time of war the dependencies of every European State are at the mercy, virtually speaking, of the Power which commands the seas. Their neutralisation would, therefore, involve on the part of Britain the loss of an advantage which her sea power gives to her. Let us face the fact frankly. But let us also ask ourselves, with an equal desire to deal honestly with ourselves, whether the voluntary surrender of that advantage would really injure the vital interests of the British people; and, too, whether, in the long run, the Powers of Europe can be expected to acquiesce in a situation which makes all their over-seas enterprise subject to British sufferance in time of war. To-day, no doubt, this is a German grievance. But yesterday it was a French grievance. To-morrow it may be a grievance collectively urged. The way to envisage the problem is not in terms of the grievance of this or that particular State at a particular moment; but in terms of the future of Europe, humanity, and of Britain herself. Continental Powers can never be expected to disarm on land even approximately, still less to abandon the idea of challenging us on the seas, so long as their policy over-seas is carried out subject to our good will and pleasure. The safety of an island-Empire whose nerve-centres depend upon sustenance from abroad can never be jeopardised without a radical elimination of the causes which might place that safety in jeopardy. But neither can an island-Empire in a future world of man's increasing mastery over air arrogate with safety to itself the right to maintain a perpetual mortgage over the extra-European activities—the Imperial policy—of Europe. But that has been, and is, the attitude of British statesmanship. We say, in effect, to the Powers of Europe: "You can have an over-seas policy if you wish. You can acquire dependencies, spend money on them, build up a big trade with them. But if you are so foolish as to fall foul of us, understand that we shall promptly seize them." Most Englishmen believe to-day that this war was caused by the German Government's desire to dictate to Europe, in Europe. Assuredly some Germans have put forward views which, logically interpreted, mean nothing else. But in our own case we quite deliberately, and as the most natural thing in the world, claim to dictate, by virtue [illegible]

cies, on the lines here laid down, the word rests primarily with France, which, after Britain, possesses the largest over-seas Empire and treats it as a protectionist reserve. But Germany, too, would have to consent to make sacrifices, for there must be a German *quid pro quo*. The internationalisation of "colonial" trade would be the first step towards undermining the tariff in Europe itself. Both in her over-seas policy and in her home policy Europe must gravitate towards freedom of trade, or continue to nurse within her bosom the asp of international strife. At present her ruling classes, pushed forward by vested interests and at their wits' ends to conciliate the most superficially powerful elements in their public opinion for the horrors and losses of the war, would seem to be busily preparing for renewed economic conflicts, rendered the more bitter by pumping into them the passions of the time; and hence preparing for fresh political conflicts and increased armaments. For let this incontestable truth sink into the minds of all the peoples. If, when the cannons cease to boom, the blight of the tariff war ensues, the hopes of humanity, which centre in this frightful catastrophe being the last of its kind, are blasted. Were European frontiers remodelled, as the result of this war, upon the most approved lines of national boundaries and political consciousness, and the tariff and the colonial monopoly not only remained in being but were aggravated by a further strengthening of the artificial barriers between peoples, the most fundamental of all causes of international friction would subsist. When one reads about this plotting and counter-plotting on the part of the British, German, French, Austrian, Russian, and Italian Governments to hamper Britons, Germans, Frenchmen, Austrians, Russians, and Italians in the exchange of commodities, one is tempted to ask whether statesmanship has not become utterly bankrupt in ideas. While its spokesmen declare that a durable peace is their one end and aim, they are deliberately engineering war under the spur of a spurious patriotism. They are arranging to plunge Europe back into the morass.

Imagine a draught of pure, wholesome air sweeping through the musty atmosphere of the Chancelleries, and you might picture to yourself these men, appalled at the consequences of their own past incompetence, concocting no more poisonous brews, but some healing balsam to cure the wounds they have inflicted. You might perceive a germ of common-sense expanding into some such constructive set of proposals as these. For a period of, say, twenty-five years—no agreement should be unlimited in time—the British Government would pledge itself to the continued maintenance of the open-door throughout the British dependencies. It would surrender for that period the preference granted by the Dominions. The French Government would initiate the policy of the open-door throughout the French dependencies, and would undertake to maintain it for that period. The German Government would pledge itself to maintain the policy of the open-door throughout the dependencies remaining to Germany as the outcome of the general settlement; and would further take the first stride towards European free trade by lowering its home tariff towards all countries alike—a measure which would benefit the Allies primarily, since it is the Allies which do the greatest volume of business with her. Substantially the British Government would say to the German:

"We guarantee to you a continuance of that equality of commercial treatment in the United Kingdom and in the British dependencies which you have always enjoyed. For a quarter of a century you would thus be freed from the fear of a tariff wall round the British Empire. As a proof of the sincerity of our intentions, we are even willing to forego the preference accorded to us by our self-governing Dominions. In return we ask for reciprocity both in your dependencies and in your home market. So far as your home market [illegible]

existing Protection [illegible] prevails, of making the first s[illegible] to ensure the ultimate economic [illegible] of the nations. Which alternative [illegible] most to humanity? Which is the wisest [illegible]

What of France? What advantages would she derive from the establishment of commercial freedom in her African and Asiatic Empire? What disadvantage would she suffer? "France" would suffer no disadvantage. "France" would gain priceless advantages. A few specific French interests would be affected. A certain pestilent type of politician, journalist, and financier who has been the curse of the Third Republic and who thrives on colonial jobberies, would find his occupation gone, to the lasting benefit of political purity at home and administrative decency in the French dependencies. On the other hand, it is a fact that nearly all the great exporting French firms are in favour of "colonial" free trade, and many of the most experienced French colonial administrators also. Notably is this the case in French West Africa, where the most considerable colonial effort of France has been exercised, and where the greatest volume of French colonial trade has been attained. The French West African merchants are dead against Protection, and always resist an increase in differential taxation. The French dependencies themselves would grow richer and more prosperous with the disappearance of the differential tariff. Their trade would increase by leaps and bounds, and as the natural result there would be more revenue to spend on public works, sanitation, agricultural development, and native affairs. The whole character of French over-seas activity would be affected for the good.

What of Germany? As I stated in my last article, Germany, like ourselves and Holland, has kept the open door in her dependencies. But what of the *quid pro quo* in the shape of a lowering of the home tariff? Observe, first of all, the justice of the standpoint. A British open-door policy throughout the Empire is of enormous value to Germany. Granted that we have not kept the open door all these years from altruistic motives The fact remains that our action in so doing has benefited Germany in the measure of her commercial ability; and as her commercial ability is very considerable, the advantage has been very considerable. Why should she not begin to reciprocate in her home market? She is surrounded by Protectionist Powers. True. But a very little actual experience would show her rulers that the German people as a whole would benefit if the German tariff were lowered to all comers. And if Germany once took this step, reciprocity would undoubtedly eventuate. The mass of the German people would be unquestionably favourable to such a course of action, and were Britain to put forward a policy such as this, instead of indulging in tall talk about crushing, dismembering, overthrowing, and so forth, the peace and anti-militarist party in Germany would be enormously strengthened. The vested interests, the agrarians, the "Junkers" would be up in arms. But it would be a square fight between them and the German masses. Who can doubt the ultimate result? Here is a true democratic policy for Britain to follow, a policy which would automatically and inevitably cut away the props which sustain Continental militarism.

Will the British people think it out for themselves? Will the leaders of British Labour look ahead, or continue dully to acquiesce in being swept away by a torrent of loose thought, faulty economics, and sterile passions? Is it possible that at least the North of England and Scotland does not even now contain sufficient elements impregnated with Cobden's teaching to evolve a counter-programme to that tariff war which the Government in power, the Northcliffe Press, which is its insolent master, and the selfish interests represented by Leagues and combines, are undoubtedly hatching? If so, these various forces in our national life must rouse themselves to action before it is too late.

tween States. It would be a self-denying ordinance on the part of the Governments, but the peoples would be the material gainers thereby, apart altogether from the immense gain derivable by them from the elimination of the chief irritant in international relations. And if the European Governments could be induced to go thus far, it would be comparatively easy to extend the principle to China, Persia, and other parts of Asia and Africa ruled over by indigenous governments free from direct European tutelage, but necessarily accessible to and swayed by European influence. In other words, if agreement were possible in regard to the dependencies, there could be agreement to refrain from pursuing exclusive commercial or political advantages (which are usually the cloak to cover the former) in independent Asiatic and African territories. There is nothing Utopian or visionary in these suggestions. They are eminently practicable. Their execution would involve no diminution of commercial activity and business enterprise on the part of the nationals of any European State. But all would compete on equal terms. Acumen, applicability to local conditions, up-to-date methods, hard work—these would be the criterions of success.

I mean by the expression "internationalisation of commercial activities" the dependencies of the Powers. That the nationals of all European States shall compete on an equal footing in the colonial dependencies of each, whether in commerce, industry, banking, mining, shipping, or any other form of legitimate enterprise. I mean that a Frenchman, an Italian, a Russian, a Dutchman, a German, a Belgian, an Englishman shall carry on his business on equal terms in a French, British, German, Italian, Russian, Dutch, or Belgian dependency as the case may be. I mean that representatives of all nationalities that care to do so shall have equal rights of tendering for the construction of public works, and a share, if they desire it, in enterprises necessitating large capital outlay, in the dependencies of the various Powers. I do not mean that the local administration of a dependency should not impose taxes on European enterprises in order to raise revenue, but that such taxes, whatever form they take, should be imposed without differentiation. Neither do I suggest that the administration itself should be internationalised, although the creation of international Boards for the discussion and adjustment of local difficulties, upon which commercial representatives of the nations interested would sit, might suggest itself as a feasible development in course of time.

The subject has another side to it, superficially irrelevant, but to those who look beneath the surface indissolubly connected, viz., the treatment of the native races. If economic rivalry between the colonising Powers in the undeveloped or partly developed areas of the world's surface could be done away with, the rights and the wrongs of the native races would receive closer and more sympathetic consideration by the Governments. At present the native races are callously sacrificed to rivalries between the Governments—perfectly futile rivalries for the most part; and the Governments have not yet realised that the perpetration of, or the acquiescence in, moral wrongs inflicted upon the natives affect in the most detrimental fashion those very economic interests for which these Governments intrigue and agitate. So long as the European Governments look upon these vast African and Asiatic territories as areas for the pursuit of privileges and monopolies, carried on behind closed doors, in favour of a microscopic fraction of their respective nationals, so long will these territories continue to be one of the prime causes of European unrest and European armaments, and so long will their inhabitants be sacrificed—and sacrificed not only immorally but stupidly, without the slightest advantage to the European peoples, and for the sake of purely ephemeral and exclusively selfish interests.

* In using the term "Dependencies," instead of "Colonies," I desire to avoid that confusion in ideas which leads to so much muddled thinking on this subject. The term "Colony" is not applicable to the vast tropical and sub-tropical areas which have been drawn into the vortex of European political ambitions owing to Europe's economic need for the raw material these areas produce. They are not COLONISABLE by White peoples. At the present time these non-colonisable areas and the self-governing Dominions of the British Empire are all lumped together as "Colonies."

plicity of reasons. The [illegible] Acts laying down the neutralisation of the Congo Basin had been so frequently violated both in the letter and spirit before the war, that it may have been said to have been a dead letter from the start. The war itself has produced many weighty arguments in favour of the neutralisation of African and Asiatic dependencies. When passions have cooled down and a sense of perspective reasserts itself, I do not suppose the British or French Governments will feel particularly proud, or particularly easy in their minds as to the ultimate effects of their action—at having imported Asiatics* and Africans to fight their battles upon the plains of Europe. Experience will suggest to them the doubtful wisdom of consecrating that policy.

It would be idle to deny that the neutralisation of the European dependencies over-seas would entail a sacrifice on Britain's part; while, on the other hand, the internationalisation of commercial activities within them would be to her advantage, because of her commercial experience. For it is evident, of course, that in time of war the dependencies of every European State are at the mercy, virtually speaking, of the Power which commands the seas. Their neutralisation would, therefore, involve on the part of Britain the loss of an advantage which her sea power gives to her. Let us face the fact frankly. But let us also ask ourselves, with an equal desire to deal honestly with ourselves, whether the voluntary surrender of that advantage would really injure the vital interests of the British people; and, too, whether, in the long run, the Powers of Europe can be expected to acquiesce in a situation which makes all their over-seas enterprise subject to British sufferance in time of war. To-day, no doubt, this is a German grievance. But yesterday it was a French grievance. To-morrow it may be a grievance collectively urged. The way to envisage the problem is not in terms of the grievance of this or that particular State at a particular moment; but in terms of the future of Europe, humanity, and of Britain herself. Continental Powers can never be expected to disarm on land even approximately, still less to abandon the idea of challenging us on the seas, so long as their policy over-seas is carried out subject to our good will and pleasure. The safety of an island-Empire whose nerve-centres depend upon sustenance from abroad can never be jeopardised without a radical elimination of the causes which might place that safety in jeopardy. But neither can an island-Empire in a future world of man's increasing mastery over air arrogate with safety to itself the right to maintain a perpetual mortgage over the extra-European activities—the Imperial policy—of Europe. But that has been, and is, the attitude of British statesmanship. We say, in effect, to the Powers of Europe: "You can have an over-seas policy if you wish. You can acquire dependencies, spend money on them, build up a big trade with them. But if you are so foolish as to fall foul of us, understand that we shall promptly seize them." Most Englishmen believe to-day that this war was caused by the German Government's desire to dictate to Europe, in Europe. Assuredly some Germans have put forward views which, logically interpreted, mean nothing else. But in our own case we quite deliberately, and as the most natural thing in the world, claim to dictate, by virtue of our overwhelming sea power, the policy of European Powers outside Europe. To me it appears utterly impossible, either that a better Europe can arise from the ashes of the old while that claim remains the bed-rock of our foreign policy, or that we can continue indefinitely to exercise it with safety to our own country or Empire. The neutralisation of the over-seas dependencies of all Powers offers a just and feasible way of escape from the accumulation of fresh hatreds and of fresh rivalries; and from a position which, ultimately, must in the very nature of things become impracticable to sustain.

Britain is in a position to take the lead in the matter of the neutralisation of the dependencies; quite obviously this great reform could not be consummated without her consent. In the matter of the internationalisation of commercial activities in the dependen-

* The tribute to the general character of our Indian administration involved in the generous support Indian potentates have given us is gratifying and deserved. It is the wisdom of having profited by it that is doubtful.

their wits' ends to conciliate the most superficially powerful elements in their public opinion for the horrors and losses of the war, would seem to be busily preparing for renewed economic conflicts, rendered the more bitter by pumping into them the passions of the time; and hence preparing for fresh political conflicts and increased armaments. For let this incontestable truth sink into the minds of all the peoples. If, when the cannons cease to boom, the blight of the tariff war ensues, the hopes of humanity, which centre in this frightful catastrophe being the last of its kind, are blasted. Were European frontiers remodelled, as the result of this war, upon the most approved lines of national boundaries and political consciousness, and the tariff and the colonial monopoly not only remained in being but were aggravated by a further strengthening of the artificial barriers between peoples, the most fundamental of all causes of international friction would subsist. When one reads about this plotting and counter-plotting on the part of the British, German, French, Austrian, Russian, and Italian Governments to hamper Britons, Germans, Frenchmen, Austrians, Russians, and Italians in the exchange of commodities, one is tempted to ask whether statesmanship has not become utterly bankrupt in ideas. While its spokesmen declare that a durable peace is their one end and aim, they are deliberately engineering war under the spur of a spurious patriotism. They are arranging to plunge Europe back into the morass.

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"We guarantee to you a continuance of that equality of commercial treatment in the United Kingdom and in the British dependencies which you have always enjoyed. For a quarter of a century you would thus be freed from the fear of a tariff wall round the British Empire. As a proof of the sincerity of our intentions, we are even willing to forego the preference accorded to us by our self-governing Dominions. In return we ask for reciprocity both in your dependencies and in your home market. So far as your home market is concerned, we recognise that you cannot immediately abolish your tariff, but it should be substantially lowered. In stipulating this we are demanding from you considerably less than we have ourselves always accorded you, and what we are prepared, under these conditions, to go on according you. But we realise the economic problem you have to face, and we feel that the British people and the British Empire are sufficiently great and powerful to give this earnest of their desire to eliminate future international friction." In so acting the British Government would be laying the foundations of international concord, saving its own people from the disabilities and restrictions inherent to Protection; receiving in return a substantial concession from Germany. Instead of maturing further impediments to human intercourse, elaborating further schemes for the manufacture of human bitterness—the prospect of consolidating an existent freedom of human intercourse where such freedom prevails, of undermining the ramparts of

occupation gone, to the lasting benefit of political purity at home and administrative decency in the French dependencies. On the other hand, it is a fact that nearly all the great exporting French firms are in favour of "colonial" free trade, and many of the most experienced French colonial administrators also. Notably is this the case in French West Africa, where the most considerable colonial effort of France has been exercised, and where the greatest volume of French colonial trade has been attained. The French West African merchants are dead against Protection, and always resist an increase in differential taxation. The French dependencies themselves would grow richer and more prosperous with the disappearance of the differential tariff. Their trade would increase by leaps and bounds, and as the natural result there would be more revenue to spend on public works, sanitation, agricultural development, and native affairs. The whole character of French over-seas activity would be affected for the good.

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Will the British people think it out for themselves? Will the leaders of British Labour look ahead, or continue dully to acquiesce in being swept away by a torrent of loose thought, faulty economics, and sterile passions? Is it possible that at least the North of England and Scotland does not even now contain sufficient elements impregnated with Cobden's teaching to evolve a counter-programme to that tariff war which the Government in power, the Northcliffe Press, which is its insolent master, and the selfish interests represented by Leagues and combines, are undoubtedly hatching? If so, these various forces in our national life must rouse themselves to action before it is too late.

* * *

And so I bring these articles to a close. They have been widely discussed here and abroad. Many precious letters and some abusive ones have reached me in connection with them. In certain quarters they have been malignantly misrepresented. That was a matter of course. The motive which has inspired me in writing them has been to state the truth as I saw it. I cannot believe that national interests can be adversely affected by the contemplation of the truth, even though it may not always be palatable. We have reached a crisis in the destinies of our race. A man who at such a time and because many of the views he holds are for the moment unpopular, chooses the easy course of standing aside when he thinks that certain things ought to be frankly and boldly stated in the national interest, betrays his conscience. For the rest, *magna est veritas et praevalebit*. Great is truth, and it will prevail—despite all efforts to obscure and suppress it.

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PUTTING HIS HEAD IN THE NOOSE.

THE WORKER AND CONSCRIPT SERVICE.

MEN BUT NOT MONEY.

BY ADA NIELD CHEW.

According to all available evidence, there exists a substantial number of British working men (outside Ireland) who, though protesting that they hate war, are in reality so enamoured of it that they consider the sacrifices of the very liberties they affect to be fighting to protect, cheap at the price. To such the thin end of the conscription wedge, as applied to "single men first" (but not last!) will actually be welcomed. A man who believes that he and his get something substantial from war, cannot logically object to the price asked; he who does not object to the forcing of men to fight simply because they happen to be unmarried is worse than stupid if he objects to the next logical step—the conscripting of his own and other men's labour. If the British working man is determined to bind himself with the shackles of the conscript slave he will do so, but it would at least be wise to pause and ask himself what he is doing. Almost every home has by this time given a soldier to the war. In every country at the first beat of the drum they ran to fight. The prevalence of a narrow, personal view, due to causes deep-laid in the century-old experience of humankind, being general and more than ever prevalent under present circumstances, has made it easy, even in Britain, to establish a conscription.

A Childish Attitude.

"My boy has gone to the war," is the cry, "let 'em make his lad go, too." It reminds one of the squabbles of children. "Mother, our John Henry won't do such and such a thing; make him do it as well as me!" But that nearly everybody is blinded by a narrow, unthinking, personal vision, it might be possible to see, and to avoid, what lies ahead. Those who have determined to seize this war as an opportunity to get the British workman well under the control of his "betters" know well what lies behind their conscription dodge. Once the principle of compulsion is conceded their battle—of money against labour—is won. If you admit that a man may be made to fight simply because he is single you cannot stop there, and in future—how near a future we may guess—it will be only the next most logical step automatically to make married men soldiers, too. And if you can compel them to fight you can of course compel them to work—on your terms. The next cry only needs to be that the trade of the country cannot be carried on under the present exorbitant price of labour. Moral, lower the price. If the workman objects—why then, of course, the sovereign remedy of "compulsion"—so necessary to win the war—can be readily introduced. The working man is told that "we" must win the war. Nothing is more certain than that if it is won—that is, if the combined weight of the Allies at last wears out the German resources; nearly everybody now having given up the vainglorious hope of marching triumphantly along Unter Den Linden within a given time—the working men will win it. But if they have allowed their persons to be forcibly seized, will it not be rather vain to protest against the forcing of their labour, too?

Slave Souls.

Some are prepared for anything—to the slave soul freedom is valueless, except as a war cry, and he is incapable of realising his degradation. But others are hoping to safeguard themselves by means of a stipulation for "the duration of this war." It is becoming plainer every day that the constant and rapid growth of militarism is making the parrot cry of "this is the last war" more and more ridiculous. At the end of this war the working man will be told that he must prepare for the next, and one of the most obvious and necessary preparations will be national military service—conscript soldiers. A clergyman preached the other day to the effect that one of the most obvious means of paying for the war would be to economise in social reform, and he warned the working classes that they had better realise at once that there was no hope in that direction after the war. The condition of things at that time will be: a depleted, more or less crippled, manhood of conscript soulless slaves, an underpaid, docile womanhood, having highly specialised slave tendencies, and without any political power, overrunning the labour market; and a ruling class having greatly increased power and unimpaired wealth. Is this prospect (not a fancy one, if once we admit conscription) really worth all the sacrifices labour is making to-day? Is it merely the person and the labour of working men which is necessary to "save England?" Is it only working men who have any duty towards England? The "pledge to the married man" is the most patent dodge which ever hoodwinked a deluded, war-mad worker; munitions are only hindered from production by the constant necessity of adaptation to the profit making of private individuals. But capital is very much not at the service of the war, and there is no talk of conscripting it. Why? Because it belongs to somebody other than the worker. It is he whose person is most numerous and therefore handiest to have under military control; it is he who is the munition maker, and can therefore safely be dealt with by a vindictive Munitions Act; but in the money drama his is only a minor part. Money is as necessary to the war as men and guns, yet it is proposed to drag men from their homes and to force them to fight for "our country," whilst "our equally necessary money" is wooed and enticed by offers of unimpaired return after use with large additions in the shape of interest. Whilst working men become cheap conscript soldiers, capital is allowed to take advantage of the war, and to raise its price to the State which defends it, charging a high rate of interest and getting absolute security for the sums it lends (not gives). The working man has no guarantee, if he escapes with his life, that the "freedom" for which he fights will be that which he enjoyed before he fought — and which, indeed, it cannot be if he becomes a conscript. But the MONEY required by the State from the only people who have it, comes under another category. It is so much more valuable and useful than the common lives and common labour of common working men! That view is entirely comprehensible as that of a Government and rulers made up of moneyed men. But what, oh, what can we think of working men who adopt it, too?

Trade and the Flag.

There has been a little fruitless talk about "mobilising" our American credit. Vast sums of British money are invested abroad, in itself a species of treachery. Capital invested abroad raises interest at home, and needs the protection of the Army and Navy more than that kept in our own country. "Our" investments in other countries are a national commitment, though only private persons benefit from them. The old saw about "trade following the flag," which some fatuous "economists" trot out even now in face of the stoppage of trade where the flag has gone, is as silly as many other theories of a political economy based entirely on self-interest; the truth being that the flag follows trade. Our Army and Navy are protecting private interests in many quarters of the globe, and in all conscience, in view of this, it would seem that capital invested abroad ought to suffer compulsion before the person of any working man, married or single, is seized. Amongst those who apply compulsion there is a good deal of tenderness towards capital, however, and none towards the person and labour of workers. If the latter have no tenderness and respect for themselves it is indeed a hopeless case.

Is this only a poor man's war, then? It has been well drilled into our ears during the past 18 months that the Allies' is a just cause, worthy even of the rending of the heart of motherhood, the desolating of homes, of ruining the fair hopes of girlhood, and the wholesale orphaning of children—worthy even of adopting the very methods of Prussianism which we set out to abolish. If that is so, why will the rich, from the Prime Minister, who flouts the idea of reducing his own income, downwards not risk a penny of their capital? Is "honour" and "liberty" (!) not worth anything in coin of the realm? The Government has invited the deposit with itself, on purchase or loan, of all American securities. An "invitation," in ignorance even of how much there is to obtain, is the method adapted to moneybags. But not to the working man! The latter has sadly missed his way, in the glamour and excitement of war. But is there really no limit to his servility? Can it be that he will suffer the last degradation, and become a conscript soldier, without even insisting on being counted at least equal to money? Are his life and labour and his children's future really nothing, weighed against money? If that be really so, then in the name of common sense what is he giving his life for? To save "his" country? For whom? For those whose MONEY is too sacred to be placed at the country's disposal alongside his life?

21-1-16 579/21

CONSCRIPTION AND COMPROMISE.

By A. W. HUMPHREY.

The Conscriptionists think very little of the Military Service Bill as such. Sir Edward Carson voiced their opinion of it when he described it as "anæmic." In Conscriptionist eyes the measure is a feeble thing indeed—it even proposes to recognise that there is such a thing as conscience. But, in one respect, the Bill is very valuable; it admits the principle of compulsion: it gets the thin edge of the wedge firmly in. To get the principle admitted the Conscriptionists may even be willing to make the measure more anæmic still, and perhaps it will have been watered down by the time these lines meet the eyes of the reader. It is in that that the danger lies. If the principle of compulsion remains, concessions on matters of detail will constitute almost a barren victory, the poor fruits of which are not likely to be enjoyed for long.

Not Compensation.

A guarantee that there shall be no industrial compulsion—should such a guarantee be forthcoming—would be no reason for accepting military compulsion. Military compulsion alone would admit the principle which the Conscriptionists are anxious to see adopted. The Bill as originally drafted is a measure for industrial as well as military compulsion, and is an indication of how far the Government would be prepared to go if given a free hand. Whatever changes may be made in committee it is difficult to see how the Bill would not still leave the way open for industrial conscription. There is, for example, a clause in the measure which allows regulations for the local tribunals to be made by Orders in Council. What is to prevent the Government, through the medium of such an order, giving tribunals power to withdraw exemption certificates, and so automatically turn men into soldiers? Certainly, Orders in Council may supplement law to an equal degree. Take, for instance, the case of the right of imprisonment under the Munitions Act. Under pressure, Mr. Lloyd George abolished the right in the amending bill, and at the same time obtained an Order in Council which gave him similar powers! No: a clause in that Bill purporting to obviate the possibility of industrial conscription would very possibly not be worth its face value, and even if it were would not compensate for the imposition of military conscription, which, unlike all other forms of compulsion, compels the person, and reduces men to the level of chattels. And this would especially be the case with Britain now, since it is proposed to commandeer men to serve, not in defence of the homeland (except, perhaps, in a very remote sense), but in any part of the world, to carry out a policy about which not the least information is forthcoming. Members of Parliament may vote men, and vote money, and vote for the conscription of men, but they may not ask questions, or at any rate must not expect answers containing information.

The Conscription of Wealth.

There is not much fear that the Commons will agree to the "conscription of wealth," but it may be as well to point out that conscription of wealth would be no adequate compensation for the conscription of life. Conscription of wealth (so far as I understand this recently-coined phrase) only means that those best able to bear the financial burden of the war should have it placed upon their shoulders; that those who have exploited the country most in time of peace, and who will exploit it again when peace returns, should place their gains at the disposal of the State, which is now concerned (so it is said) with the defence of what, in a very literal sense, is the country of the exploiters. So far the rich have borne comparatively little of the financial burden. They have yielded very little in taxation, and there is no sacrifice in making safe investments at 4½ or 5 per cent. Conscription of wealth would be in line with the social ideas of our time, which aim at the more equal distribution of wealth and the breakdown of monopoly and privilege, and the freer life for the equality which is so terrible a feature of our society.

Vanishing Freedom.

Many recent events are not such as to encourage support for any measure to increase the power of the military authorities. The country is now parcelled out into districts under the control of what is called the "competent military authority" and this authority seems to do pretty much as it likes. Every day it is becoming more dangerous to speak, write, or print anything, not only in opposition to the Government, but which may "offend the competent military authority." First there was the raid on the "Labour Leader" offices and the destruction of pamphlets. Following that came the suppression of "Forward," and of the little news-sheet "The Vanguard." Now the printers of the "Herald," who have printed it for four years through its many vicissitudes, and when it was often "up against" authority, suddenly refuse to print it any more. One does not need to be a Sherlock Holmes to fathom the reason. Secret trials have been introduced, and it is unsafe to talk freely even in a railway carriage, lest, like the Blackpool commercial traveller, somebody concludes that your ideas "prejudice recruiting," and you are forthwith haled before the bench, and after a secret hearing heavily fined. Then there was the suppression of so harmless a thing as the Liverpool concert, organised on behalf of the funds of the Russian Political Prisoners and Exiles Relief Committee, and, later still, the raid on the lodgings of the committee's secretary, and on the offices of the Russian Seamen's Union. By means of the censorship the authorities endeavour to keep all knowledge of such proceedings from the public. British trade unionists might have sympathised with the Seamen's Union, and so, when arrangements were made to bring the facts to their notice, the police raided the home of Mrs. Bridges Adams, and confiscated copies of the statement which was to have been distributed to the delegates at the Joint Labour Congress. Publicity cannot now even be assured through the medium of the House of Commons, as the questions of members are censored. The attitude of mind of the Conscriptionists to all discussion and questioning was well illustrated by Lord Derby at the Guildhall, London, in July last, when he suggested that it would have a "salutary effect" to occasionally take a questioner from the floor of the House of Commons and have him shot in Palace Yard.

Not Parliamentary Government.

It is influences responsible for this growing tyranny to which conscription would give ascendancy and similar influences have been responsible for the present bill. The threats of miners to take action to resist the bill should it become law have been much deprecated by certain newspapers on the ground that to do so would be a refusal to acknowledge the authority of Parliamentary Government, which is the instrument of democracy. Now Parliamentary Government is too precious a thing to be played fast and loose with, and if the passing into law of the present Bill could be held to be the result of Parliamentary Government the attitude of the newspapers referred to would be quite correct. But what does Parliamentary Government imply? It implies that the Government shall have a mandate from the electorate for the legislation it brings forward, and that such legislation shall have the fullest discussion in Parliament and in the country. Now, in connection with the present Bill these conditions are lacking. Not only has the Government no mandate to introduce conscription (doubtless that was why Mr. Asquith said "general assent" would be necessary), but the Government itself came into existence, not as the result of popular election, but owing to circumstances of which the general public know nothing. The late Government gave up the ghost within a few days of the Prime Ministry stating, in effect, that it would do no such thing. Then

as well as military compulsion, and is an indication of how far the Government would be prepared to go if given a free hand. Whatever changes may be made in committee it is difficult to see how the Bill would not still leave the way open for industrial conscription. There is, for example, a clause in the measure which allows regulations for the local tribunals to be made by Orders in Council. What is to prevent the Government, through the medium of such an order, giving tribunals power to withdraw exemption certificates, and so automatically turn men into soldiers? Certainly, Orders in Council may supplement law to an equal degree. Take, for instance, the case of the right of imprisonment under the Munitions Act. Under pressure, Mr. Lloyd George abolished the right in the amending bill, and at the same time obtained an Order in Council which gave him similar powers! No: a clause in that Bill purporting to obviate the possibility of industrial conscription would very possibly not be worth its face value, and even if it were would not compensate for the imposition of military conscription, which, unlike all other forms of compulsion, compels the person, and reduces men to the level of chattels. And this would especially be the case with Britain now, since it is proposed to commandeer men to serve, not in defence of the homeland (except, perhaps, in a very remote sense), but in any part of the world, to carry out a policy about which not the least information is forthcoming. Members of Parliament may vote men, and vote money, and vote for the conscription of men, but they may not ask questions, or at any rate must not expect answers containing information.

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forthwith haled before the bench, and after a secret hearing heavily fined. Then there was the suppression of so harmless a thing as the Liverpool concert, organised on behalf of the funds of the Russian Political Prisoners and Exiles Relief Committee, and, later still, the raid on the lodgings of the committee's secretary, and on the offices of the Russian Seamen's Union. By means of the censorship the authorities endeavour to keep all knowledge of such proceedings from the public. British trade unionists might have sympathised with the Seamen's Union, and so, when arrangements were made to bring the facts to their notice, the police raided the home of Mrs. Bridges Adams, and confiscated copies of the statement which was to have been distributed to the delegates at the Joint Labour Congress. Publicity cannot now even be assured through the medium of the House of Commons, as the questions of members are censored. The attitude of mind of the Conscriptionists to all discussion and questioning was well illustrated by Lord Derby at the Guildhall, London, in July last, when he suggested that it would have a "salutary effect" to occasionally take a questioner from the floor of the House of Commons and have him shot in Palace Yard.

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The Cooperative News. 22-1-16. 67/42 679.

WOMEN AND CONSCRIPTION.

Let Us Not Lose Our Soul.

Nought shall make us rue: If England to itself do rest but true.

THERE is no arguing whatever about compulsory soldiering when once you accept clearly the thought that for a man to be *forced* to commit what he believes to be murder is the destruction of his soul, and, therefore, a thing to be resisted to the uttermost.

Let us see to it that we stick firmly to this central point of view, and not be carried away by side issues.

For instance, there is the very plausible argument in favour of compulsory military service: "It would do our lads so much good physically. Look at Tom Brown, who used to slouch about at the street corners; see how manly and upright he has grown." Yes, the drill and regular habits and good food and outdoor life have certainly been the making of Tom Brown's outer and visible manhood. But *better food in the homes, and better social conditions of work and play* could achieve the same results, as the fine physique of our public-school boys can prove. Compulsory *physical* training is quite a different thing from compulsory *military* training.

Then there are the people who say: "The discipline is so good for our lads." But the queer flaw in that argument is that people don't admit that the discipline (carried to its logical conclusions, mind you) has been good for German lads! On the contrary, they tell you that we fight them because we want to destroy mili-

WOMEN'S CORNER.

tarism. Surely, indeed, if this war has proved anything beyond dispute, it has proved that nothing destroys the finer soul of a nation more surely than military discipline. Many of those who drop bombs on sleeping babies, or torpedo harmless vessels, are no doubt quite admirable sons, husbands, and fathers when they are at home. But blind obedience and unreasoning discipline have choked their sense of right and wrong, and led them on from one outrage to another. The same moral perversion might easily happen to ourselves if we are not on our guard.

Those who are keen advocates of iron discipline are apt to forget what happens when the lesson of conformity has been learned, and the prop is afterwards withdrawn from the weakened will. There is only too often a reaction of pitiable weakness, inability to stand alone, lack of initiative; sometimes even a reaction of utter moral collapse. And no wonder; for when the outer command has been taken for everything, and the inner command of conscience and healthy impulse is persistently stifled and set aside, the result is a character which fears, above all things, to *stand alone*. It is not the over-disciplined soldier that is to be trusted in a conquered city; we know too well how liable he is to a reaction of cruelty and lust. It is not the over-repressed child that you can trust to behave well when your back is turned; he will instinctively try to deceive you, if he thinks you will not find him out. Nor can you dare to leave such a child to do a thing for himself, or to stand alone without a prop.

To *stand alone!* Is not that the supreme test of moral courage? Is not daring to stand alone, facing ridicule or persecution, the great need in all kinds of public service? The town councillor, the co-operative committee-man, will be seldom called upon to show physical courage; but he may at any moment of his career have to be indifferent to unpopularity, slander, scoffing, and abuse. The habit of unreasoning obedience, whether in school or camp, is the worst possible preparation for a useful citizen's career. It is the drill-habit carried to its logical conclusions, which has left the German people like sheep in the iron hands of their rulers. We cannot too often repeat an old Greek saying: "THE WICKED RULE BECAUSE OF THE LACK OF COURAGE IN THE RULED." The sin of Germany in this war is not so much ambition as obedience.

Even if the moral issues of compulsory killing did not appeal to us, mere expediency should urge us to resist with all our might any attempt to coerce the moral courage of the nation. Every progressive movement knows how sorely we need more workers who will stick grimly to their principles through thick and thin. We should have more, many more, of such workers to-day but for the deadening influence of too many backward elementary schools which substitute discipline for self-development. We shall have fewer, far fewer heroic spirits to repair the broken damage of war if the moral spirit of the nation should be forcibly broken by compulsory military service.

Last of all, there will be some who will say to us: "But what if we cannot win this war without compulsion?"

Well, in the first place, it has not yet been satisfactorily shown that such *is* the case. Amid the clash of contradictions which you read in every newspaper, it is extremely difficult (perhaps it is meant to be difficult) for the average reader to get at anything like the truth.

Morning Post
26-1-16.

WOMEN'S LABOUR LEAGUE.

FEAR OF INDUSTRIAL COMPULSION.

The annual conference of the Women's Labour League was held in the Kingsley Hall, fifty-four delegates being in attendance. Miss MARION PHILLIPS, who presided, said that in 1914, when they met at Glasgow, they were passionate pacifists. They were that still, but they were pacifists with a difference. From the moment of the invasion of Belgium by the German Army, passionate pacifists as Labour women might be, there was little to do but to bury the dead hopes of neutrality and to throw their utmost strength into the task of preserving this country from the horrors of lawless militarist aggression, whether inflicted by the enemy from without or by wickedness and weakness from within. Their position was best defined in the resolution adopted by the extraordinary conference of Labour and Socialist women held at Berne in March, 1915. Yet their desire for peace was not the desire to see Germany victorious—the militarist Germany, with which, and not the Social Democrats, peace would have to be made. It could not be said that there were no militarist elements in our own country, but they were not the dominant and controlling interests in the British commonwealth. We were to have conscription and safeguards and limits. She thought there could be limits and safeguards if the Government chose to keep them.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S POLITICAL FUTURE.

The extent of conscription actually brought about by the Bill might be small, but conscription was there, and industrial compulsion might follow. But Mr. Asquith was weaker than formerly; so, luckily, was Mr. Lloyd George, whose visit to the Clyde had darkened his political future with a sinister cloud of falsehood and cowardice. (Cheers.) But who would come after Mr. Asquith, and how long would it be before military necessity was made the plea of a further pledge to Lord Northcliffe and a further betrayal of a pledge to the people? If the Labour Party Conference this week stood firm they could not see how the policy of conscription was going to prove of assistance in this war. The industrial position of women after the war was a subject of paramount importance, and the reinstatement in industry of more than two million men would mean a terrible dislocation of employment. Clearly the position of women would be one of the greatest delicacy and urgency. It would have to be considered how far the presence of female labour would mean the lowering of the whole standard of life for the working people. It was not a problem that could be safely left to middle-class women. It had to be solved by organised industrial women.

OPPOSITION TO THE MILITARY SERVICE BILL.

A resolution brought up by the executive declaring continued opposition to the Military Service Bill was moved by Miss PHILLIPS and seconded by Mrs. KNEESHAW (Handsworth). Mrs. PAUL (Central London) considered that the resolution needed more backbone, and, in order to strengthen it, suggested certain verbal additions. The amendment, which was seconded by Mrs. PARRY (Douglas Water), was referred to the executive, and eventually, after further discussion, the resolution in the following amended form was unanimously adopted: "This conference declares that the Women's Labour League will continue its opposition to the Military Service Bill, and in the event of its becoming law will agitate for its repeal. It reminds the people that Ministerial pledges are valueless if not expressed in the Bill, and further declares that the protection for the conscientious objector and the safeguards against industrial compulsion are illusory, and calls upon women workers to do what they can to prevent victimisation in individual cases by refusing to take the place of starred men who are unfairly discharged."

A DEMAND FOR PEACE.

A resolution demanding that the Government should take action calculated to bring the war to a conclusion and that it should state the terms of peace was moved by Mrs. TOWNLEY on behalf of the Bristol Branch, and Mrs. HIGGINS (Bristol), in seconding, said it would be far better to have race suicide than children born slaves. Women had it in their power to "frustrate the knavish tricks" of ambitious militarists. The resolution was carried.

Motions sent in by Rotherhithe and Bermondsey were also carried. These declared for an international force of men and women organised on the basis of their common welfare, and for the establishment of an International Arbitration Court. A few delegates abstained from voting.

Mrs. SIMM (Aberdeen) moved a resolution in connection with women's employment, demanding equal pay for equal work and a minimum wage. Mrs. WILLIAMS (Swansea) strongly complained of the prevailing conditions in South Wales, and other speakers found fault with what they described as an illegality—the employment of women on night shifts. The resolution was unanimously adopted. The conference further urged the executive to do all in its power to get women engaged on war work into the existing Trade Union for the particular trade to which they belong.

The Birmingham Dly Post
26-1-16

WOMEN'S OPPOSITION TO CONSCRIPTION.

LABOUR LEAGUE AND THE VALUE OF PLEDGES.

CALL FOR STATEMENT OF PEACE TERMS.

The annual conference of the National Women's Labour League, which is affiliated with the Labour Party, was held yesterday at Bristol. Miss Marion Phillips, D.Sc., London, presided.

Miss Phillips, in her presidential address, said they were pledged to strive their utmost to build up that international movement of the workers which was the best safeguard of international peace. The war had shown them the policy they had adopted of the opposition to the militiarisation of this or any other country was unassailably sound. It showed that a State pre-eminently militarist, organised primarily for efficiency in military offence and defence, was essentially a lawless State. The invasion of Belgium by the German army would be for ever the greatest warning to democracy of the perils of militarism. From that time, passionate pacifists as they might be, there was little to do but to bury the dead hopes of neutrality and, faced with the full horrors of the meaning of militarist government, throw their utmost strength into preserving their own country from the horrors of lawless militarist aggression, whether inflicted by the enemy from without or by the wickedness of their own hearts from within.

A Year of Disillusionment.

The League had accepted the position that there was no ground upon which they could adopt a policy of opposition to the war. The invasion of Belgium alone had left as opponents only those who believed in the doctrine of non-resistance. After a year and half of war they hated it the more bitterly because they had learnt more of what it meant. Their hatred of war pressed them forward to seek peace which should be lasting, and to mitigate wherever they had power to do so the inevitable distress and misery that war brought with it and left after it. Yet their desire for peace was not the desire to see Germany victorious, the militarist Germany they knew to-day, with which, and not the Social Democrats, peace would have to be made. They looked forward to the downfall of militarist government which was the stronghold of a system of privately-owned and controlled capital, the very key of the domination of money over lives. They could not say there were not militarist elements in their own country. But they were not the dominant and controlling interests in the British Commonwealth. The victory of Germany, the world's great example in militarist reaction, would not only push back the fight for further freedom, but would draw within narrower limits the bounds of present freedom throughout the world.

To many of them the year had been one of dismal disillusionment in showing how low was the standard of statesmanship and public life. The Labour movement did little to invigorate their hopes until within the last few months when the struggle over conscription grew more imminent. The Labour conference on conscription had awakened a new hope. The Labour movement had failed to find the leaders it wanted. And it had begun instead to lead itself. "That tremendous and deeply sincere majority," she asserted, "which voted against the Compulsion Bill was no intransigeant mob, nor was it in any sense against the successful conduct of the war. It was democracy defending democracy, it was freedom fighting militarism. Against that spirit militarism would not prevail. It is true the position appears since then to have been compromised. We are to have conscription and safeguards and limits. I think there can be limits and safeguards if a government chooses to keep them. I think that the extent of conscription actually brought about by this bill, so long as the Cabinet upholds Mr. Asquith's present view, may be small, but it is conscription, and may be industrial compulsion. But Mr. Asquith is weaker than he was. Who will come after Mr. Asquith, and how long will it be before [illegible] the idea of a further

prevail. It is true the position appears since then to have been compromised. We are to have conscription and safeguards and limits. I think there can be limits and safeguards if a government chooses to keep them. I think that the extent of conscription actually brought about by this bill, so long as the Cabinet upholds Mr. Asquith's present view, may be small, but it is conscription, and may be industrial compulsion. But Mr. Asquith is weaker than he was. Who will come after Mr. Asquith, and how long will it be before military necessity is made the plea of a further pledge and a further betrayal of a pledge to the people?"

Industrial Conscription.

The Chairman, for the Executive, proposed that

> This conference declares that the league will continue its opposition to the Military Service Bill, and in the event of its becoming law will agitate for its repeal. It further declares that the protection for the conscientious objector is illusory, and that the safeguards against industrial conscription are incomplete, and calls upon women workers to do what they can to prevent victimisation in individual cases by refusing to take the place of "starred" men unfairly discharged.

The position of the conscientious objector under the bill, she said, was unsatisfactory. As the bill stood it remained with the tribunals to decide whether a person was a conscientious objector, and the decision would vary in different parts of the country. In a way, so far as preventing the conscientious objector being dragged into the army, the bill was as bad as it could be. There would be cases of great hardship and injustice under the bill. She asserted there was nothing in the bill to prevent industrial compulsion; the clauses put off the difficulties, but did not remove them. A man who wished to maintain trade union rights after the war might be kept out of employment by a combination of employers and forced into military service. They were trying to find some way as women workers to prevent industrial compulsion taking place.

Mrs. Kneeshaw (Birmingham) seconded the resolution.

During the adjournment for luncheon the Executive met and drafted the following revised anti-conscription resolution, which was unanimously adopted:—

> This conference declares that the League will continue its opposition to the Military Service Bill, and in the event of its becoming law will agitate for its repeal. It reminds the people that Ministerial pledges are valueless if not expressed in the bill, and further declares that the protection for the conscientious objector and the safeguards against industrial compulsion are illusory, and calls upon women workers to do what they can to prevent victimisation in individual cases by refusing to take the place of starred men unfairly discharged.

Statement of Peace Terms Wanted.

Mrs. Townleke (Bristol) moved a resolution reaffirming the League's hatred of war, and demanding of the Government action calculated to bring the war to a speedy conclusion.

> To this end it demands that the Government (1) State its terms of peace, on the attainment of which it is prepared to cease warfare; (2) welcome and system of mediation by neutral Powers made with a view to bringing the belligerent Powers together.

Mrs. Higgins (Bristol), who seconded, believed the war would prove the greatest setback to labour and social reform. It was the greatest piece of devil's work ever devised in the history of the world. She urged women to say, "Unless we can have freeborn babes we will not produce military babes." Did they ever think of the important part which women could play in frustrating their knavish tricks and military ambitions?

The resolution was carried.

Mrs. Salter (Bermondsey) moved a resolution declaring—"That war to-day and always results in further oppression of the workers alike in the victorious and in the defeated countries, and urging the people to use their political power to replace the past system of armed peace by an alliance between all the workers of Europe, believing that the only guarantee against war is an international force of men and women organised on their common welfare."

Mrs. W. Jarrett (Kensington) seconded the resolution, which was carried.

Mrs. Lowe (Bermondsey) moved that this conference declares that all disputes between nations should be referred to an international council or arbitration court, and that moral, social, and economic pressure should be brought to bear upon any country that resorts to arms, instead of referring its case to arbitration or conciliation.

The resolution was carried.

Northern Daily Telegraph

26-1-16.

WOMEN AND COMPULSION.

LABOUR OPPOSITION TO THE BILL.

The Women's Labour League held its tenth annual conference at Bristol yesterday, 54 delegates being present. Miss Marion Phillips, D.Sc., occupied the chair, and Mrs Townley, on behalf of the local branch, welcomed the members.

Miss Phillips, speaking on "Working Women and the Problems of the War," said that from the moment of the invasion of Belgium by the German Army, passionate pacifists as Labour women might be, there was little to do but to bury the dead hopes of neutrality and throw their utmost strength into preserving this country from the horrors of lawless militarist aggression, whether inflicted by the enemy from without or by the wickedness and weakness of our own hearts from within. The extent of conscription actually brought about by the Military Service Bill, so long as the Cabinet upheld Mr Asquith's present view, might be small, but conscription was there, and industrial compulsion might follow. Mr Asquith was weaker than formerly; so, luckily, was Mr Lloyd George. After the war the reinstatement in industry of more than two million men would mean a terrible dislocation of employment. Clearly the position of women would be one of the greatest delicacy and urgency. It was not a problem that could be safely left to middle-class women. It had to be solved by organised industrial women.

Mrs Bruce Glasier asked that the address should be regarded as the expression of personal opinions.

Miss Mary M'Arthur, on behalf of the fraternal delegates, urged that an equal wage for equal work was the only solution.

A resolution was unanimously adopted declaring the League's intention to agitate for repeal in the event of the Military Service Bill becoming law, affirming that the protection for the conscientious objector and the safeguards against industrial compulsion are illusory; and calling upon women workers "to do what they can to prevent victimisation in individual cases by refusing to take the place of 'starred' men who are unfairly discharged."

Mr Ben Turner, representing the Labour party, said there was still a danger that military conscription would mean industrial conscription.

A resolution which demanded that the Government should take action calculated to bring the war to a conclusion, and should state the terms of peace, was adopted, as were also motions declaring for an international force of men and women organised on the basis of common welfare, and for the establishment of an International Arbitration Court.

Mrs Simm (Aberdeen) moved a composite resolution of women's employment, demanding equal pay for equal work and a minimum wage, and the resolution was adopted unanimously.

Cotton Factory Times
28-1-1916.

679/46

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CONSCRIPTION: LABOUR AND THE ISSUE.

Yesterday (Thursday) at Bristol the Labour Party was expected to declare its attitude to the Military Service Bill, which has passed through both Houses of Parliament, and now only awaits the Royal Assent. Labour is solidly against compulsion in the abstract, and by a large majority at the National Conference the other week marked its manifest objection to the principle and purport of the Bill. Strong feeling against conscription has been showing itself for some time past in various parts of the country, but the situation is a peculiarly difficult one, for everybody desires that the war should be won, and yet the cause of the Allies would be most gravely imperilled if in one solid phalanx, or even to any substantial extent, the trade unionists of the country employed the weapons at their command to resist compulsory service. The consequences of anything in the nature of a general strike need no stating. A few stoppages here and there in vital industries might create untold mischief. Without these direful consequences a majority of votes against the Bill would bring the three Labour representatives out of the Government. As Labour, whatever else it may be, is patriotic, it is inconceivable that it would do anything to delay the hour of victory, not to speak of placing victory altogether out of reach. Parliament, which has passed the Conscription Bill, could not wriggle out of the chief responsibility for whatever happened, but unfortunately Parliament is not the people, and it is the people, the workers themselves, who matter.

It will not indicate that the end of things has come if at Bristol the resolution against conscription carries with a bumping majority; it *will* be a warning to the rabid gang of conscriptionists that they have already gone the length of their tether. If the majority happen to be in favour of the Bill, that party need not exactly shake hands with themselves. If the workers have been caught napping once, they are conscious of it, and it would be positively dangerous, we think, if the conscriptionists misread the situation and applied themselves lightheartedly to making compulsion general. It is hopeless now to expect anything approaching unanimity at Bristol. At the same time a substantial majority against the Bill might have a most salutary effect, and help to resolve the whole tangle; it might induce the Government to be content with the passing of the Bill, without actually promulgating it. It would be quite enough to have the measure placed on the Statute Book, without placing the stigma of conscription on a hitherto free people. And why should the Act be put in effect? We have heard a lot lately about pledges of one sort or another. There was the famous pledge to the married at the expense of the single, which ought never to have been given. There was the pledge also that recourse would not be had to compulsion for the sake of a negligible minority. Who can pretend now that the single men have not offered themselves in sufficient numbers? Where, too, is the general consent upon which the scheme of compulsion was contingent? Pledges seemingly differ in quality; there are those to be kept and those to be broken. The hope has been unctuously expressed in high quarters that the Act when passed would become "a dead letter." What has been meant by that phrase? That there would be nobody left to force into military service, or that the remnant would be so small that the Act might remain dormant? For personal reasons an improper pledge has been already so faithfully kept as really to place the married, whom it was intended to protect, in a somewhat sinister light. Whatever Labour may say, if statesmen

advanced freightage rates are out of all proportion to the reduced shipping and trade. The shippers will smile with satisfaction, no doubt, at the political economists who urge that it is simply the operation of the law of supply and demand, and will go on none the less determinedly to extract fancy prices for carrying the world's goods. The wheat exports from the United States to Europe in 1915, and allowed through by our Navy, were as great as in 1913, but the freightage rates in the former year were 15s. 6d. to 16s. per quarter, as compared with about 2s in 1913. After allowing for a 50 per cent. rise in extra costs, how can we justify this tremendous increase? Prices may ascend rather than descend in the near future. Mr. Runciman is unable to stop it. The increase in freights alone is equal to 1½d. on every 4lb. loaf. From the millions of loaves daily consumed riches beyond the dreams of avarice are being drawn daily. The increase in the rates between this country and the Argentine are even worse than those from the States. They have risen from 12s. per quarter to 150s. Wheat is being held back, and an attempt is being made to get 200s. per quarter. The sea carriage of coal has risen enormously, being twice as high now as the total costs of mine labour, interest on capital, profits, rail carriage, and everything else connected with the getting of coal. The increased cost of the carriage of cotton alone is nearly half the cost per lb. of cotton of manufacturing the same. The shippers are, of course, quite willing to pay back 50 per cent. excess profits to the Treasury. Meanwhile, the cost of living to the working classes is continually going up, with no prospect of shifting the burden on to other shoulders, and it is now clear that we are at the mercy of shipping and railway rings, who charge more for the carrying of goods than the cost of production itself.

pressed in high quarters that the Act when passed would become "a dead letter." What has been meant by that phrase? That there would be nobody left to force into military service, or that the remnant would be so small that the Act might remain dormant? For personal reasons an improper pledge has been already so faithfully kept as really to place the married, whom it was intended to protect, in a somewhat sinister light. Whatever Labour may say, if statesmen are wise they will recognise that the game they have been playing has gone quite far enough, consistently with both honour and safety, and by scrapping the Bill save the country from the unmerited disgrace of both military and industrial compulsion. Is it too much to hope that the Government is sensible enough and courageous enough thus at one stroke to destroy all dissension and unite the country as one man?

A CAUSE OF THE INCREASED COST OF LIVING.

The military struggle going on in so many parts of the world obscures to the great mass of people the onslaught that is being made upon the economic resources of the world by the commercial Huns who prefer riches to patriotism, and in the getting of them appear indifferent to the possible starvation of millions of people. We talk of a British blockade upon Germany, but if we remember the enormous increases in many articles of necessity in this country since the outbreak of war it would appear as if a blockade was in existence against us. And in effect that is exactly what is taking place. It has become the fashion, of course, for anyone with anything to sell to raise the price and blame the war for it. The greatest offenders are the shippers, who have continually increased the freightage rates since the war began. They have been assisted by the requirements of the Government for shipping for war purposes, and by the British Navy in keeping clear what Americans call "the sea lanes of the world." The Government has been powerless against the self-seekers who have carried on their nefarious campaign of plunder under the excuse of shortage of ships and labour and extra dangers of the sea. The returns of the world's commerce for 1915 do not show any great falling off in the transit of goods from one country to another. In any case, the

The Daily Telegraph
4-2-16.

HIS MAJESTY'S CIVIL SERVICE.

COMPULSION BILL.

A very interesting and rather animated debate took place in the House of Commons recently regarding the clause in the Military Service Bill empowering the heads of the Government Departments to issue exemption certificates to members of their staff, independently of the tribunals set up under the Derby scheme.

Mr. Dickinson, who moved an amendment to leave out the sub-section conferring this power, said it placed the Government Departments in an absolutely unique position. He hoped that even if this clause were inserted as it stood the Ministers who were responsible for the Government Departments would try and see that those Government Departments did not become, as he thought they were at the present moment, a place in which an unnecessarily large number of young men were detained. In some of the departments he came across, he should say that a good deal of the work, which was now done by young men, could be perfectly well done by young women, and if the departments were placed under the same difficulties which the commercial firms were now under they would long ago have replaced a good deal of their male labour by female labour. He did not see why the Government departments should not go through the same mill that everybody had got to go through, namely, of proving that men they asked to be exempted were really required, and of proving it before the local tribunal which would have to deal with these subjects. It would be an immense protection for the Government departments themselves. They would not have this responsibility—a very invidious responsibility—put upon them of settling the individual men to be exempted, and he believed it would give the public confidence in these departments, which on this particular subject they did not possess at the present moment.

GOVERNMENT'S REPLY.

Mr. Samuel, who followed, would not admit that Mr. Dickinson's indictment was well founded. The utmost efforts had been made by the Ministers and by the permanent heads to spare every possible man who could be allowed to go. From the Local Government Board, for instance, practically every man of military age had gone. At the General Post Office he had sent a letter informing the whole of the porters, postmen, sorters, and several other branches of the staff that every man who could be should be spared. Out of 80,000 men, married and single, of military age in the General Post Office there were accounted for under the classes already enlisted, attested under the Derby Scheme, and rejected on the ground of being medically unfit, no fewer than 75,000. Therefore, so far as that department of the State was concerned, the indictment was not well-founded.

So it was with other departments. He was quite certain that every Minister and the permanent heads of departments were fully alive to the importance of sparing members of the staff when it was possible; but the work of the Government departments must be carried on, and Ministers could not be responsible for the efficient conduct of the affairs of State if men who were really indispensable, and who had expert knowledge on particular topics and many years' experience of dealing with administrative matter, were to be whisked away, and untried persons, like the young women suggested, put in their places, with no knowledge of the many difficult and complicated matters with which they had to deal. Nor was it possible to refer these men to the local tribunals. On matters of this kind you must accept the word of the Minister.

Mr. Butcher, who supported the amendment, said you wanted very strong grounds in order to put Government employés in a specially favoured position which was not accorded to any other members of the community. The local tribunals were considered to be good enough for every class of his Majesty's subjects with the exception of Government employés. In the case of Government departments they were to be made judges in their own cause. Every department considered that certain persons were indispensable, just as every employer thought that certain men were indispensable to their business. He urged that the Government should trust the local tribunals.

VARIOUS CRITICISMS.

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were indispensable, just as every employer thought that certain men were indispensable to their business. He urged that the Government should trust the local tribunals.

VARIOUS CRITICISMS.

Sir J. D. Rees contended that this exception was necessary in the public interest. He instanced a small Government department in which there were about fifty ladies and five men. The ladies did their work admirably. The duties performed by public servants were of the most technical character.

Mr. Morrell wanted to know on what ground, for instance, the head of the Education Office should have a right to claim exemption for his staff by different methods to those open to a judge of the High Court, who might have one or two clerks whom he considered it necessary in the public interest to keep with him. Why should not the officials of the London County Council have the special privileges which it was proposed to give to the Government departments? If the local tribunal was good enough for a member of Parliament, surely it was good enough for the Education Office.

Mr. Long did not know how they would get the work done if he were disposed to accept this amendment. The Civil Service of this country showed a better record in the percentage of men who had gone to the front or had attested than any other class taken by itself. There was to be a consultation between the heads of the departments and the War Office. If there was any difference of opinion between them it would be referred to the Cabinet, which would decide the point at issue. The clause was the result of very careful consideration between them and the War Office, and they approved of it absolutely in its present form.

Mr. Rawlinson suggested that it should be possible to substitute for young men of military age older men or even young women.

It was unfortunate for the critics of the clause that the defence of it should have fallen to the two Ministers whose departments—the Post Office and the Local Government Board—can show such a remarkable record in recruiting. But other departments are not so free from criticism. Nobody, as Mr. Samuel suggested, wants any official released who is really indispensable; neither should any work be suspended which is of importance to the nation. But the point is: there are still hundreds of young men engaged on simple routine work whose places could well be taken by women or older men. As the recent correspondence in *The Daily Telegraph* on the "Organisation of the Country's Resources" showed, there are thousands of educated men past military age who are only too anxious to help if an opening is made for them.

INCOME-TAX APPOINTMENTS.

Mr. J. W. Sowrey and Mr. E. Clark, Superintending Inspectors of Income-tax, have been appointed Deputy Chief Inspectors.

Mr. Sowrey is, we understand, engaged on the work of the Excess Profits Duty. He has three sons in the Army, two of whom are in the Flying Corps.

Many further changes in this department are anticipated in the near future. The income-tax alterations and the imposition of the excess profits duty will impose on the department a strain which it never had to face in its history. The surveyors are engaging temporary lady clerks at about 25s a week, but, instead of going to reliable sources of supply, the officers of the department are deliberately invited to nominate their lady relatives to take the place of men wherever they can be released for military service. The head of the department is seriously bidden to assure himself (by personal interview, if necessary!) that the lady proposed is a suitable person. If an official's wife or daughter was anxious to assist, it would require some hardihood on his part to report adversely as to their suitability, and would scarcely make for domestic harmony. Surely the recommendations of the Home Office Committee (which were at once acted on, at the end of November) that local authorities should set about giving facilities for women to qualify for such work should by now have produced a reservoir of qualified women. Even in war-time it is doubtful if this open form of Civil Service patronage could be defended.

Exeter Gazette.
16/3/16.

Employment

OF WOMEN LABOUR.

CREDITON TRIBUNAL CASES.

Crediton Rural Tribunal had another long sitting yesterday, when nearly 50 claims for exemption were dealt with. Mr. W. Carter-Pedler presided, the military representative being Sir W. Ferguson-Davie.

The Chairman, at the outset, said the Tribunals were being given fresh instructions well-nigh every day. The consequence was that their proceedings lacked that unanimity which they could desire. Sometimes it appeared as if the Tribunal took a more stringent action in some cases than in others. He asked the military representative if he had read in the papers what Lord Selborne said.

The military representative said that he had not.

Mr. R. Brown was about to read a statement made by Lord Selborne, when the military representative said they could only act on their instructions.

Mr. Brown: Lord Selborne, who said he was speaking with the authority of the Government——

The Military Representative: I cannot take any newspaper report.

Mr. Brown: The statement was made by Lord Selborne. I think I can ask you to consider this as a fair report.

The Military Representative: You cannot take any notice of any newspaper report in this way.

Mr. Brown said he wished to call the Tdibunal's attention to some remarks made by Lord Selborne.

The Military Representative replied he must object to a speech being made. It was especially mentioned in the instructions that there must be no speeches. The time of the Tribunal was fully occupied, and there was no time for speeches.

Canon Boles pointed out that the statement was merely the answer to a deputation. He had read it. It was not authoritative at all. Therefore, he did not think they should take up their time with newspaper reports.

The Chairman: I must rule you out of order, Mr. Brown.

Canon Boles said it appeared that Lord Selborne was simply trying to please the audience he had got before him.

The Chairman: We have no instructions before us.

Mr Brown said Lord Selborne stated it was necessary to keep up the farms. If any man said that growing corn was not necessary, he ought to be in a lunatic asylum. That was what Lord Selborne said.

The matter then dropped.

A farmer, of Chawleigh, applied for the exemption of his man, as, without him, he would be single-handed. He had lost three men, and his farm was such that, even now, he could hardly keep it in cultivation. It was impossible to get help, owing to the great mumbar of men employed in the large sawing contract at Exeter. Exemption allowed for six months.

A farmer and miller, of Newton St. Cyres, applied for the temporary exemption of his son, who is attested, on the grounds that he had sole charge of seven cows, a large number of pigs (70 at present), and assisted in the milking. Asked if he could help, applicant, with a smile, said he did what he could, but he was 70; in fact, it was his birthday that day. He pointed out he was a very large breeder of pigs, and contended he was doing as much to provide food as were the farmers. If it were not for people like him, they would have pork costing 3d or 4d a pound more. He had had as many as 183 pigs at a time. They were all porkers. The Chairman: Dairy work and pig feeding were attended to by women some years ago, and there is no reason why it should not be done by them now. It is a question whether it is not possible for you to get female labour to help you in this matter. The applicant replied that he had tried. It was difficult to get women in any capacity. If they wanted a washerwoman they could not get one. He had a daughter, but she was kept busy with the household work. The military representative contended there would be no hardship in this case if the man went. Exemption was granted for one month, the Chairman expressing the hope that applicant would be able to get woman labour.

WHAT THE CONSCRIPT'S WIFE SHOULD KNOW OF BUSINESS.

By CATHLEYNE ESENES.

NOW that the married men are marching off, to fight for their King and country, thousands of women in all parts of Great Britain find themselves thrown utterly upon their own resources, and each day brings its own problems, each hour its perplexities.

Unfortunately, few of the women who have to bear the family burden know even the rudiments of business procedure. Their dealings, in the past, have been chiefly with the "butcher and baker and candle-stick maker." The husband, in most cases, signed the lease or agreement for the house or flat, arranged for the removal of the furniture, and attended to paying the rent, rates, income-tax, and insurance. It will be useless to expect that he will be able to attend to domestic business during his infrequent visits home on short military leave. Besides, it would be selfish to make him shoulder this burden in addition to his army duties. Then, what if the husband should not come back at all? What if his name should be included in the "Roll of Honour"? That is a contingency that, painful as it be, *must* be considered.

Many women—no one realises just how many—will have nothing to live upon except their husbands' military pay. Some, however, will be more fortunately placed, and will have an income assured them from interest on securities or from the business that the husband may be able to arrange to have carried on "as usual" by some trustworthy agent during his enforced absence.

The conscript will, no doubt, attend to some matters before he goes away. More than likely he will sublet the expensive house or flat, and install his family in a home that can be maintained at a comparatively small cost. It may be necessary to make a special arrangement with the landlord in order to sublet the place, for many forms of agreement contain clauses to the effect that the property may not be sublet. At a time like the present, however, most landlords will prefer to have the place sublet rather than run the risk of not receiving the rent on account of the conscript's absence on military duty.

It will be a good idea if the conscript allows his wife to attend, under his guidance, to all the business connected with subletting the old home, renting and moving into the new residence, and selling such *lares* and *penates* as will be superfluous in the smaller quarters. In this way she will gain much practical experience in business methods before her husband leaves.

If the change has to be made without the conscript's assistance, the wife should obtain a properly written book on the relations between landlord and tenant. She ought to know exactly what her obligations will be as lessee, and what she has a right to expect from the lessor. The printed forms of agreement usually employed are worded almost entirely in favour of the landlord, and she should learn what to strike out and what to insert, in order to protect her own interests.

Then there is the matter of insurance. If she has a bank account, she can ask the advice of her bankers, and they will arrange the whole matter for her. She must, in any case, select a sound, reliable concern. Insurance against war risks should also be effected. If there is no clause in the lease or agreement exempting her from payment of rent in case the house becomes uninhabitable from any cause, she should insure against that contingency—it will not cost much, and may relieve her of great anxiety in the future. She should learn just what her liabilities are for accidents to servants in her employ, and should take out insurance to cover such loss. It is wise to insure for at least one inside and one outside worker. This will cover accidents to window-cleaners, gardeners, &c., as well as to maids and charwomen. In this connection, she must make it her invariable practice to ask specifically, in each instance, in the presence of a witness, from window-cleaners, decorators, &c., whether or not they are insured and take all liability for accidents, and should refuse to hire anyone who is not so insured.

The matter of educating the children must be decided upon before the husband goes to the battlefield. If they have been attending expensive institutions, it may be necessary to send them, instead, to schools that charge smaller fees, or none at all. This is a subject of grave importance, and the future of the children should be mapped out in advance, and decisions arrived at to cover every possible contingency.

The question should be discussed as to what the wife shall do in case it becomes necessary for her to appeal for help. Her husband should tell her to whom she should apply if she urgently requires financial assistance, what she is to offer for security, how much interest she is to pay, and what steps she is to take in case she finds repayment impossible and is in danger of losing the collateral she has given. She should be warned specifically regarding those from whom she is not to borrow. The Government has very wisely provided for helping soldiers' necessitous wives; but it is well to bear in mind, in this connection, that the less obligations requiring future repayment that are entered into by the wife or the husband, the better it will be for all concerned.

The Canadian [illegible]

Conscription for Women.

While men of goodwill in all countries are looking forward to the general abolition of conscription after the war, in Germany there is quite a warm agitation in favour of its extension to women. Last year a prize was offered by a Berlin charity for the best essay on compulsory service for women, and not less than 145 writers competed. Let us hasten to explain that the service contemplated is not military service, but the establishment for women of a system analogous with that to which men are subjected. It is proposed that all women should, preferably at the age of 17, be taken and compulsorily "trained." The "training" should be either in a profession or in household duties. As might be expected, the fundamental division between rich and poor is maintained in these projects. The rich are to "serve" in special institutions. Poor girls are to be put out into private households; their employers are to give them a trifle of pocket-money and make a contribution to the State. Some critics point out the difficulty of finding sufficient suitable households for the hosts of young girls not blessed with sufficient wealth to warrant the privilege of an institution. But none of them seems to note that there is some difference between conscription which puts a man into a regiment run by and for the State and conscription which makes a girl work without wage for the profit of private individuals. The one may be called by harsh names; the other cannot with accuracy be called anything but slavery. But there is a type of mind which sees positive merit in compulsion just because it is compulsion, and in the disregard of individual liberty and tastes just because it is disregard of individual liberty and tastes. That type of mind is the most sinister danger which menaces mankind.

679/51

WHY THEY WANT CONSCRIPTION.

The danger of the gradual militarisation of Britain is not more clearly shown than in th suppression of newspapers which are striving to maintain the British traditions of freedom of utterance and criticism. The raid upon the offices of the Glasgow "Forward," a weekly paper devoted to the interests of Labour, on Monday, January 3, was followed by a protest in the House of Commons on Tuesday. Mr. W. C. Anderson, Mr. Pringle, Mr. Outhwaite, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Alden, Mr. Snowden, and Mr. Dillon addressed questions to the Ministers concerned. It was asked whether the "Forward" was suppressed because it printed a true account of the Conference on the Clyde between Mr. Lloyd George and the munition workers, giving a very different impression from that of the official report. Mr. Lloyd George said that was not the reason, and, in view of his denial, there can be no possible objection to the publication of the account of that Conference. On the other hand, a true knowledge of affairs is always in the best interests of the country. Below is a reprint of the report from "Forward."

The best paid Munitions worker in Britain, Mr. Lloyd George (almost £100 per week), visited the Clyde last week-end in search of adventure.

He got it.

His meeting with the Clyde workers was to have taken place in the St. Andrew's Halls, on the Thursday night, but to everybody's great surprise, the newspapers on Thursday morning announced that the meeting was "off" until Saturday morning. The announcement excused itself by saying that the postponement from a night meeting, when men were not all working, to a forenoon meeting, when all the men should be working, was to suit the convenience of all concerned!

Not even Mr. Sexton Blake, the eminent detective, could unravel *that!*

THE CONFERENCE "OFF."

After all the arrangements had been made for the Thursday meeting, Messrs. Lorimer (Blacksmiths), Bunton (A.S.E.), and Sharp (Boilermakers), had been summoned by telegram to Newcastle to meet Mr. Lloyd George. Mr. Sharp did not go, but Messrs. Lorimer and Bunton went, and were informed by Mr. Lloyd George that he had changed his mind about the Thursday meeting, that he intended first to visit the workshops, and that the meeting would be postponed to the Saturday (Xmas) morning.

The Committee of Trades Representatives, responsible for the Thursday meeting, met on Thursday evening, and after two hours' discussion, decided by 29 votes to 7 not to have anything to do with the Saturday meeting, owing to the shortness of time and their inability to secure a thoroughly representative gathering.

This resolution was again put to the meeting, and by 34 votes to 3 re-affirmed. It was then resolved unanimously that before any future meeting was arranged for the Ministry of Munitions that an aggregate meeting of Shop Stewards and Trade Union Officials be held, for the purpose of discussing and formulating a policy to be pursued at any future meeting with Mr. Lloyd George. Immediately after these decisions had been arrived at, someone had telephoned the result to Mr. Lloyd George's party, who viewed the decision so seriously that they desired to discuss the matter with the delegates at once. In a few minutes the Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P., and three Government officials, appeared on the scene, and the whole business was re-opened. After a statement from Mr. Henderson, questions were asked and some were answered. It was then moved by Mr. Bunton (A.S.E.), and seconded by Bailie Whitehead (Brassfinishers), that the meeting rescind the previous resolutions agreed to, but by 20 votes to 13 the meeting refused to rescind their previous decisions, and, therefore, the Saturday meeting was declared off as an Official Representative Trade Union Meeting. The hour was now 11.45 p.m., and the delegates went home, but through the night letters were delivered at their homes and offices, signed by "Murray, of Elibank," asking them to meet at the Central Station Hotel, on Friday morning at 10 o'clock, and hear an appeal from Lord Murray as to reasons why they should reconsider their decision of the

On this phase of the whole strange business, the only comments necessary are of relief that such a large proportion of Union officials refused to be jockeyed about at the sweet will of the Ministry of Munitions—where so many showed dignity and refused to be overawed by the politicians, it may be even unfair to the others to single out Councillor George Kerr, of the Workers' Union, for specially honourable mention—and a comment of surprise that a Ministry of Munitions that openly boasts of the economies it is securing, should actually have cancelled an evening meeting that cost no expenses in workers' wages or in production, and substituted therefor a forenoon meeting, which, to the extent that it was attended by munition workers, *diminished production*, and cost the country 6s. per head in wages—this 6s. being the sum the Unions are to pay each member attending the meeting; the Unions are to be remembered by the Ministry of Munitions. In hard cash—uselessly spent hard cash—HERE GOES ONE THOUSAND POUNDS!

THE SATURDAY MEETING

Mr. Lloyd George says Ramsay MacDonald "is one of my greatest personal friends."

But does not speak on Munitions Act.

Thanks Socialist for Appealing for hearing for him.

On Saturday morning the St. Andrew's Hall was fairly well filled. An official account of the meeting has been issued by the Censor and published in the Press. The account of Mr. Lloyd George's speech summarised very fairly the points he made, though the language has been "touched up"—at any rate, some of his graceful periods (in the Press reports) did not reach reporters in the audience.

The comments which preface the official Press report are misleading, inasmuch as they give the impression that only a small minority of the audience was hostile to the Munitions Act. The report also is unfair, in so far as it cuts out Mr. Lloyd George's loudly-cheered expression of his friendship for Ramsay MacDonald, and his thanks to the Convener of the Parkhead Shop Stewards (Mr. Kirkwood) for rising and appealing for a hearing to him, when the interruptions threatened to overwhelm him altogether.

The Censor has passed an official report of the meeting, issued by the Press Association—probably with the idea of preventing the publication of news about munitions, guns, etc., going to the enemy as might have been the case, if the ordinary newspaper reports had been permitted. We have no desire to touch the military or "preparedness" side of the speech, but the purely political side must not go misrepresented. It is simply stupid to talk about a handful of people that only an insignificant minority, and not the vast overwhelming

son) suffered a running fire of interruption. In our opinion, he would have done better to have explained the admirable part he played in getting Jas. Marshall, of Parkhead, released from jail, rather than to attempt, as he did, a rather general patriotic appeal. Here is the sort of thing he suffered:—

I am delighted to have the opportunity of appearing in this hall with the Minister of Munitions—(what about the hall for the workers?)—to lay before you the great issue of the present moment so far as the war is concerned. (Ay! and profits.) You are all aware of the fact that we are engaged in probably the greatest war—(at hame)—that ever the old country has been concerned with. . . The issue that was raised in August, 1914, when the neutrality—(Oh! Heavens, how long have we to suffer this?)—of a brave and independent people was trodden upon in the most shameful way. (That's enough.)

When we began the war—(we don't want to hear that. Get to the Munitions Act)—I am endeavouring to show you the country was not prepared, and the fact that we were not prepared—(loud interruption: Cut it short! Come away wi' Davy!) . . . Mr. Lloyd George—(loud hissing and booing)—will presently address you—(more booing and hissing and some cheering)—on the importance of the dilution of labour.

The scheme of dilution that Mr. Lloyd George will recommend to you did not come from any employer. It came from a Committee—(interruption)—upon which there were seven Trade Unionists. (Traitors: Give their names: Was John Hodge one o' them?).

SAFETY OF TRADE UNIONISM.

I am quite prepared to give you their names. I do not want to hold anything back. The first name I will give you is the Chairman of the A.S.E. (Booing and hissing.) My friends may jeer at his name, but he has been elected Chairman since this scheme of dilution came up. (Dirty.) Another member of the Committee was Mr. Kaylor—re-elected to the Executive. (Away with him.) Also Mr. Duncan, who, I believe, is still connected with the A.S.E. Another member was the Secretary of the Steam Engine Makers, and another one was Miss Macarthur. (Miss Macarthur's the best man o' the lot.) I am quite disposed to agree with my friend. She certainly knows how to deal with the women workers. (Soft soap.)

What is it they ask you to do? I will be done directly. (Hear, hear!) They only ask you to enable the skill of the worker to be utilised during this crisis in the best interests of the State. (Yes, in the interests of the Capitalists.)

We must have the workers necessary to equip the vast army. (What about the unemployed army after the war?) The whole position will be restored to you after the war. (Question: Don't think!) It appears to me if the position is so safeguarded that you have everything restored to you after the war—(Why don't you put it in the Bill?) It is already in the Bill. I am afraid some people do not read Acts of Parliament. They only read the criticisms, the false criticisms people make for their own advantage.

I want to say here in the most emphatic terms that the safeguarding of the Trade Union position is already in an Act of Parliament. And I want to tell you it was put there by

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD

(Great cheering.)

I hope you all believe in freedom of speech. (What about the action of the Glasgow Magistrates?) (You've made a blooner that time, Arthur!) (Great vociferation.) Now I am going to call upon Mr. Lloyd George, and I am quite sure, however much you may differ with him, you are prepared to give him that hearing to which he rightly is entitled

and about a score of hats were waved in the area, but the meeting was violently hostile. Two verses of "The Red Flag" were sung before the Minister could utter a word. Owing to the incessant interruption and the numerous altercations going on throughout the hall, it was quite impossible to catch every word of Mr. George's speech.

My first duty, he said, is to express regret to you because I could not address the meeting on Thursday. (Leave that alone.) At this stage a delegate in the area stood upon a seat and endeavoured to speak. He only got the length of saying "Mr. Lloyd George" when apparently he was pulled down. There were loud cries of "Free Speech," and someone shouted: "This is a meeting of Trade Union officials, not police officials," evidently hinting at the surprisingly large force of police in the hall. "This is the only opportunity we have," shouted another, "they on the platform will never give us the opportunity." The Chairman appealed for quietness, and again gave the order of procedure. It was only proper, he said, that they should accept the ruling.

FOR EXPLOITERS?

Mr. Lloyd George tried to resume: I have to express my regret at the alteration of the arrangement—(What about the Conference at Bristol? and loud cries of apologise.) I have addressed many meetings in Scotland and have never seen Scotsmen deny the right of free speech. The vast majority are in favour of it. Amidst the general commotion Mr. Lloyd George was understood to say that he stood with the Socialists against the South African War. He continued: I thought a small nationality was being oppressed, and I did not care whether it was being oppressed by our own people or by a foreign land. . . . Let me put this to you, friends: Whilst we are comfortable at home on a Christmas Day—(interruption: No sentiment: we're here for business!)—there are hundreds of thousands of our fellow-countrymen, some of them our sons, some of them our brothers, in the trenches facing death. (You're here to talk about the dilution of labour.) It's on their behalf and at their written request that I come here to put before the workmen of Glasgow their appeal for help.

We need a very large number of heavy guns and projectiles, and I am going to put to you a business proposition. (For the exploiters.) Do you think these men in the trenches are exploiters? (Don't hedge.) (The shipowners are doing their bit.) Do let me state the facts. (We know them.) . . . What steps have we taken? We have started great National factories; State owned and State-controlled; every timber and nail in them belonging to the State. My friends, these are great Socialist factories. (Violent interruption.) Believe me, the whole of them owned by the State, erected by the State; no profit made by any Capitalist, because they don't belong to the Capitalist.

What is the issue? Does anyone deny that these factories we are building are State factories? (A voice: Yes.) If you deny that you would deny anything.

I will ask any man representing you in the House of Commons and surely there is someone you trust. (No! and laughter.) Not even Mr. Ramsay MacDonald? Yes. Not even Mr. Ramsay MacDonald? (Yes, Donald.) Mr. MacDonald is one of my greatest personal friends, and whether he is for the war or against the war not one single word will fall from my lips against Mr. MacDonald. You get Mr. Ramsay MacDonald (what about the hall for him?) He will tell you they are National factories.

M. Thomas, one of the most distinguished members of the Socialist Party, a

The best paid Munitions worker in Britain, Mr. Lloyd George (almost £100 per week), visited the Clyde last week-end in search of adventure.

He got it.

His meeting with the Clyde workers was to have taken place in the St. Andrew's Halls, on the Thursday night, but to everybody's great surprise, the newspapers on Thursday morning announced that the meeting was "off" until Saturday morning. The announcement excused itself by saying that the postponement from a night meeting, when men were not all working, to a forenoon meeting, when all the men should be working, was to suit the convenience of all concerned!

Not even Mr. Sexton Blake, the eminent detective, could unravel *that!*

THE CONFERENCE "OFF."

After all the arrangements had been made for the Thursday meeting, Messrs. Lorimer (Blacksmiths), Bunton (A.S.E.), and Sharp (Boilermakers), had been summoned by telegram to Newcastle to meet Mr. Lloyd George. Mr. Sharp did not go, but Messrs. Lorimer and Bunton went, and were informed by Mr. Lloyd George that he had changed his mind about the Thursday meeting, that he intended first to visit the workshops, and that the meeting would be postponed to the Saturday (Xmas) morning.

The Committee of Trades Representatives, responsible for the Thursday meeting, met on Thursday evening, and after two hours' discussion, decided by 29 votes to 7 not to have anything to do with the Saturday meeting, owing to the shortness of time and their inability to secure a thoroughly representative gathering.

This resolution was again put to the meeting, and by 34 votes to 3 re-affirmed. It was then resolved unanimously that before any future meeting was arranged for the Ministry of Munitions that an aggregate meeting of Shop Stewards and Trade Union Officials be held, for the purpose of discussing and formulating a policy to be pursued at any future meeting with Mr. Lloyd George. Immediately after these decisions had been arrived at, someone had telephoned the result to Mr. Lloyd George's party, who viewed the decision so seriously that they desired to discuss the matter with the delegates at once. In a few minutes the Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P., and three Government officials, appeared on the scene, and the whole business was re-opened. After a statement from Mr. Henderson, questions were asked and some were answered. It was then moved by Mr. Bunton (A.S.E.), and seconded by Bailie Whitehead (Brassfinishers), that the meeting rescind the previous resolutions agreed to, but by 20 votes to 13 the meeting refused to rescind their previous decisions, and, therefore, the Saturday meeting was declared off as an Official Representative Trade Union Meeting. The hour was now 11-45 p.m., and the delegates went home, but through the night letters were delivered at their homes and offices, signed by "Murray, of Elibank," asking them to meet at the Central Station Hotel, on Friday morning at 10 o'clock, and hear an appeal from Lord Murray as to reasons why they should reconsider their decision of the previous evening.

THIRTY RESOLUTE UNIONS.

Less than half the delegates turned up at the Friday morning meeting, the absentees being chiefly men at work. It transpired that, despite the decision of the previous evening, the following were willing to go on with the Saturday meeting — Bunton (Engineers), Whitehead (Brassfinishers), Lorimer (Blacksmiths), and Gardiner (Painters).

The remaining Unions, nearly 30 in number, agreed to remain loyal to the decisions arrived at on the previous evening.

Saturday's meeting, then, was not representative of all the Clyde Unions. The other Unions have drafted a circular to their members explaining why they refused to take part in the Saturday meeting.

[illegible] ness, the only comments necessary are of relief that such a large proportion of Union officials refused to be jockeyed about at the sweet will of the Ministry of Munitions—where so many showed dignity and refused to be overawed by the politicians, it may be even unfair to the others to single out Councillor George Kerr, of the Workers' Union, for specially honourable mention—and a comment of surprise that a Ministry of Munitions that openly boasts of the economies it is securing, should actually have cancelled an evening meeting that cost no expenses in workers' wages or in production, and substituted therefor a forenoon meeting, which, to the extent that it was attended by munition workers, *diminished production*, and cost the country 6s. per head in wages—this 6s. being the sum the Unions are to pay each member attending the meeting; the Unions are to be remembered by the Ministry of Munitions. In hard cash—uselessly spent hard cash—HERE GOES ONE THOUSAND POUNDS!

THE SATURDAY MEETING.

Mr. Lloyd George says Ramsay MacDonald "is one of my greatest personal friends."

But does not speak on Munitions Act.

Thanks Socialist for Appealing for hearing for him.

On Saturday morning the St. Andrew's Hall was fairly well filled. An official account of the meeting has been issued by the Censor and published in the Press. The account of Mr. Lloyd George's speech summarised very fairly the points he made, though the language has been "touched up"—at any rate, some of his graceful periods (in the Press reports) did not reach reporters in the audience.

The comments which preface the official Press report are misleading, inasmuch as they give the impression that only a small minority of the audience was hostile to the Munitions Act. The report also is unfair, in so far as it cuts out Mr. Lloyd George's loudly-cheered expression of his friendship for Ramsay MacDonald, and his thanks to the Convener of the Parkhead Shop Stewards (Mr. Kirkwood) for rising and appealing for a hearing to him, when the interruptions threatened to overwhelm him altogether.

The Censor has passed an official report of the meeting, issued by the Press Association—probably with the idea of preventing the publication of news about munitions, guns, etc., going to the enemy as might have been the case, if the ordinary newspaper reports had been permitted. We have no desire to touch the military or "preparedness" side of the speech, but the purely political side must not go misrepresented. It is simply stupid to go about deluding people that only an insignificant minority, and not the vast overwhelming majority of the meetings, was angry, and the journalist, whoever he was, who drew up the report and omitted the political references to Ramsay MacDonald and the efforts of the Socialists to secure a hearing for Mr. George, is really *not* playing a patriotic part.

MR. HENDERSON'S DIFFICULTIES.

We are all for free speech, and free speech not only for ourselves, but for our opponents. We, therefore, associate ourselves wholeheartedly with the Socialist effort to secure Mr. George a hearing, and regret that a mean-spirited Press report should seek to convey the impression that it was the Socialists (called "Syndicalists") who sought to break up the meeting.

The meeting began with a storm of hissing and booing, and the Chairman (Mr. Hender- [illegible] In our opinion, he would have done better to have explained the admirable part he played in getting Jas. Marshall, of Parkhead, released from jail, rather than to attempt, as he did, a rather general patriotic appeal. Here is the sort of thing he suffered :—

I am delighted to have the opportunity of appearing in this hall with the Minister of Munitions—(what about the hall for the workers?)—to lay before you the great issue of the present moment so far as the war is concerned. (Ay! and profits.) You are all aware of the fact that we are engaged in probably the greatest war—(at hame)—that ever the old country has been concerned with. . . The issue that was raised in August, 1914, when the neutrality—(Oh! Heavens, how long have we to suffer this?)—of a brave and independent people was trodden upon in the most shameful way. (That's enough.)

When we began the war—(we don't want to hear that. Get to the Munitions Act)—I am endeavouring to show you the country was not prepared, and the fact that we were not prepared—(loud interruption : Cut it short! Come away wi' Davy!) . . . Mr. Lloyd George—(loud hissing and booing)—will presently address you—(more booing and hissing and some cheering)—on the importance of the dilution of labour.

The scheme of dilution that Mr. Lloyd George will recommend to you did not come from any employer. It came from a Committee—(interruption)—upon which there were seven Trade Unionists. (Traitors : Give their names : Was John Hodge one o' them?).

SAFETY OF TRADE UNIONISM.

I am quite prepared to give you their names. I do not want to hold anything back. The first name I will give you is the Chairman of the A.S.E. (Booing and hissing.) My friends may jeer at his name, but he has been elected Chairman since this scheme of dilution came up. (Dirty.) Another member of the Committee was Mr. Kaylor—re-elected to the Executive. (Away with him.) Also Mr. Duncan, who, I believe, is still connected with the A.S.E. Another member was the Secretary of the Steam Engine Makers, and another one was Miss Macarthur. (Miss Macarthur's the best man o' the lot.) I am quite disposed to agree with my friend. She certainly knows how to deal with the women workers. (Soft soap.)

What is it they ask you to do? I will be done directly. (Hear, hear!) They only ask you to enable the skill of the worker to be utilised during this crisis in the best interests of the State. (Yes, in the interests of the Capitalists.)

We must have the workers necessary to equip the vast army. (What about the unemployed army after the war?) The whole position will be restored to you after the war. (Question : Don't think!) It appears to me if the position is so safeguarded that you have everything restored to you after the war—(Why don't you put it in the Bill?) It is already in the Bill. I am afraid some people do not read Acts of Parliament. They only read the criticisms, the false criticisms people make for their own advantage.

I want to say here in the most emphatic terms that the safeguarding of the Trade Union position is already in an Act of Parliament. And I want to tell you it was put there by

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

(Great cheering.)

I hope you all believe in freedom of speech. (What about the action of the Glasgow Magistrates?) (You've made a bloomer that time, Arthur!) (Great commotion.). . . . Now I am going to call upon Mr. Lloyd George, and I am quite sure, however much you may differ with him, you are prepared to give him that hearing to which his responsible position entitles him. (He has got to apologise first.)

Mr. Lloyd George was sent to organise munitions, and no man has had a harder task. (Tripe : Nonsense.) If we win this war, as I believe we shall, much of the credit will be due to him. (Commotion.) After he has stated his case I am going to ask for questions, and if you do not waste too much time I think we will have sufficient time to answer all the questions that are sent up. I must ask that the questions be sent up in writing. (No, no : We're had again.) Surely in a crisis like this Mr. Lloyd George is entitled to see the questions he is going to answer. I hope you will take note, and get your questions ready, and Mr. Lloyd George will do his best to give satisfaction.

MR. GEORGE'S RECEPTION.

On rising to speak Mr. Lloyd George was received with loud and continued booing and hissing. There was some cheering, certainly, [illegible] area, but the meeting was violently hostile. Two verses of "The Red Flag" were sung before the Minister could utter a word. Owing to the incessant interruption and the numerous altercations going on throughout the hall, it was quite impossible to catch every word of Mr. George's speech.

My first duty, he said, is to express regret to you because I could not address the meeting on Thursday. (Leave that alone.) At this stage a delegate in the area stood upon a seat and endeavoured to speak. He only got the length of saying "Mr. Lloyd George" when apparently he was pulled down. There were loud cries of "Free Speech," and someone shouted : "This is a meeting of Trade Union officials, not police officials," evidently hinting at the surprisingly large force of police in the hall. "This is the only opportunity we have," shouted another, "they on the platform will never give us the opportunity." The Chairman appealed for quietness, and again gave the order of procedure. It was only proper, he said, that they should accept the ruling.

FOR EXPLOITERS?

Mr. Lloyd George tried to resume : I have to express my regret at the alteration of the arrangement—(What about the Conference at Bristol? and loud cries of apologise.) I have addressed many meetings in Scotland and have never seen Scotsmen deny the right of free speech. The vast majority are in favour of it. Amidst the general commotion Mr. Lloyd George was understood to say that he stood with the Socialists against the South African War. He continued : I thought a small nationality was being oppressed, and I did not care whether it was being oppressed by our own people or by a foreign land. . . . Let me put this to you, friends : Whilst we are comfortable at home on a Christmas Day—(interruption : No sentiment : we're here for business!)—there are hundreds of thousands of our fellow-countrymen, some of them our sons, some of them our brothers, in the trenches facing death. (You're here to talk about the dilution of labour.) It's on their behalf and at their written request that I come here to put before the workmen of Glasgow their appeal for help.

We need a very large number of heavy guns and projectiles, and I am going to put to you a business proposition. (For the exploiters.) Do you think these men in the trenches are exploiters? (Don't hedge.) (The shipowners are doing their bit.) Do let me state the facts. (We know them.) . . . What steps have we taken? We have started great National factories; State owned and State-controlled; every timber and nail in them belonging to the State. My friends, these are great Socialist factories. (Violent interruption.) Believe me, the whole of them owned by the State, erected by the State; no profit made by any Capitalist, because they don't belong to the Capitalist.

What is the issue? Does anyone deny that these factories we are building are State factories? (A voice : Yes.) If you deny that you would deny anything.

I will ask any man representing you in the House of Commons—and surely there is someone you trust. (No! and laughter.) Not even Mr. Ramsay MacDonald? Yes, Not even Mr. Ramsay MacDonald? (Yes, Donald.) Mr. MacDonald is one of my greatest personal friends, and whether he is for the war or against the war not one single word will fall from my lips against Mr. MacDonald. You get Mr. Ramsay MacDonald—(what about the hall for him?) He will tel you they are National factories.

. . . M. Thomas, one of the most distinguished members of the Socialist Party an as good a Socialist to-day as he ever was-(what about Jaurès?)—took the matter of shell in hand. He called to his assistance the Frenc women and brought them into the factorie With what result? The German invasion wa rolled back, and the Germans have no mor chance of conquering any more French territor than they have of conquering the kingdom heaven.

THE POSITION OF A MINISTER.

Is it too much to ask the British workma to help his comrades in the field? (No; wh about the Munitions Act?) France will nev forget it. Whatever scheme the French wor man puts forward in the future for better tre ment, he will have the ear, the willing ear millions of French men and women, who w remember the gallant and devoted service rendered to his country. (Cries of Hurry and commotion.)

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WHY THEY WANT CONSCRIPTION.

(Mr. Kirkwood apparently had been appealed to for help, and he made an appeal to the meeting to hear the speaker. This was duly acknowledged by Mr. Lloyd George.)

Mr. Kirkwood, he said, did not restrain himself from telling me what he thought about the Munitions Act and about me, but, at any rate, he knows the value of free speech, and I am very thankful to him for his assistance in obtaining order.

. . . I have but one word more to say. I want to talk to you in all sincerity as a man brought up in a worker's home. I know as much about the life of the worker as any man here. The responsibility of a Minister of the Crown in a great war is not an enviable one. (The money's good, and laughter.) I can assure you it is no laughing matter.

. . . There will be unheard-of changes in every country in Europe; changes that go to the root of our social system. You Socialists watch them. It is a convulsion of nature; not merely a cyclone that sweeps away the ornamental plants of modern society and wrecks the flimsy trestle bridges of modern civilisation. It is more. It is an earthquake that upheaves the very rocks of European life.

And to go on chaffering about a regulation here and the suspension of a custom there under these conditions, why, it is just haggling with an earthquake. Workmen, may I make one appeal to you? (Interruption.) Lift up your eyes above the mist of suspicion and distrust. Rise to the height of the great opportunity now before you. If you do, you will emerge after this war is over into a future which has been the dream of many a great leader. (Cheers; loud hissing and booing.)

At the close of his address, Mr. Lloyd George proceeded to answer the written questions which had been handed up from the body of the hall. He promised to reply to them all if he possibly could, but he had an engagement at 12 o'clock, and if he failed to get through them the remaining answers would be published. At 11-45, however, Mr. John Muir, of the Clyde Workers' Committee, got up on the seat and demanded an opportunity of stating the case for the workers. This, he said, had been promised, and he was not going to wait any longer. Both Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Henderson appealed to him to resume his seat, but Mr. Muir was determined not to be put off till Mr. George had to leave. As it was impossible to hear either the Minister or Mr. Muir, the Chairman closed the proceedings, and the meeting broke up in disorder.

ROUND THE YARDS.

DILUTION OF LABOUR.

Dramatic Discussion at Parkhead.

Socialists Agreeable but want Control of Labour in the Workshops.

Mr. George did not go to Fairfield; the men at Weir's declined to listen to him, preferring to get on with the making of munitions.

The Shop Stewards at Parkhead Forge met in the offices to greet the Minister.

A force of police, about 100 strong, guarded the entrance, and seemed surprised that common working men should be permitted to pass into the great presence. The meeting was held in the large drawing office, and the workers were gathered discussing the business before them when Mr. Lloyd George was ushered into the room in the best stage manner. His companions included the works' manager, Lord Murray, and Right Hon. Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P. The entrance ceremony fell flat. The workers displayed little or no interest in the newcomers, but went on with their business.

After a minute or two the works' manager approached Mr. Kirkwood, the Convener of Shop Stewards, and stated that Mr. Lloyd George wished an introduction to him. Davie appeared to bear the new distinction that was thus being conferred on him with his usual modesty, for when the Minister, in the course of the usual formalities, inquired how he was, Davie replied, "No sae bad at a'." Then there were a few moments of general conversation, during which it was suggested that Kirkwood act as chairman, while Lord Murray volunteered the hint that he should introduce Mr. Lloyd George as "The Right Hon. Mr. David Lloyd George, Chief Minister of Munitions for the British Empire." Kirkwood agreed on condition that his acting as chairman did not in any way restrict him in putting questions or discussing what was said. But at the outset and before going on with the proceedings, he wished to state that the workers had been discussing a meeting that was to have been held that night, and there was a rumour to the effect that some action of the Clyde Workers' Committee had caused it to be postponed. He wished to know if Mr. Lloyd George knew anything of this report? Mr. George replied that the rumour was absolutely false. He had discovered at the last moment that he could devote two or three days to investigating the unrest on the Clyde. The meeting then proceeded.

A FRANK CHAIRMAN!

The Chairman said: "This is Mr. Lloyd George. He has come specially to speak to you, and no doubt you will give him a patient hearing. I can assure him that every word he says will be carefully weighed. We regard him with suspicion, because every Act with which his name is associated has the taint of slavery about it, and he would find that they, as Scotchmen, resented this, and that if he desired to get the best out of them he must treat them with justice and respect."

This reception seemed to flabbergast the Minister of Munitions. He spoke about our brothers in the trenches, of the number of new factories, of big guns to blow the Germans out of France and across the Rhine, and of the need for unskilled labour being used for work on which skilled labour is now employed.

When he finished, Kirkwood asked if he was prepared to give the workers a share in the management of the works. *They, as Socialists, welcomed dilution of labour, which they regarded as the natural development in industrial conditions.* They were not like the Luddites of another generation, who smashed the new machinery. But this scheme of dilution must be carried out under the control of the workers. They recognised that if they had not control cheap labour would be introduced, and unless their demand was granted they would fight the scheme to the death.

Mr. Lloyd George here interjected some remarks to the effect that the workers were not capable of managing workshops, to which Kirkwood hotly retorted: "These men, for whom I ask a say in the management, carry the confidence of the workers, and have confidence in themselves. They brought out the men of the Clyde in February in defiance of you, in defiance of the Government, in defiance of the Army, and in defiance of the Trade Union leaders. They not only led them out, but they led them back victorious. They let it be known that if their demands were not granted, masters might force them to the workshops, but could not make them work. Who ran the workshops now? Men drawn from the ranks of the working class. The only change would be responsibility to the workers, instead of to the present employers. If production was to be improved, the benefit must go to the workers.

Mr. Lloyd George stated that this was a revolutionary proposal, and the present was not a time for revolutions, when the country was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with a foreign foe.

"Ah," said Kirkwood, "you are thinking as a lawyer. It takes engineers to reason out an industrial situation like the present one. The settlement of it would affect engineers, not lawyers. This war has proved conclusively to the workers that one engineer is worth a hundred lawyers, even of your kind."

A number of questions on the Munitions Act were afterwards put by various members of the audience, one speaker pointing out that he was prevented by Lloyd George's Act from taking another job in which the wages would be increased by 8s. a week.

Kirkwood added that this Munitions Act bound the workers to Beardmore as effectively as if they had branded a capital B on their brows.

Mr. Lloyd George said that he was not responsible for the Munitions Act. It emanated from their leaders, men like Mr. Brownlie and Mr. Arthur Henderson, who was present.

Kirkwood turned dramatically towards Mr. Henderson, and declared, while waving his hand, "We repudiate this man. He is no leader of ours. Brownlie has been told the same to his face. And if you, Mr. Lloyd George, want to know the mind of the workers, don't go to these men. If you wish to do away with the discontent in the workshops, do away with the cause."

Mr. Lloyd George and his party then left the meeting.

TRADE UNIONISTS—Beware of the Plot Against You!

THE CONSCRIPTIONISTS ARE DETERMINED TO CRUSH THE WORKER.

SMASH THEIR PRETTY GAME BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE.

If humour has a place in a situation so serious, it was surely present in the painstaking efforts of the supporters of Compulsion to convince the Labour Conference and the country that they hated nothing so much as Compulsion! Nevertheless, they were determined to register their votes in favour of the hateful principle!

It is noticeable that the people behind the agitation are the people who always wanted Conscription because of the power it would bestow upon the ruling classes, and one Cabinet Minister whose popularity is rapidly declining, and who is doubtless moved by a mixture of personal ambition and a desire for revenge upon the workers he has not been able to hoodwink.

There is no doubt about the reasons of the Conscriptionists. They have stated them themselves. Here are some of their democratic opinions!

Lt.-Col. W. H. Maxwell, in the *Outlook* for September, 1915, said:

Trade Unionism—that shelter for slinking shirkers—is imperilling our existence, and by its action a rot of our national soul has set in. One remedy, and one alone, can eradicate this state of rot—martial law will cure it.

The *Saturday Review* of August 21, 1915, was equally blunt:

National Service is required as much for the effect it will have upon MINERS AND MUNITIONS as for the part it will play in the actual raising of armies.

The same sentiment found expression in the *Spectator* of August 28, 1915:

Not every man will be wanted as a soldier, but all will be "fetched" to do what is wanted of them, WHETHER IN WORKSHOPS, OR GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS, OR MINES, OR MERCHANT SHIPS.

The following appeared in the *Daily News* of January 29, 1915:

Arguing in favour of compulsory Cadet Corps, he (Lord Methuen) quotes the example of the South African Citizen Army, and he says: "Little did we anticipate that within three years this force should (sic) have SCOTCHED A STRIKE and quelled a rebellion."

On August 28 again spake the *Saturday Review*, saying unto us:

It (Conscription) is not only a question of raising a given number of recruits, but of getting accepted by all citizens, CIVILIAN WORKERS as well as soldiers, the principle of public obligation.

Major-General Sir Alfred E. Turner, who is presumably not suffering from excessive poverty, thus insulted the workers in the *Saturday Review* of August 7, 1915:

The strikers gained their ends, and with them an everlasting stain on their reputation, which not all the rain of heaven can wash out—the stain of showing themselves perfectly ready to betray their country for filthy lucre. Compulsory service might not produce loyalty, but it would produce a sense of duty and discipline that would prevent such disgraceful and damaging incidents

Col. Lee, M.P., wants to conscript life to save money. Cheap soldiers! According to the *Times* report, he said on August 18, 1915:

Conscription would save an immense amount of money. . . . . At present each British soldier costs three times as much as a German, and owing to the necessity of bribing men to enlist we were squandering money at a rate which could only lead us to bankruptcy. The remedy was not fewer soldiers, but less wasteful methods, and those were only possible if we adopted compulsory service.

The *Spectator* expressed the same sentiment four days before. This is what it said:

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very rocks of European life.

And to go on chaffering about a regulation here and the suspension of a custom there under these conditions, why, it is just haggling with an earthquake. Workmen, may I make one appeal to you? (Interruption.) Lift up your eyes above the mist of suspicion and distrust. Rise to the height of the great opportunity now before you. If you do, you will emerge after this war is over into a future which has been the dream of many a great leader. (Cheers; loud hissing and booing.)

At the close of his address, Mr. Lloyd George proceeded to answer the written questions which had been handed up from the body of the hall. He promised to reply to them all if he possibly could, but he had an engagement at 12 o'clock, and if he failed to get through them the remaining answers would be published. At 11-45, however, Mr. John Muir, of the Clyde Workers' Committee, got up on the seat and demanded an opportunity of stating the case for the workers. This, he said, had been promised, and he was not going to wait any longer. Both Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Henderson appealed to him to resume his seat, but Mr. Muir was [illegible] the great presence. The meeting was held in the large drawing office, and the workers were gathered discussing the business before them when Mr. Lloyd George was ushered into the room in the best stage manner. His companions included the works' manager, Lord Murray, and Right Hon. Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P. The entrance ceremony fell flat. The workers displayed little or no interest in the newcomers, but went on with their business.

After a minute or two the works' manager approached Mr. Kirkwood, the Convener of Shop Stewards, and stated that Mr. Lloyd George wished an introduction to him. Davie appeared to bear the new distinction that was thus being conferred on him with his usual modesty, for when the Minister, in the course of the usual formalities, inquired how he was, Davie replied, "No sae bad at a'." Then there were a few moments of general conversation, during which it was suggested that Kirkwood act as chairman, while Lord Murray volunteered the hint that he should introduce Mr. Lloyd George as "The Right Hon. Mr. David Lloyd George, Chief Minister of Munitions for the British Empire." Kirkwood agreed on condition that he was allowed to do so in his own way. Lord Murray then introduced Mr. Lloyd George in the usual way, and Kirkwood then said: "Comrades, I have to introduce to you the Minister of Munitions, who has come here to-day to explain his Munitions Act. I have to say that we have not been consulted in the matter of this Act, and we have not been consulted in the matter of the Minister coming here to-day. We have decided that we will receive him with justice and respect."

This reception seemed to flabbergast the Minister of Munitions. He spoke about our brothers in the trenches, of the number of new factories, of big guns to blow the Germans out of France and across the Rhine, and of the need for unskilled labour being used for work on which skilled labour is now employed.

When he finished, Kirkwood asked if he was prepared to give the workers a share in the management of the works. *They, as Socialists, welcomed dilution of labour, which they regarded as the natural development in industrial conditions.* They were not like the Luddites of another generation, who smashed the new machinery. But this scheme of dilution must be carried out under the control of the workers. They recognised that if they had not control cheap labour would be introduced, and unless their demand was granted they would fight the scheme to the death.

Mr. Lloyd George here interjected some remarks to the effect that the workers were not capable of managing workshops, to which Kirkwood hotly retorted: "These men, for whom I ask a say in the management, carry the con-

A number of questions on the Munitions Act were afterwards put by various members of the audience, one speaker pointing out that he was prevented by Lloyd George's Act from taking another job in which the wages would be increased by 8s. a week.

Kirkwood added that this Munitions Act bound the workers to Beardmore as effectively as if they had branded a capital B on their brows.

Mr. Lloyd George said that he was not responsible for the Munitions Act. It emanated from their leaders, men like Mr. Brownlie and Mr. Arthur Henderson, who was present.

Kirkwood turned dramatically towards Mr. Henderson, and declared, while waving his hand, "We repudiate this man. He is no leader of ours. Brownlie has been told the same to his face. And if you, Mr. Lloyd George, want to know the mind of the workers, don't go to these men. If you wish to do away with the discontent in the workshops, do away with the cause."

Mr. Lloyd George and his party then left the meeting.

TRADE UNIONISTS—Beware of the Plot Against You!

THE CONSCRIPTIONISTS ARE DETERMINED TO CRUSH THE WORKER.

SMASH THEIR PRETTY GAME BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE.

If humour has a place in a situation so serious, it was surely present in the painstaking efforts of the supporters of Compulsion to convince the Labour Conference and the country that they hated nothing so much as Compulsion! Nevertheless, they were determined to register their votes in favour of the hateful principle!

It is noticeable that the people behind the agitation are the people who always wanted Conscription because of the power it would bestow upon the ruling classes, and one Cabinet Minister whose popularity is rapidly declining, and who is doubtless moved by a mixture of personal ambition and a desire for revenge upon the workers he has not been able to hoodwink.

There is no doubt about the reasons of the Conscriptionists. They have stated them themselves. Here are some of their democratic opinions!

Lt.-Col. W. H. Maxwell, in the *Outlook* for September, 1915, said:

Trade Unionism—that shelter for slinking shirkers—is imperilling our existence, and by its action a rot of our national soul has set in. One remedy, and one alone, can eradicate this state of rot—martial law will cure it.

The *Saturday Review* of August 21, 1915, was equally blunt:

National Service is required as much for the effect it will have upon MINERS AND MUNITIONS as for the part it will play in the actual raising of armies.

The same sentiment found expression in the *Spectator* of August 28, 1915:

Not every man will be wanted as a soldier, but all will be "fetched" to do what is wanted of them, WHETHER IN WORKSHOPS, OR GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS, OR MINES, OR MERCHANT SHIPS.

The following appeared in the *Daily News* of January 29, 1915:

Arguing in favour of compulsory Cadet Corps, he (Lord Methuen) quotes the example of the South African Citizen Army, and he says: "Little did we anticipate that within three years this force should (sic) have SCOTCHED A STRIKE and quelled a rebellion."

On August 28 again spake the *Saturday Review*, saying unto us:

It (Conscription) is not only a question of raising a given number of recruits, but of getting accepted by all citizens, CIVILIAN WORKERS as well as soldiers, the principle of public obligation.

Major-General Sir Alfred E. Turner, who is presumably not suffering from excessive poverty, thus insulted the workers in the *Saturday Review* of August 7, 1915:

The strikers gained their ends, and with them an everlasting stain on their reputation, which not all the rain of heaven can wash out—the stain of showing themselves perfectly ready to betray their country for filthy lucre. Compulsory service might not produce loyalty, but it would produce a sense of duty and discipline that would prevent such disgraceful and damaging incidents

Col. Lee, M.P., wants to conscript life to save money. Cheap soldiers! According to the *Times* report, he said on August 18, 1915:

Conscription would save an immense amount of money. . . . . At present each British soldier costs three times as much as a German, and owing to the necessity of bribing men to enlist we were squandering money at a rate which could only lead us to bankruptcy. The remedy was not fewer soldiers, but less wasteful methods, and those were only possible if we adopted compulsory service.

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MARRIED SHIRKERS NEXT.

"Conscription has come . . . . . The single shirkers are to be fetched. And nobody need doubt that the ***married shirkers*** will, in turn, be compelled to realise their duty . . . . . ***Fetching the single shirkers is the thin end of the wedge.*** . . . . . Let no fit man delude himself with the notion that he can wriggle out of his duty. ***Single men are wanted first because they are less expensive than married men.*** It is not a matter of sentiment. ***When married men are wanted they will be fetched*** if they do not volunteer."—*The Regiment*, January 8, 1916.

The Regiment is a foremost military paper, having a circulation exceeding the combined sales of all the other Service Journals.

Read the "LABOUR LEADER"

EVERY THURSDAY. ONE PENNY FROM ALL NEWSAGENTS.

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IS IT NECESSARY?

But have we yet come anywhere near that point? We believe not. And the proof that this is the case is afforded by the action of the Government itself—nay, often by the very advocates of a National Service Law themselves. It is plain that neither the Government nor these gentlemen, are "putting everything in." The armies need (both for transport of troops and stores, and for hospital work) many more motor-cars, and all the petrol that is imported. But the Government is not "commandeering" the tens of thousands of private motor-cars of the wealthy that we see still consuming petrol in pleasure riding. Our soldiers could do with unlimited gunpowder, and it might be supposed that all ammunition factories were working day and night to supply **military requirements only**; but there has been no prohibition of the consumption of gunpowder in the shooting game, and the rich have no difficulty in obtaining for private use as many sporting cartridges as they choose to pay for. We are anxious about the nation's supply of gold, which has to be used to make payments abroad, yet there has been no summons to those who have gold ornaments to yield them up to the Mint. We are supposed to be short of men, but the rich have not been required by law to give up their footmen and gardeners, and gamekeepers and chauffeurs (though many wealthy households have voluntarily cut down their numbers); nor are the Government Offices yet substituting (except for a few of the humblest jobs) women for men. To-day, more than ever before, it is money that furnishes the sinews of war; and the experts are looking more to financial exhaustion to bring the war to a close than to any dramatic military achievements. Yet our Government is not (except in taxes, which do not amount to five per cent. of the total) seizing the wealth of the nation. Nor do those who are seeking to stampede the Cabinet into a National Service Law—practically all of them belonging to the propertied class—propose that these things should be done. It is only the lives of men that they ask the Government to commandeer. It is plain that we are not yet at the point of having to "put everything in" to escape national defeat; or we should see the propertied classes, in their patriotism, insisting on the Government taking all their motor-cars, prohibiting their shooting parties, taking away all their able-bodied servants, confiscating their gold ornaments, and appropriating for National Service all their wealth; at any rate, in excess say of £20,000 per family. Is it fair to take the men before taking the motor-cars; to commandeer people before commandeering property?

THE SHAM "EQUALITY" OF COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE.

Those who demand a "National Service Law" make much of what they call its "fairness" and the "equality," in that it makes the same requirement of every man, rich or poor; namely, that he should give a year or two of his life, and risk disablement or death, in defence of our common country. But is this either "fair" or "equal"?

We must notice, to begin with, that Compulsory Military Service is never, in any country whatsoever, exacted from **all** men. Only the physically fit are taken; though those who are short, or without good teeth or good eyesight, or have weak hearts, or are ruptured, or have varicose veins have also a duty to their country. There are always lots of other exemptions for men of particular professions, and what not. In no country have all the men of military age been actually compelled to serve in the Army or Navy. Without making any accusations, it must be said that, as a mere matter of statistics, it is not, on the whole, the wage-earning class that gets the benefit of these exemptions.

But even those who are forced to serve do not serve in anything like the same way or under the same conditions. The rich man's son or the University graduate usually becomes an officer; or (as in Germany) have a special class to himself as a "One-Year Volunteer"; and their allowances from home enable them to make their military service quite agreeable. The young manual worker goes into the ranks, and has to live on his rations and pay; and to put up with whatever conditions his officers think good enough for "the lower classes." It is not for nothing that a young man commits suicide; and it is significant that the rate of suicide among the soldiers in conscript armies is very high—far in excess of that among the men who are not forced to serve. Even if all ranks were treated alike, and if all classes had equal chances of promotion, the difference in the sacrifice exacted by Compulsory Military Service, as between men of different position and means, is necessarily enormous, and most unfair. To the young man of a wealthy family, the year or so that he is required to spend in the Army, instead of at Oxford or Cambridge University, is a mere change of amusement or sport, or at best, an alternative form of preparation for life, quite as useful as many a University career, and one which involves him in no pecuniary loss. To the young mechanic, who have already been in the workshop for four or five years, and is just getting to his full earning capacity, the year or so that he spends in barracks or camp means the loss of a year's earnings, and a dangerous interruption in his industrial career, to

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Apart from all this, however, there is a fundamental fallacy in supposing that there is either "equality" or "fairness" in making an equal demand on men of very different means. We do not think it either "equal" or "fair" to compel every man to pay the same tax to the State, because an equal tax from men of unequal wealth means a great inequality of sacrifice. The State nowadays professes to take from everyone in proportion to his means. When the Government wants land or ships or the service of doctors or lawyers, it does not compel every person having land or ships, or every doctor or lawyer, to give an equal quantity of land or of ships, or an equal amount of doctoring or legal service—that would be deemed a most unfair inequality of sacrifice. What it does, for the sake of getting as much real equality as possible, is to buy or hire, at market prices, whatever land or ships, or doctors or lawyers, that it needs, and then to levy the cost on the whole nation, in such a way as (at any rate, this is the professed principle) to make everybody pay in proportion to his means. Why should not the Government continue this system of real equality for its soldiers and sailors, as well as for its doctors and lawyers—that is to say, get their services voluntarily at the market price, and levy the cost on the whole people, in proportion to their means?

Private and Confidential—All proofs MUST be returned to the Secretary, with criticisms and suggestions by Monday, 27th September.

What the Demand for Compulsory Military Service means to the Workers

Do you understand what the "National Service" means, which most of the militarists, perhaps half the members of the two Houses of Parliament, and probably a majority of the property-owners are now trying to impose on the nation by law?

COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE.

What the so-called National Service Law demands is that the Government should be authorised to make men compulsorily into soldiers. The usual proposal is that all men between the ages of 18 and 40, whether married or unmarried, should be required, on receipt of a Government Order, to present themselves for medical examination, and that all those declared physically fit should be compulsorily enrolled in the Army (or Navy), put into uniform, made subject to military law. What used to be understood was that all the men thus compulsorily enlisted would serve alike in fighting battalions, either for home defence, or in the firing line abroad. The alleged necessity for this proposal and its assumed fairness to all, will be considered later on.

INDUSTRIAL CONSCRIPTION.

But behind the proposal for Compulsory Military Service there lies at this moment a special peril for the British wage-earning class. It has been made quite clear by many of those who are pressing for the "National Service Law" that the object now is not wholly, or even primarily, to get more soldiers to send to the firing line. The most pressing need is for shells, not soldiers—for more munitions rather than more men at the front. Mr. Lloyd George says he must have at least 280,000 more workers in the munition factories; and the intention is to get these by using the machinery of Compulsory Military Service.

What is being proposed by many of those who are demanding the "National Service Law" is that the compulsory enlistment should be for service **in whatever capacity the Government may require.** Those men whom a superior officer thinks fit for any branch of munition work are to be arbitrarily selected; and sent, whether they like it or not, to any factory in any part of the country that may be short of hands. They will have to work there **under military law;** bound to implicit obedience to any orders given by any superior; required to accept whatever wages, to work for whatever hours, and to submit to whatever conditions may be imposed upon them. Any remonstrance or complaint will be a breach of discipline, punishable by Court Martial. Any refusal to work at whatever speed may be required will be a serious crime, punishable by imprisonment. These compulsorily enlisted men will not be allowed to throw up their job, or to leave the factory—they will just have to obey orders for as long as their superior officer chooses. They will, in fact, be soldiers put to factory work; and no Trade Unionism is allowed among soldiers. Moreover, they will, in most cases, be made to work not in the State arsenals or workshops, but in the factories belonging to private capitalists, and **run for private profit** (though if they are "controlled establishments" under the Munitions Act, there is a nominal "limitation" of the profit which the capitalist owners are to be allowed to make—a limitation to not more than all the profit they have hitherto been making in "boom" years, with 20 per cent. extra!) This is what is meant by Industrial Conscription. It is an attempt to make use of the present war to get Servile Labour.

HOW MILITARY SERVICE CAN BE USED FOR INDUSTRIAL CONSCRIPTION.

This proposal is so dangerous that it compels us to take care that even simple Military Service is not made the instrument for Industrial Conscription. It would, for instance, be quite possible for the Government, if Parliament merely authorised Compulsory Military Service, to **compel men under 40 to enter the munition factories,** under whatever conditions the Government chose to impose. It would only be necessary for the Government officer to say, **to any man whom the officer chose arbitrarily to select for Munitions Work,** "either accept this service, or you will be sent straight to the trenches." The same power of "discipline" could be used to enforce, inside the Munitions Factory, any order whatsoever. "Either obey, or you will be reported to the War Office for instant transfer to the front." Those men who did not keep up what the employer thought a sufficient output could, at any moment, be dealt with in the same way. The Government may

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Now that the desire and intention have been avowed to use Compulsory Military Service for the purpose of Industrial Conscription, and getting Servile Labour, the workers must see to it very carefully that there shall be no such possibility.

MUST WE DECLARE AGAINST COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE?

Although there are some men who have a conscientious objection to military service of any kind—and these men will go to prison rather than submit to it—not many of us would say that under no circumstances would Compulsory Military Service be justified. There might come a time when, for the maintenance of the great British Commonwealth of free peoples against a foreign foe, or in defence of our own country against aggression—all other means having been exhausted—we should have to "put everything in," sacrificing all our prejudices and prepossessions—nay, life itself as well as property in resistance to the national enemies.

WHY CONSCRIPTION IS NOW ASKED FOR.

We can now understand why it is that it is always the propertied class that is mostly in favour of Compulsory Military Service. It has been frequently avowed that one of the motives of many Conscriptionists is to get **a cheap Army.** It has frequently been pointed out that the British Government paid its soldiers a "shilling a day," or even more; and liberal rations, with allowances for wives, and pensions for widows and orphans, and provision for disablement, on what was deemed an "extravagant" scale. The other European Governments were able (because of Compulsion) to get their soldiers for something like a halfpenny a day, and much less costly rations, allowances and pensions. This is not really any saving to the Continental countries. The same needs have to be met, in one country as in another, but it is not the same people who pay for them. The conscript soldiers and their families are so miserably provided for in France, Germany, Italy, etc., that **a very heavy burden is cast on their relations,** in order to provide for the soldier's own requirements whilst on service, and for his wife and children, either whilst he is serving, or after he has been wounded or killed. But, seeing that the cost could in this way be thrown on the wage-earning class, to provide out of the taxes for the soldier and his family, even as well as the British Government did, was regarded as an unnecessary burden on the wealthy taxpayers. Why should not men be compelled to serve in the Army for something like a halfpenny a day, instead of having to be induced to serve at a shilling a day or more? This was avowedly one of the reasons why Compulsory Military Service was asked for.*

* It is interesting to note that, although the British Government pays, every year an enormous sum to the lawyers who serve it, no one has ever suggested that they should be compelled to serve in the legal offices and so got at a much cheaper rate.

When the present war broke out, the British Government was forced by the Labour Party, after a prolonged and even embittered resistance by both Ministers and Civil servants, to concede—though still not enough—much better terms than have ever before been given in the way of Separation Allowances and Pensions for "unmarried wives," mothers and other dependents, as well as for disabled men. All this increased the attraction of Compulsion to those who wanted a Cheap Army; and great have been the complaints of the "extravagance" of the Voluntary System. **The intention was still to cut down the cost as soon as Compulsion could be secured.** Suddenly, only a few weeks ago, it seems to have occurred to the Conscriptionists that this was not the way to make Compulsion acceptable; and they changed their tone. One and all they began to disavow any desire to reduce the soldier's pay and allowances, even if he were legally compelled to serve on whatever conditions the Government might prescribe. **Now** the Conscriptionists disavow any intention to reduce the cost of the Army. What they now say they are concerned about is only to get enough men. But can we have any confidence that, when men are compelled to serve, the rates of pay and allowances will not be reduced to the level of those of the other conscript armies of Europe?

IS CONSCRIPTION REQUIRED?

It is clear—indeed, it is scarcely denied by any candid person—that Compulsory Military Service imposes a very heavy burden on the wage-earning class. Yet it might be necessary for the nation to resort to Compulsion, if there was no other way of preventing national disaster.

But is there any reason to suppose that soldiers and sailors cannot be obtained, even in the present unparalleled war, in numbers equal to all the requirements, without resorting to compulsion? Among the military experts themselves, there is a division of opinion as to whether the system of Voluntary Recruiting could not be made to yield all the soldiers and sailors that the War Office would like to enrol, and could possibly equip, and whether compulsion—introduced in this sudden way—would really produce any larger total armies. The number enlisted week by week is still enormous, and still more than there is equipment for. And **Voluntary Recruiting is at present being deliberately prevented from yielding as many men as it could be made to do.** The influence of most of those who want to force Compulsory Military Service upon the nation, is being used to "crab" voluntary recruiting. Some of the most widely read newspapers obviously do all they can to discharge it. Some, at least, of the officials concerned in its organisation work it so clumsily, and with so much "red tape," as to lead to the suspicion that their heart is not in its success. Whole sections of employers (such as the Railway Companies and the farmers), honestly believing that no more men can be spared, put every possible obstacle in the way of their enlisting. Other employers do not want their profits to suffer by losing more men. No protection is given to a soldier's wife or mother against arbitrary ejectment from her cottage, even if she continues to pay the rent. No definite promise has yet been given by the Government that it will see to it that, when peace comes, every man who has served shall be found a situation, at not less than the Standard Rate of Wages; or, in cases in which this cannot be done, shall be maintained until such a situation can be found for him. Yet it is the bounden duty of the Government to give this pledge and to fulfil it. **It is now prevented from giving this pledge by those who want to force Compulsion upon the**

whether compulsion introduced in this sudden way would really produce any larger total armies. The number enlisted week by week is still enormous, and still more than there is equipment for. And **Voluntary Recruiting is at present being deliberately prevented from yielding as many men as it could be made to do.** The influence of most of those who want to force Compulsory Military Service upon the nation, is being used to "crab" voluntary recruiting. Some of the most widely read newspapers obviously do all they can to discharge it. Some, at least, of the officials concerned in its organisation work it so clumsily, and with so much "red tape," as to lead to the suspicion that their heart is not in its success. Whole sections of employers (such as the Railway Companies and the farmers), honestly believing that no more men can be spared, put every possible obstacle in the way of their enlisting. Other employers do not want their profits to suffer by losing more men. No protection is given to a soldier's wife or mother against arbitrary ejectment from her cottage, even if she continues to pay the rent. No definite promise has yet been given by the Government that it will see to it that, when peace comes, every man who has served shall be found a situation, at not less than the Standard Rate of Wages; or, in cases in which this cannot be done, shall be maintained until such a situation can be found for him. Yet it is the bounden duty of the Government to give this pledge and to fulfil it. **It is now prevented from giving this pledge by those who want to force Compulsion upon the nation.**

It is the opinion of many of those who know the circumstances that an enormous number more recruits could be obtained—probably twice as many each week as the Government is now getting—if the Government:

(i) Definitely promised to every man who had served, to secure him, when Peace comes, either a situation at not less than the Standard Rate of Wages, or Maintenance until such a situation could be found for him;

(ii) Protected the wife or mother of every man serving against ejectment so long as the rent was paid;

(iii) Insisted that all employers should stop preventing their men from enlisting;

(iv) Induced the cessation of mischievous discouragement of recruiting by influential newspapers;

(v) Explained that it was in a position now to equip all the men, put rifles into their hands as soon as they needed them, and place them in the field immediately they were trained; and

(vi) Made a frank and serious appeal to the nation for just as many soldiers as the projected military operations require.

None of these things have been done. The possibilities of Voluntary Recruiting are therefore not exhausted. There is, accordingly, no justification for the dangerous experiment of Compulsion.

WHY MR. LLOYD GEORGE WANTS COMPULSION.

The fact is the real need of the Government at this moment is not for more soldiers—the Voluntary Recruiting is still yielding, week by week, as many men as can be equipped and armed. More can be got when required to supply the wastage, merely by using the appropriate means (as explained above). The real reason why Compulsion is asked for at this moment is because the Munitions Act has not been a success. Although a great increase in the output has been obtained, the shells and rifles and cartridges and machine guns and cannon, together with the uniforms, the boots, and the various accoutrements of the soldier, are still not being turned out in sufficient quantities to supply, not only our own Army, but also those of all our Allies. Mr. Lloyd George declares that he must have 80,000 additional mechanics and 200,000 additional unskilled labourers. **And men and women are slow to take service in the controlled establishments.** Hence, it is proposed to rush through a measure for Compulsory Military Service; forcibly to enrol some hundreds of thousands of men between 18 and 40; and then draft off the 280,000 of them whom the Government officers select to **Compulsory Service in the Capitalists' Munition Works,** which are still being run for private profit (nominally limited, as already explained, to all that the capitalist got before the war, with the addition of 20 per cent.).

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HOW MR. LLOYD GEORGE HAS PREVENTED THE INCREASE OF MUNITION WORKERS.

Now, the reason why men are slow in taking service in "Controlled Establishments" is plain. They don't like the penal conditions. They don't like being brought up before the Munitions Court, and punished as criminals for "losing time" (at their own expense). They don't like being compelled to continue in one establishment, however badly they may be treated; and not being allowed to go and work elsewhere on pain of what is really a heavy fine. If the Minister of Munitions wants to attract workmen to Munition Works, why does he put them under penal conditions?

But there is another reason why Mr. Lloyd George is failing to get as many operatives as he wants. There are various grievances as to the rates of wages. In some of the "Controlled Establishments" the pay of the unskilled labourers, and especially of the women, is quite inadequate. Mr. Lloyd George, speaking at the Trade Union Congress, accepted full responsibility for all the rates of wages, which (as he expressly said) were fixed by the Government. What does he think of rates of 4d., 3d., and even 2d. per hour to adult women workers employed by time?

HOW TO GET MORE WORKERS TO THE MUNITION FACTORIES.

We may frankly admit the national urgency of putting more workers to make munitions. Can they be obtained without Industrial Conscription? We believe that they can be got in sufficient numbers, if the appropriate steps are taken. But they must be **attracted** there by sufficient inducements. There is no profit in Forced Labour.

We may note that there are still many tens of thousands of mechanics of one sort or another to be drawn in. There are probably over 50,000 men still employed in connection with private motor-cars, either as drivers or as repairers at the thousands of garages. Nearly all of these have mechanical skill. If the Government were to stop all use of motor-cars by private persons, unless driven by the owner himself; and at the same time offer the discharged drivers and repairers continuous employment in munition works at proper earnings most of these men could be obtained.

There is even less difficulty about the supply of unskilled labour, male or female. There are still many hundreds of thousands of men—including men unfit for military service, but competent for factory work—in retail shops, on the tramways, and elsewhere who could be attracted to munition work. If, for instance, every tramway conductor in the kingdom were definitely guaranteed replacement in his situation when the War was over; and offered, meanwhile, £2 per week at munition-making, an enormous proportion of the fifty thousand such men would accept the offer; and their places could be temporarily filled by women.

No serious attempt has yet been generally made—though quite successful at a few places—to put women to all the work of which they prove themselves capable. Literally hundreds of thousands of women could be drawn to the Munition Works, if proper conditions of services were guaranteed; a minimum wage of not less than £1 per week, and the chance of going on to the men's piece-work rates. But the capitalist owners of the "Controlled Establishments" will neither take the trouble to arrange for proper conditions for women, nor offer them anything like such a wage. And though Mr. Lloyd George tells us that the Government fixes all the rates of wages in these controlled establishments he has not yet required any decent offer to be generally made to the women workers of the country.

Hence there is no case for Compulsion. If sufficient workers have not yet been obtained, it is because the Government still allows mechanics to be diverted for the pleasure of the wealthy; does not make the necessary arrangements to draw in such classes as tramway conductors; and does not offer conditions sufficiently attractive even to the hundreds of thousands of low-paid women.

To utilise these new classes of workers would, of course,

involve trouble and demand organising ability—yet only a trifle in comparison with what Forced Labour would require!

WHAT IS REALLY NATIONAL SERVICE?

Thus the objection of the workers is not to Compulsory National Service in any real sense. The wage-earning class, indeed, always finds itself under compulsion to render service; and it would see nothing but justice in any such legal compulsion as woud impose this obligation on the idlers. It is true that National Service, of this genuine kind, is at present being loyally given by the great majority of the adult population, but it is being avoided and escaped by "the shirkers." The daily work of man or woman to earn an honest living, whether in digging coal or tilling the soil, in manufacturing or distributing commodities, in the various forms of transport and communication, in rearing children and maintaining the home, in teaching the young and tending the helpless, in inventing and organising and directing such useful services, in science and art and literature—aye, also in preventing and resisting every kind of crime and forceful aggression, national or international—all this is real National Service, which is due personally **in one or other form** from every one of us so long as health and strength lasts, according to and up to the limit of our several capacities.

WHO ARE "THE SHIRKERS?"

The National Service is at present being avoided and escaped, not only by the wastrels and the criminals, who are comparatively few in number, but also by the great mass of those who—because, as they put it, they have "property"—live idly on the incomes which (in the form of rent, interest, or dividends) the law allows them to extract from the labour of others. Not all "the rich" are idle, by any means. Many of them—in this time of national peril a much larger proportion than usual—do work hard (though they are not forced to do so), and render admirable National Service in one way or another. These may be said "to earn their keep." Many more do not spend all their "unearned" incomes on themselves or their families, but devote some fragments to charities or to new investments of national utility. These portions of the "unearned" incomes may be admitted to be usefully applied. But the greater part of these incomes are consumed in the mere living of the rich without work. And a great number of rich people, men as well as women, do no work of any kind. They render no National Service whatever.

WILL THE SHIRKERS BE MADE TO WORK?

Is it proposed to compel these people to work for their living in the only effective way, namely, by depriving them of their present artificial power of levying tribute on the labour of others—this is, by the Government taking in taxation for the purposes of the nation (with humane allowances for the aged and the helpless), all "unearned" incomes; or, at any rate, raising the Super-tax to Nineteen Shillings in the Pound on all such income in excess of, say, a thousand pounds a year? Is this the "Law of National Service" which it is sought to impose on the country in this time of national peril?

Unfortunately, as we have shown, it is not. The proposed Law—which may any day be suddenly sprung on us, as the Munitions Act was—does not touch "property" at all. It does not interfere with the power of the idle, absentee owner of land or investments to draw, year after year, an income in rent, interest, or dividends from the labours of those who **are** rendering "National Service," without necessarily giving anything to the community in return for this income. The fatal blot in the present demand for a "National Service Law" is that it is not a demand that those who are at present idling away their lives—living, as they say, on their incomes, which means, of course (seeing that they do not themselves produce anything) on **our** incomes—in this way consuming, to no public use, the food and petrol and personal services which are badly needed elsewhere—should be sternly called upon, at least during the continuance of the war, to work for their own living. What it is, on the contrary, is that those who are already working should be compelled to come under military law, in order that a great many of them may be arbitrarily sent to labour in the Munition Works under conditions of Servile Labour.

27-11-15.

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ITEM 679/57

CONSCRIPTION AND CONSCIENCE

Presidential Address by

CLIFFORD ALLEN

To the National Convention of the
NO-CONSCRIPTION FELLOWSHIP
November 27th, 1915

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Price 1d.; post free 1½d.
Published at 8 Merton House, Salisbury Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES OF THE NO-CONSCRIPTION FELLOWSHIP.

THE NO-CONSCRIPTION FELLOWSHIP is an organisation of men likely to be called upon to undertake military service in the event of conscription, who will refuse from conscientious motives to bear arms, because they consider human life to be sacred and cannot, therefore, assume the responsibility of inflicting death. They deny the right of Governments to say "You **shall** bear arms," and will oppose every effort to introduce compulsory military service into Great Britain. Should such efforts be successful, they will, whatever the consequences may be, obey their conscientious convictions, rather than the commands of Governments.

APPLICATION OF PRINCIPLES TO WAR-WORK.

THE FOLLOWING resolution, which has also been adopted, defines the attitude of the Fellowship towards forms of War Service other than the bearing of arms :

> "The members of the Fellowship will refuse to engage in any employment which necessitates taking the military oath. Whilst leaving the decision open to the individual judgment of each member, the Fellowship will support members who conscientiously resist compulsory alternatives to military service involving a change of occupation."

FOREWORD

THE ORIGINAL date fixed for the termination of the recruiting scheme, organised by Lord Derby, was November 30th, 1915.

UPON NOVEMBER 27th there met at the Memorial Hall, London, a special National Convention of the No-Conscription Fellowship. The Convention was summoned to consider ways and means of resistance to any form of Conscription that might follow the conclusion of the voluntary recruiting effort. It was attended by delegates from every district of the country, and afforded a very striking incident in the course of the war.

THE FOLLOWING was the address delivered by the Chairman (Mr. Clifford Allen) at the public session of the Convention.

New Year's Day, 1916.

Conscription and Conscience

Comrades and Friends, I think you will agree with me when I say that I bear a very grave responsibility in having to make at this juncture a public statement as to the object, the intention, and the faith of the No-Conscription Fellowship. I want it to be clearly understood by all, who are members and delegates present, that there must be no under-estimating the gravity of the conscription crisis which at present faces us. It is because your National Committee was fully aware of all that has been taking place in the conscription conspiracy, that we felt it to be our duty to call together here in conference representatives of every section of the Fellowship throughout the country. Ten months ago, when the war was in its early stages, at the instigation of our Secretary, Mr. Fenner Brockway, or, as he would say, of his wife, a few men who were of military age decided that it would be well if they met and took common counsel together with a view to dealing with any possible danger arising from conscription during the war. At that time the danger of compulsory service was a remote danger; and for that reason, in the early months of this year, very little was done by those who were responsible for the early ideas of the Fellowship. As time went on, the danger of conscription became more imminent; and in proportion, as the danger increased, so was the serious attention of the founders of the Fellowship given more and more to its development. In proportion, as the issue became pressing, so did the number of members in this organisation increase, with the result that at the present time we represent in this Hall almost every district from Land's End to John o' Groats, and voice the opinion of thousands of men who will under no circumstances submit to this evil thing, should it come about.

As soon as the danger of conscription became imminent, and the Fellowship something more than an informal gathering, it was necessary for those responsible to consider what should be the basis upon which the organisation should be built. It was necessary for our Fellowship itself to be articulate; and it was further essential that we should have some method of making our purpose known to the country in order that those who might already agree with that view should be aware of our existence. **The conscription controversy has been waged by many people who, by reason of age or sex, would never be subjected to the provisions of a Conscription Act. The chief characteristic of this Fellowship is that full membership is strictly confined to those men who would be subject to the provisions of any such Act; and that being so, the importance of the organisation in the controversy becomes far greater than would be the case if we were merely a society to debate the academic principles of conscription.**

Having decided that we must have some common basis of belief, we had to look round in order to discover which one of the objections to conscription was that which met with general approval amongst our members, and so should form the basis of our organisation. Upon examination we discovered the following objections to conscription. There were firstly the groups of people who strongly advocated war, but who differed as to whether the best way of carrying on war was the voluntary or the conscript system. These people also held that the contribution of our country to the Allied cause in this war should be a contribution of money and munitions. In addition to this argument that was being advanced, we discovered others; arguments that conscription would be the gravest possible interference with individual liberty in this country of free traditions; that conscription would be a menace of the most serious character to the development of our Trade Union Movement; that indeed the imposition of conscription might be construed as the first step towards its inevitable conclusion, the domination of the military caste and the military spirit in Britain. We examined all those views, and, after careful discussion, we unanimously rejected the whole of the first group,

which may be described as merely military or strategic. So far as the second group of opinions was concerned, those dealing with the infringement of individual liberty, and with the danger to the Trade Union Movement, it was immediately apparent that each of us held very firmly one or all of those opinions—that, in fact, our objection to conscription was intensified just in so far as we held vigorously one or all of those views. But that was not all. **We discovered a fact, which is the most important characteristic of our organisation, that not only did we individually hold the views that I have expressed, but that there was one objection to conscription which we shared with intense fervour, and that was a belief in the sanctity of human life.** The members of the No-Conscription Fellowship base their fundamental objection to conscription on this ground: that whatever else a State may or may not do, whatever infringement of individual liberty a State may or may not effect, there is one interference with individual judgment that no State in the world has any sanction to enforce—that is, to tamper with the unfettered free right of every man to decide for himself the issue of life and death. **We contend that the individual conscience alone must decide whether a man will sacrifice his own life, or inflict death upon other people, and that however far the State may impose its commands upon the will of the community, the right of private judgment in this particular must be left to the individual, since human personality is a thing which must be held as sacred.** Upon that we have built up our organisation. It is because we hold that view so intensely, whilst believing in the other arguments that I have indicated, that nothing would ever induce us to betray our deep religious and moral conviction by accepting conscription.

You will at once realise, that having decided upon that statement of faith, there joined us many men whose views, politically, socially, and in matters of religion, were profoundly different, and the amazing thing about our Fellowship is the way in which it has been possible to build up an organisation for action amongst men, who, on so many points, are at variance with each other. We have in our midst Socialists of every school, Christians of every shade of thought, men from the masses as

they are called, men from the middle classes, and men from every other class; and yet within our organisation, in our conscientious objection to this form of compulsion, we have found a common basis for action at the present moment.

WE ARE sometimes described as shirkers. I want to say very emphatically that the members of the No-Conscription Fellowship believed in National Service long before many who are now advocating it. We may differ as to our interpretation of that service, we may differ as to its degree, but at the present moment we are only cut off from that particular service which our State demands from us, because it is a contribution to the carrying on of war. **We, though believing in varying ways in national service, cannot as an organisation accept service which conflicts with our profound belief in the brotherhood of man, and in international solidarity.**

I THINK, therefore, I have shewn that the No-Conscription Fellowship has been responsible, not entirely but very largely, for throwing up in the conscription controversy what we may call the moral issue, and that our contribution has been to lay tremendous stress upon the conscientious, and not the mere political objection to conscription.

HAVING COME to that conclusion, we proceeded with our work of organisation, and as the delegates are here, it is as well that they should know how remarkable has been the development and growth of our Fellowship. We have only been in existence from an organising standpoint for about six months; and in that six months we have built up a network of branches in every important city of the British Isles; in six months, by a process of what we may call lightning organisation, we have created a Society of an unique character to deal with an unprecedented problem; in six months not only have we built up the structure of our organisation, but we have also devised ways and means of a resistance to a Conscription Bill and a Conscription Act. In the course of our work we have discovered other bodies with whom we have been willing and glad to co-operate in this work. We have

discovered, to our joy, that one organisation which has taken a similar stand in history in the past, intends to take that stand again to-day. We have on the platform fraternal delegates from those organisations, and they will presently address you. I think it better that they themselves should put the point of view of their respective societies; but this I will say, that there is now a strong binding Committee between our Fellowship and such organisations as the Men's Service Committee of the Society of Friends and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The history of the Society of Friends, so far as peace and war are concerned, is one which is so honourable that it requires no word of praise from me, and I am confident that when the representative of that Society speaks, as he will in a few moments, we shall hear once more stated in the old Quaker spirit that firm and convinced determination in this vital matter of life and death.

THERE IS another characteristic of our organisation which I must touch upon, and it is this : Whether or no a man becomes a member of this Fellowship, it rests entirely with his own individual initiative. We have decided so far carefully to eschew any kind of public propaganda; we decided that it was not our business to go out into the highways and hedges to increase our membership by means of propaganda; that it was indeed for each individual man to decide, having seen our statement of faith, whether or no he desired to take the consequences of that belief. But that does not mean that our organisation has been idle. During the last few months I venture to say that there is no society opposed to conscription in this country which has exercised a more profound influence upon the whole controversy raging in the House of Commons. Night and day, members of your National Committee have been working behind the scenes. Day after day we have been laying the intentions of this organisation before those who are in authority; and I want to submit to you that our real triumph lies here : that the mere existence and the maintained activity of a body pledged to resist conscription, should it become law, has had more to do with the hindering of its imposition than any other influence at work in our country. I have every reason for believing that when

the forces, which are governing the present discussion, are weighed by the historian in the future, it will be found that the publicly announced intention of this organised body has been one of the most potent forces in making the Government hesitate to impose this evil system upon the country.

DURING OUR existence we have given the Authorities and the Police every kind of information that they have required. We have nothing in our organisation of which we are ashamed. When I myself and my colleagues have been faced by detectives and members of the Police force, we have offered to them our documents, we have answered willingly every question they cared to put to us, and we have told them that they could learn everything which they required to know in the matter of our organisation, but that there was one thing they could never take from us, and that was our individual judgment in this matter of conscience.

THE CRISIS has now come upon us, and this Convention this afternoon is going to consider detailed proposals as to how that crisis is to be faced. I stated at the beginning of my speech that we were fully informed of all that was going on in every section of political life regarding this conscription controversy. It has been very largely our work which has assisted in raising (what the Government would call prematurely) the issue in the House of Commons during the last few weeks. I submit to you, that as the result of that premature raising of the conscription controversy, His Majesty's Government have given to the world a remarkable exhibition of political trickery. They have not strengthened their chances of conscription by the lack of confidence which they have invited by that exhibition. It is perfectly true at the present moment that we have not got in this country what you might describe as legal conscription; but let no one mistake that there is now in existence an almost more wicked form of conscription, and that is economic conscription, the conscription of victimisation under which thousands of men are suffering at the present moment. I have no doubt that you will endorse my view when I say that there is nothing more deplorable that has happened during this war than the way in

which employers have kicked men with 30s. a week down the office stairs in order to serve their country.

WE ARE going to oppose this system. But there are two kinds of opposition which can be offered to any measure in Parliament or outside. **You can oppose a Bill in the House of Commons, and by agitation in the country up to the time that that Bill becomes the law of the land : you can also resist the operations of that Act, should it go upon the Statute Book. I want it to be clearly known here, speaking on behalf of the Fellowship, that it is the latter of those two kinds of opposition that we intend to offer.** The late Attorney-General has set a precedent with regard to resistance to a Bill which may become an Act. Mere insurrection or rioting, which we confidently believe will be one of the results of the introduction of Conscription, are not the only forms of resistance to hand. Speaking with a full sense of responsibility, I want the Government and the public to know that our opposition is not going to be a mere political game. **As an organisation we have attempted by our abstention from propaganda to avoid interfering with the will of the majority in the State, so far as the prosecution of the war is concerned; but we want to make it perfectly clear that if now the majority in the State through their Government (if indeed there is a majority) decides to impose a system which violates men's deepest religious convictions, we are not going to play at opposition.** Your National Committee are considering the most vigorous possible forms of opposition. We are keeping in the closest possible touch with the rank and file of the Trade Union movement; and we are able to say that the opposition to conscription in the form of an Act will not emanate merely from the No-Conscription Fellowship.

IN MAKING that perfectly emphatic statement regarding our unqualified opposition and our determined resistance, let me make one point absolutely clear. However deep and however vigorous our opposition is going to be—and vigorous it is going to be—we will never adopt any kind of measure which would result, so far as we are concerned, in the taking of human life. We do not hold an opinion one day as the basis of our organisation in order

to go back upon it the next day in the methods of our resistance. In making that statement, a further point should be emphasised. **There are various kinds of opposition which a Government can engender in a community. It can engender political opposition and social opposition: but the most dangerous form of resistance which a Government can arouse is that which results from religious persecution.** If you cast your mind back over the past, you will see over and over again repeated in our own history and the history of other countries, that the one kind of opposition which it has been almost impossible to suppress, and has often ultimately gained the day, has been that which has found its source in deep religious conviction. That is going to be repeated if conscription is imposed on this country at the present moment.

WHILST BUILDING our opposition upon a moral and religious basis, we are none the less adopting the most businesslike methods possible for the organisation of that resistance. We are not going to carry it out in a mere slipshod fashion; and the Agenda which you will have to discuss this afternoon is an illustration to you of the businesslike programme by which we hope to obtain our objects.

I BELIEVE we are going to succeed in preventing the imposition of conscription. But supposing we fail in preventing that system becoming law, I wish to make this point by way of clearing up a misconception which sometimes exists as to the character of a shirker. **If, despite our present determined opposition, and notwithstanding our determined opposition in the future, conscription becomes the law of the land, we are willing to undergo the penalties that the State may inflict—yes, and even death itself—rather than go back upon our convictions.** Let it be clearly understood that the members of our organisation have not formed the Fellowship in order to shelter themselves against suffering. It may be that the only way whereby we can ever convince public opinion that one class of so-called shirkers is willing to suffer, will be through the process of compulsory service. Those of us who have joined the organisation, those of us who have come to this decision, which may entail such results, are young men; and we have not come to it with-

out a mental and spiritual struggle. We have endeavoured, so far as possible, to clear our minds of mere cant and hysterical thinking; and having done that, we have braced ourselves to an unqualified decision. From my own personal experience, I know that that mental struggle has not been an easy process. I repeat we are all young men; and life is a very precious thing to the young man. We cherish life because of the opportunities for adventure and achievement which it offers to a man who is young. We cherish life because of the call which it offers to national and international service, and as we come to our decision here in this Convention, we do it casting our eyes over many years of opportunity which lie spread out before us. I believe there is no man amongst us who has any lust for martyrdom for martyrdom's sake; and it is well that those, who appraise or condemn our determination, should remember the struggle through which we have gone to arrive at it.

But once our minds have been made up, I suggest to you that there has come to us a certain joy, because we are able now to put to the practical test the words which we have used so often in the past, and the principles which we have merely proclaimed and debated. I hold that it is a privilege that the young men of our generation should have such an opportunity of bearing witness to the faith that is in them. It is an experience which I believe must refine and temper not only our judgment at present, but our judgment throughout the rest of our lives. And yet, no man has joined the Fellowship in order to advertise his willingness to suffer. Perhaps the yoke which is hardest to bear is our inability at the present moment to undertake the generally accepted form of service, since it appears to us to be one contrary to our deepest convictions; that we have to stand, as it were, idly by while the rest of the world is busying itself with service. Sometimes I feel it would be a sheer luxury to be able to undertake the vilest kind of work in order that I might assuage that feeling, but directly I have examined the problem I see it is immediately answered. Just in proportion as we cannot render that particular service which the nation at the present moment asks, since it is part of the process of war, we seize upon new forms of service in order to take its place. There is no organisation whose

members are more active and busied in national service than the No-Conscription Fellowship at the present moment. It may be, that judged by the narrow, practical standpoint, we shall appear, because of the imposition of conscription, to have failed; but I do not believe you can judge our success or our failure by so narrow a judgment. May not we say with perfect truth that just in proportion as we men have to suffer for the cause of peace, we shall advance that very cause which we have at heart at the present moment; and just in so far as we cause the Government to persecute those who believe in peace, so we may be doing the greatest service, which has been performed since the war broke out, to stimulate the national conscience in that direction. **Probably a far more powerful propaganda than countless meetings, or countless declarations, will be the testimony of men who are willing to suffer rather than sacrifice their convictions in this matter of peace.**

I DO NOT know how you view it, but this belief sometimes breaks in upon my mind. If you examine the war at the present moment, it is the most wonderful instance that I have ever known of a State being willing to undertake one achievement at a time. In the old days, before the war broke out, many of us were urging the national conscience, so that the nation might be willing to do one thing at a time. Then it was to remove poverty and cheapness from national life. We failed. And now what a change is to be noted. The hoardings of our streets are covered with posters calling upon men to take up national service for one purpose. Rich and poor in varying degrees are casting in their lives and their money for the service of the community; and why?—for the work of destruction. The decision we must secure, the moral that we have got to point in the future is this: that as now the community is realising the possibility of one accomplishment at a time, so it shall admit this again in the future. But upon the next occasion, the objective shall not be the work of destruction, the purpose of national service shall not be the mere degrading of humanity. Rather, it must be that such service in those days may make human life as valuable as it is now cheap, and may bring into

human existence as much joy as there is now grief burdening the hearts of men.

COMRADES, I WANT to move, on behalf of the National Committee, a resolution re-affirming our intention, and I submit to you that you should stand in silence and thus signify your agreement. It is :

> "That we, the delegates and members of the No-Conscription Fellowship, assembled in National Conference, fully conscious of the attempt that may be made to impose conscription on this country, recognising that such a system must destroy the sanctity of human life, betray the free traditions of our country and hinder its social and industrial emancipation, though realising the grave consequences to ourselves that may follow our decision, hereby solemnly and sincerely reaffirm our intention to resist conscription, whatever the penalties may be."

THE RESOLUTION was then adopted, the delegates standing in silence.

ITEM 679/58

Compulsory Military Service
and
Industrial Conscription

WHAT THEY MEAN TO THE WORKERS

PRICE ONE PENNY.

WAR EMERGENCY: WORKERS' NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
1 VICTORIA STREET,
WESTMINSTER, S.W.

WAR EMERGENCY:
WORKERS' NATIONAL COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN:
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VICE-CHAIRMAN:
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FRED BRAMLEY

C. W. BOWERMAN, M.P.
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JOHN HODGE, M.P.

W. C. ANDERSON, M.P.

W. H. HUTCHINSON
(The Labour Party).

BEN COOPER

BEN TILLETT
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DAVID GILMOUR
(Scottish Trades Union Congress).

HERBERT SMITH

J. WINSTONE
(Miners' Federation of Great Britain).

JOS. CROSS
(United Textile Factory Workers).

ALBERT BELLAMY
(National Union of Railwaymen).

ROBERT WILLIAMS
(National Federation of Transport Workers).

W. B. STEER
(National Union of Teachers).

F. W. JOWETT, M.P.

H. DUBERY
(Independent Labour Party).

Mrs. M. A. GASSON

B. WILLIAMS
(The Co-operative Union).

H. J. MAY
(Co-operative Congress Parliamentary Committee).

W. H. BROWN
(Stratford Co-operative Society).

Miss MARY MACARTHUR
(Women's Trade Union League).

Miss MARGARET BONDFIELD
(Women's Co-operative Guild).

Dr. MARION PHILLIPS
(Women's Labour League).

Miss SUSAN LAWRENCE, L.C.C.

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Compulsory Military Service
and
Industrial Conscription:
What they mean to the Workers

Do you understand what is meant by the "National Service" which most of the militarists, perhaps half the members of the two Houses of Parliament, and probably a majority of the property-owners are now trying to impose on the nation by law?

COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE.

What the so-called National Service Law demands is that the Government should be authorised to make men compulsorily into soldiers. The usual proposal is that all men between the ages of 18 and 40, whether married or unmarried, should be required, on receipt of a Government Order, to present themselves for medical examination, and that all those declared physically fit should be compulsorily enrolled in the Army (or Navy), put into uniform and made subject to military law. What used to be understood was that all the men thus compulsorily enlisted would serve alike in fighting battalions, either for home defence or in the firing line abroad.

INDUSTRIAL CONSCRIPTION.

But behind the proposal for Compulsory Military Service there lies at this moment a special peril for the British wage-earning class. It has been made quite clear by many of those who are pressing for the National Service Law that the object now is not wholly, or even primarily, to get more soldiers to send to the firing line. The most pressing need is for shells, not soldiers—for

more munitions, rather than more men at the front. Mr. Lloyd George says he must have at least 280,000 more workers in the munition factories; and the intention is to get these by using the machinery of Compulsory Military Service.

What is being proposed by many of those who are demanding the National Service Law is that the compulsory enlistment should be for service **in whatever capacity the Government may require.** Those men whom a superior officer thinks fit for any branch of munition work are to be arbitrarily selected; and sent, whether they like it or not, to any factory in any part of the country that may be short of hands. They will have to work there **under military law;** bound to implicit obedience to any orders given by any superior; required to accept whatever wages, to work for whatever hours, and to submit to whatever conditions may be imposed upon them. Any remonstrance or complaint will be a breach of discipline, punishable by Court Martial. Any refusal to work at whatever speed may be required will be a serious crime, punishable by imprisonment. These compulsorily enlisted men will not be allowed to throw up their job, or to leave the factory—they will just have to obey orders for as long as their superior officer chooses. They will, in fact, be soldiers put to factory work; and no Trade Unionism is allowed among soldiers. Moreover, they will, in most cases, be made to work not in the State arsenals or workshops, but in the factories belonging to private capitalists, and **run for private profit** (though these capitalists will now have to yield up half of any **extra** profit in taxation and if their establishments are "controlled" under the Munitions Act, there is a nominal "limitation" of the profit which the capitalist owners are to be allowed to make—a limitation to not more than all the profit they have hitherto been making in "boom" years, with 20 per cent. extra!) This is what is meant by Industrial Conscription. It is an attempt to make use of the present war to get Servile Labour.

HOW MILITARY SERVICE CAN BE USED FOR INDUSTRIAL CONSCRIPTION.

This proposal is so dangerous that it compels us to take care that even simple Military Service is not made the instrument for Industrial Conscription. It would, for instance, be quite possible for the Government, if Parliament merely authorised Compulsory Military Service, to **compel men under 40 to enter the munition**

factories, under whatever conditions the Government chose to impose. It would only be necessary for the Government officer to say **to any man whom the officer chose arbitrarily to select for Munitions Work,** "either accept this service, or you will be sent straight to the trenches." The same power of "discipline" could be used to enforce, inside the Munitions Factory, any order whatsoever. "Either obey, or you will be reported to the War Office for instant transfer to the front." Those men who did not keep up what the employer thought a sufficient output could, at any moment, be dealt with in the same way. The Government may possibly make some pretence at exempting from Compulsory Military Service the strongly organised coalminers and railway men, on the pretext that their present service is indispensable to the successful conduct of the War (which is no more true of them than of millions of other workers). But exactly the same power of "discipline" could be used to the coalminer or railway worker. If he is not "docile," he will be told by the manager or foreman that he will be dismissed; with the hint that the recruiting sergeant will be waiting for him outside the door, to take him instantly into military custody.

Now that the desire and intention have been avowed to use Compulsory Military Service for the purpose of Industrial Conscription, and getting Servile Labour, the workers must see to it very carefully that there shall be no such possibility.

IS COMPULSORY SERVICE NECESSARY?

Is there any necessity for Compulsory Service? We believe not. And the proof that this is the case is afforded by the action of the Government itself—nay, often by the very advocates of a National Service Law themselves. It is plain that neither the Government nor these gentlemen are "putting everything in." The armies need (both for transport of troops and stores, and for hospital work) many more motor-cars, and all the petrol that is imported. But the Government is not "commandeering" the tens of thousands of private motor-cars of the wealthy that we see still consuming petrol in pleasure riding. Our soldiers could do with unlimited gunpowder, and it might be supposed that all ammunition factories were working day and night to supply **military requirements only;** but there has been no prohibition of the consumption of gunpowder in the shooting of game (though many people have

voluntarily abandoned it), and those who have money have no difficulty in obtaining for private use as many sporting cartridges as they choose to pay for. We are anxious about the nation's supply of gold, which has to be used to make payments abroad, yet there has been no summons to those who have gold ornaments to yield them up to the Mint. We are supposed to be short of men, but the Government Offices are not yet substituting (except for a few of the humblest jobs) women for men. To-day, more than ever before, it is money that furnishes the sinews of war; and the experts are looking more to financial exhaustion to bring the war to a close than to any dramatic military achievements. Yet our Government is not seizing the wealth of the nation. Nor do those who are seeking to stampede the Cabinet into a National Service Law —practically all of them belonging to the propertied class—propose that these things should be done. **It is only the lives of men that they ask the Government to commandeer.** Is it fair to take the men before taking the motor-cars; to commandeer people before commandeering property?

THE SHAM "EQUALITY" OF COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE.

Those who demand a National Service Law make much of what they call its "fairness" and the "equality in peace time," in that it makes the same requirement of every man, rich or poor; namely, that he should give a year or two of his life, and risk disablement or death, in defence of our common country. But is this either "fair" or "equal"?

We must notice, to begin with, that Compulsory Military Service is never, in any country whatsoever, exacted from **all** men. Only the physically fit are taken; though those who are short, or without good teeth or good eyesight, or have weak hearts, or are ruptured, or have varicose veins have also a duty to their country. There are always lots of other exemptions for men of particular professions, and what not. In no country have all the men of military age been actually compelled to serve in the Army or Navy. As a mere matter of statistics, it is not, on the whole, the wage-earning class that gets the benefit of these exemptions.

But even those who are forced to serve do not serve in anything like the same way or under the same conditions. The rich man's son or the University graduate usually becomes an officer; or (as in Germany) has a special class to himself as a "One-Year

Volunteer"; and their allowances from home enable them to make their military service quite agreeable. The young manual worker goes into the ranks, and has to live on his rations and pay; and to put up with whatever conditions his officers think good enough for "the lower classes." It is not for nothing that a young man commits suicide; and it is significant that the rate of suicide among the soldiers in conscript armies is very high—far in excess of that among the men who are not forced to serve. Even if all ranks were treated alike, and if all classes had equal chances of promotion, the difference in the sacrifice exacted by Compulsory Military Service in peace time, as between men of different position and means, is necessarily enormous, and most unfair. To the young man of a wealthy family, the year or so that he is required to spend in the Army, instead of at Oxford or Cambridge University, is a mere change of amusement or sport, or at best, an alternative form of preparation for life, quite as useful as many a University career, and one which involves him in no pecuniary loss. To the young mechanic, who has already been in the workshop for four or five years, and is just getting to his full earning capacity, the year or so that he spends in barracks or camp means the loss of a year's earnings, and a dangerous interruption in his industrial career, to which (if he happens to leave the Army in a year of bad trade), he may never be able to succeed in returning.

THE FUNDAMENTAL FALLACY.

Apart from all this, however, there is a fundamental fallacy in supposing that there is either "equality" or "fairness" in making an equal demand on men of very different means. We do not think it either "equal" or "fair" to compel every man to pay the same tax to the State, because an equal tax from men of unequal wealth means a great inequality of sacrifice. The State nowadays professes to take from everyone in proportion to his means. When the Government wants land or ships or the service of doctors or lawyers, it does not compel every person having land or ships, or every doctor or lawyer, to give an equal quantity of land or of ships, or an equal amount of doctoring or legal service—that would be deemed a most unfair inequality of sacrifice. What it does, for the sake of getting as much real equality as possible, is to buy or hire, at market prices, whatever land or ships, or doctors or lawyers, that it needs, and then to levy the cost on the whole

nation, in such a way as (at any rate, this is the professed principle) to make everybody pay in proportion to his means. Why should not the Government continue this system of real equality for its soldiers and sailors, as well as for its doctors and lawyers—that is to say, get their services voluntarily at the market price, and levy the cost on the whole people, in proportion to their means?*

WHY CONSCRIPTION IS NOW ASKED FOR.

We can now understand why it is that it is always the propertied class that is mostly in favour of Compulsory Military Service. It has been frequently avowed that one of the motives of many Conscriptionists is to get **a cheap Army.** It has frequently been pointed out that the British Government paid its soldiers a "shilling a day," or even more; and liberal rations, with allowances for wives, and pensions for widows and orphans, and provision for disablement, on what was deemed an "extravagant" scale. The other European Governments are able (because of Compulsion) to get their soldiers for something like a halfpenny a day, and much less costly rations, allowances and pensions. This is not really any saving to the Continental countries. The same needs have to be met, in one country as in another, but it is not the same people who pay for them. The conscript soldiers and their families are so miserably provided for in France, Germany, Italy, etc., that **a very heavy burden is cast on their relations,** in order to provide for the soldier's own requirements whilst on service, and for his wife and children, either whilst he is serving, or after he has been wounded or killed. But, seeing that the cost could in this way be thrown on the wage-earning class, to provide out of the taxes for the soldier and his family, even as well as the British Government did, is regarded as an unnecessary burden on the wealthy taxpayers. Why should not men be compelled to serve in the Army for something like a halfpenny a day, instead of having to be induced to serve at a shilling a day or more? This was avowedly one of the reasons why Compulsory Military Service used to be asked for.

When the present war broke out, the British Government was forced by the Labour Party, after a prolonged and even embittered resistance by both Ministers and Civil servants, to concede—

* It is interesting to note that, although the British Government pays every year an enormous sum to the lawyers who serve it, no one has ever suggested that they should be compelled to serve in the legal offices and so be secured at a much cheaper rate.

though still not enough—much better terms than have ever before been given in the way of Separation Allowances and Pensions for wives, "unmarried wives," mothers and other dependents, as well as for disabled men. All this increased the attraction of Compulsion to those who wanted a Cheap Army; and great have been the complaints of the "extravagance" of the Voluntary System. **The intention was still to cut down the cost as soon as Compulsion could be secured.** Suddenly, only a few weeks ago, it seems to have occurred to the Conscriptionists that this was not the way to make Compulsion acceptable; and they changed their tone. One and all they began to disavow any desire to reduce the soldier's pay and allowances, even if he were legally compelled to serve on whatever conditions the Government might prescribe. **Now** the Conscriptionists disavow any intention to reduce the cost of the Army. What they now say they are concerned about is only to get enough men. But can we have any confidence that, when men are compelled to serve, the rates of pay and allowances will not be reduced to the level of those of the other conscript armies of Europe?

IS CONSCRIPTION REQUIRED?

It is clear—indeed, it is scarcely denied by any candid person—that Compulsory Military Service imposes a very heavy burden on the wage-earning class.

Is there any reason to suppose that soldiers and sailors cannot be obtained, even in the present unparalleled war, in numbers equal to all the requirements, without resorting to compulsion? Among the military experts themselves, there is a division of opinion as to whether the system of Voluntary Recruiting could not be made to yield all the soldiers and sailors that the War Office would like to enrol, and could possibly equip, and whether compulsion—introduced in this sudden way—would really produce any larger total armies. The number enlisted week by week is still enormous, and still more than there is equipment for. And **Voluntary Recruiting is at present being deliberately prevented from yielding as many men as it could be made to do.** The influence of most of those who want to force Compulsory Military Service upon the nation, is being used to "crab" Voluntary Recruiting. Some of the most widely-read newspapers obviously do all they can to discourage it. Some, at least, of the officials concerned in its organisation work it so clumsily, and with

so much "red tape," as to lead to the suspicion that their hearts are not in its success. Whole sections of employers (such as the Railway Companies and the farmers), honestly believing that no more men can be spared, put every possible obstacle in the way of their enlisting. Other employers do not want their profits to suffer by losing more men. No protection is given to a soldier's wife or mother against arbitrary ejectment from her cottage, even if she continues to pay the rent. No definite promise has yet been given by the Government that it will see to it that, when peace comes, every man who has served shall be found a situation, at not less than the Standard Rate of Wages; or, in cases in which this cannot be done, shall be maintained until such a situation can be found for him. Yet it is the bounden duty of the Government to give this pledge and to fulfil it. **It is now prevented from giving this pledge by those who want to force Compulsion upon the nation.**

It is the opinion of many of those who know the circumstances that an enormous number more recruits could be obtained—probably twice as many each week as the Government is now getting—if the Government:

(i) Definitely promised to every man who had served to secure him, when Peace comes, either a situation at not less than the Standard Rate of Wages, or Maintenance until such a situation could be found for him;

(ii) Protected the wife or mother of every man serving against ejectment so long as the rent was paid;

(iii) Insisted that all employers should stop preventing their men from enlisting;

(iv) Explained that it was in a position now to equip all the men, put rifles into their hands as soon as they needed them, and place them in the field immediately they were trained; and

(v) Made a frank and serious appeal to the nation for just as many soldiers as the projected military operations require.

None of these things have been done. The possibilities of Voluntary Recruiting are therefore not exhausted. There is, accordingly, no justification for the dangerous experiment of Compulsion.

WHY COMPULSION IS AIMED AT.

The fact is the real need of the Government at this moment is not for more soldiers—the Voluntary Recruiting is still yielding, week by week, as many men as can be equipped and armed. More can be got when required to supply the wastage, merely by using the appropriate means. The real reason why Compulsion is asked for at this moment is because the Munitions Act has not been a success. Although a great increase in the output has been obtained, the shells and rifles and cartridges and machine guns and cannon, together with the uniforms, the boots, and the various accoutrements of the soldier, are still not being turned out in sufficient quantities to supply, not only our own Army, but also those of all our Allies. Mr. Lloyd George declares that he must have 80,000 additional mechanics and 200,000 additional unskilled labourers. **And men and women are slow to take service in the controlled establishments.** Hence, it is proposed by those who are running this agitation to rush through a measure for Compulsory Military Service; forcibly to enrol some hundreds of thousands of men between 18 and 40; and then draft off the 280,000 of them whom the Government officers select to **Compulsory Service in the Capitalists' Munition Works.**

HOW MR. LLOYD GEORGE HAS PREVENTED THE INCREASE OF MUNITION WORKERS.

Now, the reason why men are slow in taking service in "Controlled Establishments" is plain. They don't like the penal conditions. They don't like being brought up before the Munitions Court, and punished as criminals for "losing time" (at their own expense). They don't like being compelled to continue in one establishment, however badly they may be treated; and not being allowed to go and work elsewhere on pain of what is really a heavy fine. If the Minister of Munitions wants to attract workmen to Munition Works, why does he put them under penal conditions?

But there is another reason why Mr. Lloyd George is failing to get as many operatives as he wants. There are various grievances as to the rates of wages. In some of the "Controlled Establishments" the pay of the unskilled labourers, and especially of the women, is quite inadequate. Mr. Lloyd George,

speaking at the Trades Union Congress, accepted full responsibility for all the rates of wages, which (as he expressly said) were fixed by the Government. What does he think of rates of 4d., 3d., and even 2½d. per hour to adult women workers employed by time?

HOW TO GET MORE WORKERS TO THE MUNITION FACTORIES.

We may frankly admit the national urgency of putting more workers to make munitions. Can they be obtained without Industrial Conscription? We believe that they can be got in sufficient numbers, if the appropriate steps are taken. But they must be **attracted** there by sufficient inducements. There is no real increase in output to be got out of Forced Labour.

We may note that there are still many tens of thousands of mechanics of one sort or another to be drawn in. There are probably over 50,000 men still employed in connection with private motor-cars, either as drivers or as repairers at the thousands of garages. Nearly all of these have mechanical skill. If the Government were to stop all use of motor-cars by private persons, unless driven by the owner himself; and at the same time offer the discharged drivers and repairers continuous employment in munition works at proper earnings most of these men could be obtained.

There is even less difficulty about the supply of unskilled labour, male or female. There are still many hundreds of thousands of men—including men unfit for military service, but competent for factory work—in retail shops, on the tramways, and elsewhere who could be attracted to munition work. If, for instance, every tramway conductor in the kingdom were definitely guaranteed replacement in his situation when the War was over; and offered, meanwhile, £2 per week at munition-making, an enormous proportion of the thousands of such men would accept the offer; and their places could be temporarily filled by women.

No serious attempt has yet been generally made—though quite successful at a few places—to put women to all the work of which they prove themselves capable. Literally hundreds of thousands of women could be drawn to the Munition Works, if proper conditions of services were guaranteed; a minimum wage of not less than £1 per week, and the chance of going on to the men's piece-work rates. But some of the capitalist owners of the "Controlled

Establishments" will neither take the trouble to arrange for proper conditions for women, nor offer them anything like such a wage. And though Mr. Lloyd George tells us that the Government fixes all the rates of wages in these controlled establishments he has not yet required any decent offer to be generally made to the women workers of the country.

Hence there is no case for Compulsion. If sufficient workers have not yet been obtained, it is because the Government still allows mechanics to be diverted for the pleasure of the wealthy; does not make the necessary arrangements to draw in such classes as tramway conductors; and does not offer conditions sufficiently attractive even to the hundreds of thousands of low-paid women.

To utilise these new classes of workers would, of course, involve trouble and demand organising ability—yet only a trifle in comparison with what Forced Labour would require!

Thus, it is not to the point for any fire-eating General, or for the Government, or even for Lord Kitchener, to declare that they must have more men. They can have more men (without compulsion) if only they will take the measures that are indicated to them by every representative of the wage-earning class. Compulsion is unnecessary.

WHAT IS REALLY NATIONAL SERVICE?

Thus the objection of the workers is not to Compulsory National Service in any real sense. The wage-earning class, indeed, always finds itself under compulsion to render service; and it would see nothing but justice in any such legal compulsion as would impose this obligation on the idlers. It is true that National Service, of this genuine kind, is at present being loyally given by the great majority of the adult population, but it is being avoided and escaped by "the shirkers." The daily work of man or woman to earn an honest living, whether in digging coal or tilling the soil, in manufacturing or distributing commodities, in the various forms of transport and communication, in rearing children and maintaining the home, in teaching the young and tending the helpless, in inventing and organising and directing such useful services, in science and art and literature—aye, also in preventing and resisting every kind of crime and forceful aggression, national or international—all this is real National Service, which is due personally **in one or other form** from every

one of us so long as health and strength lasts, according to and up to the limit of our several capacities.

WHO ARE "THE SHIRKERS?"

The National Service is at present being avoided and escaped, not only by the wastrels and the criminals, who are comparatively few in number, but also by the great mass of those who—because, as they put it, they have "property"—live idly on the incomes which (in the form of rent, interest, or dividends) the law allows them to extract from the labour of others. Not all "the rich" are idle, by any means. Many of them—in this time of national peril a much larger proportion than usual—do work hard (though they are not forced to do so), and render admirable National Service in one way or another. These may be said "to earn their keep." Many more do not spend all their "unearned" incomes on themselves or their families, but devote some fragments to charities or to new investments of national utility. These portions of the "unearned" incomes may be admitted to be usefully applied. But the greater part of these incomes are consumed in the mere living of the rich without work. And a great number of rich people, men as well as women, do no work of any kind. They render no National Service whatever.

WILL THE SHIRKERS BE MADE TO WORK?

Is it proposed to compel these people to work for their living in the only effective way, namely, by depriving them of their present artificial power of levying tribute on the labour of others—this is, by the Government taking in taxation for the purposes of the nation (with humane allowances for the aged and the helpless), all "unearned" incomes; or, at any rate, raising the Supertax to Nineteen Shillings in the Pound on all such income in excess of, say, a thousand pounds a year? Is this the Law of National Service which it is sought to impose on the country in this time of national peril?

Unfortunately, as we have shown, it is not. The proposed Law—which may any day be suddenly sprung on us, as the Munitions Act was—does not touch "property" at all. It does not interfere with the power of the idle, absentee owner of land or investments to draw, year after year, an income in rent, interest, or dividends from the labours of those who **are** rendering

National Service, without necessarily giving anything to the community in return for this income. The fatal blot in the present demand for a National Service Law is that it is not a demand that those who are at present idling away their lives—living, as they say, on their incomes, which means, of course (seeing that they do not themselves produce anything) on **our** incomes—in this way consuming, to no public use, the food and petrol and personal services which are badly needed elsewhere—should be sternly called upon, at least during the continuance of the War, to work for their own living. What is being demanded is that those who are already working should be compelled to come under military law, in order that a great many of them may be arbitrarily sent to labour in the Munition Works under conditions of Servile Labour.

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Western Mercury. 6.7.16.

7.5.16.

1679B/1

THE NEW APPEAL TRIBUNALS.

Forty Set Up in England and Wales.

WOMEN AND LABOUR MEN TO BE MEMBERS.

Mr. Walter Long, President of the Local Government Board, has circularised chairmen of County Councils and Mayors of County Boroughs asking them to suggest to him the names of persons qualified to serve on the Appeal Tribunals for England and Wales. It will be remembered that the Local Tribunals under the Derby recruiting scheme are appointed by the Local Registration Authorities, and the Appeal Tribunals and the Central Tribunal by his Majesty.

England and Wales are divided into 40 districts, many of them coterminous with the present counties, some consisting of counties grouped, or, in the case of Yorkshire, divided. Mr. Long suggests that in each district comprising more than one of these areas a meeting should take place of the chairman or chairmen of the County Councils and the mayor or mayors of any county boroughs situate within the district for the purpose of compiling a list of suitable persons who could be invited to act on the Appeal Tribunal for the district.

It is intended, he says, that opportunity shall be afforded by the Appeal Tribunals to the parties to any appeal to appear in person if they so desire and the question will arise in each case whether one tribunal will suffice for the district or whether it will be more convenient to have two or possibly more sitting in different places within it. This will depend largely on the size of the district, the density of its population, and its railway facilities. Where one tribunal will suffice, he thinks from 7 to 10 names would be sufficient.

In selecting the names to be submitted, Mr. Long continues, care should be taken to choose persons of judicial and unprejudiced mind and temperament. It is of the highest importance that the tribunal should command the confidence of the community, and, inasmuch as the labouring population will have a large interest in the questions to be determined, it is necessary that a fair proportion of the members of the tribunal should be direct representatives of labour. It will be expedient that at least one member of the tribunal should have had some legal training and experience. Women may be placed upon tribunals with advantage, and representatives of chambers of commerce possessing the necessary qualifications would also be serviceable.

It is not desirable that the names sent in should include those of men of military age who have not been attested or pronounced physically unfit for military service. Members of local tribunals or advisory committees should not be selected unless they are willing to resign their membership of those bodies.

Evening News. 31.5.16.

"COMPULSION FOR WOMEN."

The need for women on the land is becoming acute in some districts.

At a meeting at Newtown the recruiting officer for Montgomeryshire said that one of the principal War Office recruiting officers had told him that before long, when women and boys had been trained, the men would be taken from the land.

The crisis was so important that it was not merely a question of women offering their services on the land; they would have to go.

NEWTON URBAN.

FARMER WHO OBJECTS TO FEMALE LABOUR.

Newton Abbot Urban Tribunal met yesterday, Mr. W. Vicary presiding.

The proprietor of an art marble company, aged 28, married, applied for total exemption. Before the war eight men were employed in the industry, and only one was now left.

In reply to Mr. F. W. Marshall, who appeared for the military authorities, applicant said he personally assisted his father in a packing manufacture business most of the time, and also superintended the marble business. He was also appealing for the man referred to, who was a marble mason, aged 31.—Applicant was granted exemption as long as he continues his present work, and in the other case a month's postponement was allowed.

A dentist said it was impossible to get anyone to carry on his business.

Mr. Marshall: I think he ought to go. He is wanted.—Allowed until August 15.

DID NOT WANT WOMEN.

A general farm labourer's employer said there were 50 acres and seven cows, and this was the only man he had.

Mr. Murrin: Have you got any women on the farm?—No, sir, and don't want them—(laughter). I haven't even got a servant girl, and can't get one.—November 1st.

A married man, aged 23, managing a dairy business for his father, said the latter had broken his leg. His single brother had now joined.

The Chairman: It was agreed that if one went the other should stay.—Exempted whilst continuing his present employment.

An ironmongery firm asked exemption for a manager, the only other man left inside being a deaf clerk.

Replying to a question as to whether he had tried to obtain female help, the employer said women might be able to sell brushes, but not radiators, mangles, and bicycles—it was not like selling paint or cartridges—(laughter).—Fourteen days' postponement allowed, making a month altogether.

A plumber in the same employ who was said to do considerable work for farmers was granted exemption.

APPEAL TO BE LODGED.

Another ironmonger said five of his staff had gone, and he asked exemption for his acting-manager and also a plumber. The latter produced a doctor's certificate of unfitness.

Mr. Marshall elicited that upon attestation he was passed by another doctor.—Three months' postponement was allowed in the first case, and the man about whom the doctors disagreed was exempted whilst continuing the same occupation.

The Urban Electric Supply Company applied for the exemption of a stoker as being in a certified occupation.

The Chairman asked how long he had been in this occupation, and the answer was "seven years at one time and another."

The Chairman: We don't want to know about one time and another. How long have you been here now?—Three weeks this time.

The Manager said it was impossible to get another man in his place.—Granted a month.

The Manager said they would have to take the matter up and go to the Appeal Tribunal.

A youth of eighteen, the chief support of a widowed mother, was given six months' exemption, and told that he could then apply again.

A photographer and boot and shoe salesman with a family of young children, who said he had a lease and his business would have to be closed if he went, was also exempted for six months.

679B/2

Conscription and Conscience

By CLIFFORD ALLEN, (Chairman, N.C.F.)

ONE PENNY
Usual terms for quantities)

From 8 Merton House, Salisbury Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

THE
TRIBUNAL

"Tribunal. A Court of Justice."—Webster's Dictionary.

EDITED BY W. J. CHAMBERLAIN (Hon. Organiser N.C.F.)

The Military Service Act
Fully and Clearly Explained

By PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.

ONE PENNY

From 8 Merton House, Salisbury Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

No. 4 THURSDAY, MARCH 30, 1916 One Halfpenny

The Tribunal
Published by the No-Conscription Fellowship at
8 MERTON HOUSE, SALISBURY COURT, FLEET ST., E.C.
All communications should be addressed to the Editor at above address, and should reach him not later than Monday morning of each week.
Care should be taken to verify all matter sent for publication.

THE GOVERNMENT MOVING

Events have crowded upon each other this week. We have secured a new circular to the Tribunals from the Local Government Board. Mr. Snowden and our other friends in Parliament on Wednesday forced an acknowledgment that the administration of the Act had been a farce and a disgrace. Mr. Lloyd George expressed a desire to avoid a conflict with the Conscientious Objectors, and we are waiting daily for the public appointment of a new Committee to advise the Tribunals, and to provide civil alternative service for those Conscientious Ojectors who desire it.

These are important developments, but the gravity of the position is in no way lessened. Already many Conscientious Objectors have been rejected by the Appeal Tribunals, and quietly await action by the authorities. It is important that the Government should state how it intends to meet the serious dilemma in which it has involved itself. Is a man who was rejected by the Tribunals before the issue of the Local Government Board circular to be arrested and punished, whilst another man is to be reckoned a Conscientious Objector, and free from penalties because his case was heard after the issue of that circular? Is a man to be taken and shot in France because he lived in Glasgow, where the Tribunal refuses to give absolute exemption, and another man to be free from all punishment and be counted a just man because he lived in Edinburgh, where twenty-one absolute exemptions were given in one day?

What is to be the position of men whose cases have been decided before the new Government schemes are announced? Are they to be criminals because their cases have been heard too soon?

Persecution in any case will be a dangerous experiment, but under these circumstances it would be little short of madness.

The Government desires to avoid a conflict with the Conscientious Objector, and many schemes to impose civil alternative service are under its consideration. Whilst rejoicing that our testimony has produced so speedy a result, we must examine these proposals carefully and not for a moment lose sight of the real objective that we seek to attain.

We have always recognised that a decision in this matter must rest with the individual conscience, but we are fully alive to the serious results of accepting conditions, however harmless in themselves, by which we virtually acquiesce in a system of military conscription, and thereby help to fasten upon the nation that very militarism against which our consciences rebel.

Some people are warning us to beware of deciding our policy by "political" considerations. We agree in so far as objection is raised to merely obstructionist methods. We must be confident that we do nothing which places our convictions in a second place to tactics. On the other hand, we should be false indeed if—in order to secure an exemption, conditional upon a service otherwise unobjectionable—we compromised with an Act designed to organise men for fighting or alternative work to facilitate warfare, which we believe to be wrong. If the first line of Conscientious Objectors falter, the task of the anti-militarists in the future will be immeasurably harder.

And, after all, why does Mr. Lloyd George, speaking on behalf of the Government, desire peace with the Conscientious Objector? In order, he states, to secure the harmonious administration of the Act now that it is an Act. Is it for us, then, to secure its harmonious working? If that is Mr. Lloyd George's view of conscience, it is not ours.

Every man amongst us feels, and has long felt, the imperative call to service, but it would be a tragedy if men only answered that call in time of war. We believe that our work for peace is real national service; we yearn for the declaration of peace when we may give of our best to help in binding up what is now being broken; but let it never be supposed that our present daily work offers no chance for service, and let us not confuse free sacrifice for the community with compulsory war service. We are willing to remain usefully employed. We claim the right—provided by the Act—of absolute exemption. If that is refused, there can be no compromise.

CLIFFORD ALLEN.

THE FRIENDS' AMBULANCE UNIT

The following letter has been issued by the Friends' Service Committee to men of military age in the Society of Friends:—

"Many claimants for absolute exemption under the Military Service Act have been asked by the Tribunals to perform work under the direction of the Friends' Ambulance Unit. This suggestion is, apparently, the outcome of a comprehensive scheme of service, other than Ambulance work, drawn up by some members of the F.A.U. Committee. Their arrangement is designed to meet the case of Friends and those closely connected with them, who are willing to accept exemption, conditional on undertaking certain specified work.

It should be understood that this scheme does not come officially from the Society of Friends. Members of the F.A.U. Committee, with whom we have met in conference, tell us they have tried to make this clear in all their negotiations with the Government on the matter.

The scheme does not seem to us in any way to meet the case of those who have claimed absolute exemption. Nor is it without objection for Friends who are willing to accept conditional exemption, for it has the effect of dividing us from others by whom we wish to stand.

In the Military Service Act no distinction is made in favour of Friends, and yet already we have reason to be disquieted by the manner in which the Tribunals are discriminating between Friends and others. By this new arrangement Friends are given preferential treatment, while other conscientious objectors remain directly under War Office control. Friends will remember that the spirit and concern of the Adjourned Yearly Meeting were to unite ourselves to the fullest extent with all conscientious objectors.

Each man must, of course, decide for himself what service he can render. For those who feel with us that they cannot accept work under such conditions as are proposed, we wish to reaffirm our conviction that we, too, are serving the State. Once more we emphasise the all-important service of working towards the attainment of peace and for the removal of international and racial hatreds. This, we maintain, is the highest service we can render to our fellow-men, now and at all times. Whether or not we are exempted by the Tribunals, the stand we have taken and the public testimony we have borne, pledge us in all circumstances of life to demonstrate the way of peace, to meet violence with gentleness, anger with reason."

IT CANNOT BE!

. . . . But is it possible that, having such a need of loving your fellow-men, and a still greater need of being loved by them implanted in your heart; having such strongly-rooted aversion to human suffering, torture, and murder; seeing clearly that the greatest possible happiness accessible to men can be attained only by the acknowledgment of the equality of all men, and by their serving one another; being taught this by your heart, your reason, the faith you profess, being told the same thing even by science—is it possible that, in spite of all this, you should be compelled, on the strength of certain very vague and complex arguments, to act in a way directly contrary to all you know and feel? . . . . Is it possible that you or any other young man should have to do that on which all the evil of the world is founded—to enter the army and, renouncing your own free will and all human feelings, promise, in obedience to the will of superiors, to slaughter all those whom they order you to slaughter?

It cannot be!

—Tolstoy.—

679B/3

WHAT THE APPEAL TRIBUNALS ARE DOING

A TRAVESTY OF JUSTICE

Now that the Appeal Tribunals have begun their work, we are able to appreciate fully the scandalous travesty of justice perpetrated by the Local Tribunals in refusing to give applicants the grounds on which their claims have been disallowed. In the vast majority of cases where the application of a conscientious objector has been refused, the applicant has asked for the reasons for such refusal, only to be met with the curt reply, "We refuse to give our reasons."

These same applicants are now appearing before the Appeal Tribunals, and charges are being made against them by the Local Tribunals—CHARGES WHICH THE APPLICANTS ARE MADE AWARE OF FOR THE FIRST TIME WHEN FACING THE APPEAL TRIBUNAL. As an example of what is happening, we quote the case of a member of the N.C.F., who was refused absolute exemption by the St. Helens Local Tribunal, and appealed against the decision to the Appeal Tribunal at Liverpool. After the appellant's statement had been read, the Chairman read the following report from the St. Helens Tribunal:—

"This man belongs to a group who are coaching men of military age to object to service. He has no religious convictions, and would see his sisters ravished, or the war lost, rather than do anything to help. He is willing to take Government money. He considers himself first and only."

The appellant indignantly denied that he had no religious convictions, and stated that he cycled 20 miles to his church. He also offered to bring witnesses to prove his statement and to testify to his convictions, but the Chairman, after a few questions, announced that the appeal was dismissed, and refused leave to appeal to the Central Tribunal.

Surely this reduces the whole proceedings of the Tribunals to a farce. The worst type of criminal could not be treated in this manner: he, at least, would know the charges to be brought against him, and would be given an opportunity to refute them. Is there no standard of justice, or no laws whatever, to govern the proceedings of the tribunals? Cicero spoke truly when he said, "The laws are silent in the din of arms"!

* *

The above-mentioned appellant is employed by the St. Helens Education Authority as a teacher. The Chairman of the Liverpool Appeal Tribunal (the Lord Mayor) asked him if he taught his children to fear God and honour the King? The appellant, who had previously stated his belief that nationalism was the cause of all wars, replied that he could not conscientiously teach children to honour the King as a King; he would honour the King as a man and gentleman.

Chairman: All the members of this Tribunal would agree with me that the Education Committee at St. Helens should take into serious consideration whether a gentleman who has such views in regard to honouring his King is a proper person to teach the young people of St. Helens. We shall forward this decision to the St. Helens Education Authority.

Will the President of the Local Government Board please communicate with the Lord Mayor of Liverpool immediately, pointing out that neither the Act or the Regulations allow of such amazing conduct on his part?

"No Power to Grant Absolute Exemption."

Before the Surrey Appeal Tribunal.—Appellant: I am not prepared to assist others to take up combatant service.

Chairman: But what power have we to grant you exemption from non-combatant service? You are claiming exemption from combatant and non-combatant service, and the Act states that an exemption may be granted on the grounds of a conscientious objection to combatant service. There is nothing else in the Act that helps you. Your exemption can only be on that ground.

Appellant: I understand that it is quite possible to grant me a complete exemption.

Chairman: Well, the only ground is non-combatant service. There are some cases in which it would be possible to grant a complete exemption, but the circumstances would have to be very, very exceptional.

Appellant: I cannot take part in any service.

Chairman: That has nothing to do with it.

Absolute exemption refused. In giving the decision the Chairman again remarked that "the Act does not permit of exemption from non-combatant duties."

* *

At the West Sussex Appeal Tribunal, on Tuesday, March 21st, the Chairman announced that he had no power to grant absolute exemption to conscientious objectors.

Local Tribunal Decisions Reversed: C.O.'s to Fight.

The chief feature of the proceedings at yesterday's sitting of the Lancashire County Appeal Tribunal at Liverpool was the amendment of the decision of local tribunals recommending non-combatant service in the case of three conscientious objectors AND THE SUBSTITUTION OF COMBATANT SERVICE.

—"Manchester Guardian, 24-3-16.

At the London County Appeal Tribunal, on March 20th, a member of the N.C.F., who is in charge of the Gospel Lifeboat Mission at Peckham, appealed against the decision of the Camberwell Tribunal, which had granted him non-combatant service. The Appeal Tribunal decided to take away the certificate of non-combatant service and recommend appellant for combatant duties. Leave to appeal to the Central Tribunal was refused.

Anything But Fair Treatment.

At the South Staffordshire Appeal Tribunal, on March 17th, nine West Bromwich members of the N.C.F. appealed against the decision of the Local Tribunal. All appeals were refused, and our watcher reports that the appellants received anything but fair treatment. In several cases they were not allowed to finish their statements, and one appellant was pulled away by a police officer in the midst of his remarks to the Chairman. In another case the father of an appellant was refused leave to speak as a witness to his son's belief. Leave to appeal to the Central Tribunal was refused in each case.

Worse Than the Local Tribunal.

Extract from report of proceedings of the Middlesex Appeal Tribunal:—

"The Chairman asked appellant to state his reasons for objecting to non-combatant service. Appellant did so, and the members of the Tribunal were amused at same. Appellant also read a statement giving his reasons for being aggrieved at the decision of the Local Tribunal. The Chairman told appellant to cut his statement short, as there were several more claims to be heard. After a few more questions, the Chairman remarked, "Appeal dismissed." Appellant asked for leave to appeal to Central Tribunal.—Chairman: I refuse permission. Applicant: May I ask for your reasons?—Chairman: I decline to give any reasons.

The general attitude of the Appeal Tribunal was far more prejudiced and biassed against conscientious objectors than that of the Local Tribunal."

Abuse of the Local Tribunal!

According to the "Birmingham Gazette" of March 21st, a letter was read at the Staffordshire Appeal Tribunal, held at Walsall, from an insurance agent, who is a member of the Walsall Board of Guardians, stating, as the ground of his appeal, that the Walsall Tribunal which heard his case was offensive and insolent. The Chairman, he said, asking him why he was skulking there when others were going to fight, and also referred to his conduct as being "pig-headed."

The Clerk to the Appeal Tribunal ruled that this was no ground of appeal, BUT SIMPLY ABUSE OF THE LOCAL TRIBUNAL!

The appeal was disallowed.

MR. AYLMER ROSE BEFORE THE TRIBUNAL.
The Business of His Employer!

Mr. Aylmer Rose, the Organising Secretary to the N.C.F., appeared before Southwark Tribunal on March 21st, claiming absolute exemption on grounds of conscience. The Clerk to the Tribunal was somewhat taken aback when he came to the applicant's description of his occupation. Turning to the Chairman with a gasp of astonishment, he said:

"He says that the business of his employer is 'A Fellowship for common counsel and action of men of enlistment age who are not prepared to bear arms in the event of conscription, whatever the penalties for refusing.'"

In the course of the proceedings the Chairman remarked to the applicant: "And you will do nothing to get your country out of its present difficulties?"

Mr. Rose: No, that is not my position; I AM doing something to get the country out of its difficulties. I advocate peace and oppose militarism, and have always done so."

Chorus from Tribunal: So do we all advocate peace. . . . We all believe in peace. . . . We go the proper way about it. . . .!

Mr. Rose having expressed uncompromising opposition to non-combatant service in any form, the Chairman announced that his application for absolute exemption was refused.

* *

At the Southwark Tribunal, on March 23rd, exemption for six months was granted to 21 single men employed by the Amalgamated Press, Ltd., printers of "Home Chat," "Forget-Me-Not," "Comic Cuts," "Chips"—and other works of national importance!

679B/4

AN URGENT QUESTION FOR MR. LONG

The President of the L.G.B. has acknowledged the truth of the charges we have brought against the tribunals by issuing another circular to them, in which he tells them plainly that they HAVE the power to grant absolute exemption, that they must NOT hold their sittings in private, that they MUST treat conscientious objectors as human beings, and that, generally speaking, they had better begin to put their house in order, and endeavour to administer the Act in the spirit intended by Parliament. All this is to the good.

But what we want to know is, WHAT IS MR. LONG GOING TO DO ABOUT THE DECISIONS ALREADY GIVEN BY THOSE TRIBUNALS, BOTH LOCAL AND APPEAL, WHICH HAVE CLEARLY BEEN TRANSGRESSING BOTH THE LETTER AND THE SPIRIT OF THE ACT?

For instance, among the tribunals which have definitely stated that they had no power to grant absolute exemptions are the following:—Leyton, Montrose, Glasgow, Barrowfoot, Brighouse, Twickenham, the Surrey Appeal Tribunal, and the West Sussex Appeal Tribunal. Each of these tribunals have adjudicated in cases of conscientious objectors who claimed absolute exemption. Will Mr. Long take steps to render null and void all decisions given by these tribunals, and order a new hearing in each case?

Then again, the Mountain Ash Tribunal decided to hear ALL cases in camera, in spite of a petition, signed by 40 applicants, asking for a public hearing. The tribunals at Hull, Doncaster, Sunderland, Swansea, Musselburgh, etc., also sat in private without good reasons for so doing. Are the decisions arrived at in these circumstances to hold good? And if a conscientious objector can prove that the Chairman, or any member of a tribunal, called him a traitor, a coward, a lunatic, a cad, or said he ought to be shot, or put on the point of a German bayonet, or made use of any similar pleasantry, will Mr. Long consider that sufficient evidence of bias and annul the decision given by such a tribunal?

MR. LONG'S NEW CIRCULAR.

The following are extracts from the new L.G.B. circular issued on March 23rd to Local and Appeal Tribunals:—

"It has been represented to Mr. Long that in some cases at least Local Tribunals, in dealing with applications on grounds of conscientious objection to the undertaking of combatant service, have seemed to be under the impression that the only form of exemption which could be given in such cases is an exemption from combatant duties only. If this is so, the Tribunals have overlooked Section 2 (3) of the Act, which provides THAT ANY CERTIFICATE OF EXEMPTION, INCLUDING ONE ON CONSCIENTIOUS GROUNDS, MAY BE ABSOLUTE, conditional, or temporary, and in regard to exemption on conscientious grounds, indicates that such exemptions may also either take the form of an exemption from combatant service only, or may be a total exemption from military service conditional on the applicant being engaged in some work which in the opinion of the Tribunal dealing with the case is of national importance.

Some Tribunals are alleged to have subjected applicants to a somewhat harsh cross-examination with respect to the grounds of their objection. It is, of course, necessary that the Tribunal should satisfy themselves of the bona fides of an applicant and of the precise grounds and nature of his objection, but it is desirable that enquiries should be made with tolerance and impartiality. In this connection reference may be made to paragraph 16 of Mr. Long's circular letter of 3rd February.

In a few cases complaints have been made that Tribunals have decided to conduct ALL their hearings in private. Mr. Long desires to point out that, under the Regulations and Instructions, it is not competent to a Tribunal so to act. Reference may be made to paragraph 4 of Section II. of the Regulations and paragraph 6 of Section II. of the Instructions."

WHAT IS HAPPENING AT WESTMINSTER

TUESDAY, MARCH 21st.

We Breathe Again!

Mr. Peto asked the Home Secretary whether his attention had been called to the announcement of intended concerted action by the National Council of the I.L.P., the National Committee of the No-Conscription Fellowship, the Society of Friends, and the Fellowship of Reconciliation to obstruct the operation of the Military Service Act, 1916; and whether he had found that the action of these associations or any of them goes outside the immunity granted to persons and associations to advocate the repeal of the Military Service Act, 1916; and, if so, what action he proposed to take in the matter?

Mr. Samuel: I have not seen the announcement referred to, and HAVE NOT YET OBSERVED ANY ILLEGAL ACTION BY THESE BODIES WHICH WOULD CALL FOR MEASURES ON MY PART.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 22nd.

Mr. Snowden's Smashing Indictment.

In the debate on the Consolidated Fund Bill, Mr. Snowden created a sensation in the House by his powerful and absolutely unanswerable indictment of the proceedings of the tribunals. He quoted case after case of insult, bullying, and injustice on the part of the tribunals—cases such as we have been drawing attention to in our columns in every issue—and not one of these were refuted by the Government. He described the treatment meted out to conscientious objectors by the tribunals as "nothing short of an outrage and a public scandal." Speaking of the determination of the conscientious objector, Mr. Snowden declared: ". . . . I say in all seriousness that I know these young fellows, and there are hundreds and thousands of them; these men are the present-day type of those men to whom we owe all the liberties we have to-day. They are men who are prepared to go to the scaffold for the sake of their principles. They are men who, without a quiver, will stand against the wall and face the muskets of the soldiers rather than be conscripted into an army against their conscientious views."

Mr. Long and the Death Penalty.

In the course of his reply to Mr. Snowden, Mr. Long said: I am asked two legal questions. One question is, whether the death penalty is to be imposed in regard to a conscientious objector who refuses to have anything to do with military service. Most certainly not. The section of the Act is perfectly clear, which indicates that the death penalty shall not be inflicted upon a man who is called up from the Reserve, and who refuses to go. Then I am asked, is the death penalty to be inflicted in France? I do not follow the case. The man has gone. He may have protested, but, surely, if he is going to give active resistance, his active resistance will be in this country before he goes to France. I TAKE IT THAT A CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR WHO SAYS, "IT IS AGAINST MY CONSCIENCE TO HAVE ANY CONNECTION WITH MILITARY SERVICE," WILL REFUSE TO PUT ON HIS UNIFORM. You are not going to send him to France in plain clothes.

The N.C.F. Hon. Organiser Exposed!

At Ruddington Tribunal, a member of the N.C.F., in reply to an enquiry, mentioned the fact that Mr. W. J. Chamberlain was the Hon. Organiser of the Fellowship.

Member of Tribunal: Perhaps it is the renegade Englishman named Chamberlain who is in Germany plotting against England!

The Military Representative's Tribute.

When our Cardiff Secretary appeared before the Llandaff Tribunal, he made an obvious impression upon the military representative (General Lee).

Said the General: He is the best example of a conscientious objector we have had. I detest these fellows from the bottom of my heart, but when listening to this chap, he struck me as being as near a conscientious objector as one can be.

Absolute exemption refused.

Was He Coached?

Mr. J. P. Fletcher, a member of the National Committee of the N.C.F. was granted absolute exemption on grounds of conscience by the York Tribunal. The military representative has appealed against the decision. The following is a copy of this gentleman's grounds of appeal:—

"Do not consider this man should have absolute exemption from Military Service. His main objection was to compulsory service in any form. Not considered a matter of conscience, but the fact is he does not like to be under the Military Authorities."

Did the military representative fill up his appeal form unaided, or was he coached?

6798/5

PUBLIC OPINION

The Bishop of Oxford's Warning.

The following letter from the Bishop of Oxford appeared in "The Times" on March 16th, 1916:—

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE TIMES."

Sir,—I do not hold the views of those who are seeking exemption from military service on grounds of conscientious objection to war under any circumstances. I can quite believe (though I have no evidence of it) that some of those who take this ground may really be shirkers. But I know one or two men personally (not members of the Church of England) who, I am sure, are not shirkers, men whom you might accuse of fanaticism but never of cowardice or stupidity. I think these men have not been treated by the tribunals with sufficient respect. I feel sure that they will be driven to passive resistance, and that, whatever punishment is finally meted out to them, they will take it gladly. But 10 cases of punishment for conscience' sake would establish their cause with very many who are deaf to their reasonings. I am venturing to write this because I think that the appeal tribunals, while discriminating as severely as necessary, had better be more respectful where there is good evidence of conscientious conviction, however unreasonable the conviction seems to the tribunal, as to me, to be.

I am, Sir, Yours, etc.,
C. OXON.

Cuddesdon, March 14th.

* *

Free Church Council Committee's Protest.

On Friday, 24th inst., the General Committee of the Free Church Council passed the following resolution by a unanimous vote, moved by Dr. Clifford, seconded by Dr. Garvie: "This Committee records its strong disapproval of the recruiting injustices which have taken place in various parts of the country, and urges on the Government the necessity of insisting that the provisions of the Military Service Act, intended to safeguard the liberty of the conscience, should not be invalidated by the decisions of local tribunals."

* *

A Legal Criticism of the Tribunals.

We quote the following from the "Solicitors' Journal and Weekly Reporter," of March 18th:—

"The case of the conscientious objector has been equally misunderstood by the tribunals, and so obviously that the Bishop of Oxford has been moved to protest in a letter to the 'Times' of Thursday. And yet both the statute and the Local Government Board circular—very conveniently printed in Chitty's Statutes for 1916, 'Express Service' Edition, Part I.—are quite clear. The statute speaks of 'conscientious' objection merely, without reference to any form of religious belief, and the circular points out that 'whatever may be the views of the members of the tribunals, they must interpret the Act in an impartial and tolerant spirit. Difference of convictions must not bias judgment.' So far as we can judge, many members of local tribunals decline to recognise that there can be any conscientious objection to participation in warfare, and they have attempted to browbeat applicants in the style of the seventeenth century. They forget that conscientious objection is, neither in fact nor under the statute, dependent on religious belief; and that the existence of conscientious objectors has to be accepted without cavilling. It is the duty of the tribunals to administer the Act impartially, remembering that the exemption clauses have been introduced for the express purpose of preventing the claims of the Army from being carried too far. . . ."

* *

"A Very Grave Scandal Indeed."

From a leading article in the "Daily Chronicle" on March 24th:

". . . . We disagree totally from Mr. Snowden's views regarding the war; but no one can read the tremendous array of recruiting injustices which he recounted to the House of Commons on Wednesday (of which not one was refuted, while many as bad, or even worse, were brought forward by subsequent speakers), without realising that we are here in face of a very grave scandal indeed, one for which those responsible in ordinary time could not survive many hours. It is natural that all over the country a great amount of indignation should hesitate to show itself in normal ways. But it is there; and it is not too much to say that the grosser military irregularities—the browbeating of men by deliberate mis-statements of the law, the cheating of some, the kidnapping of others, the continuance of the monstrous impressment of the medically unfit, and the open exhibitions of political partisanship—are bearing fruit which deserves a more serious place in the calculations of serious statesmen than any ephemeral newspaper cries. Nor, we think, will any serious statesman, with the actual record of the local tribunals before him—their inconsistency, their uneven hand, their frank and avowed illegalities, and their general failure to give any reasoned and unprejudiced consideration to difficult cases or business needs—be disposed to devolve further decisions of national consequence upon them. . . ."

* *

A Plea for Courtesy.

We believe the conscientious objectors to military service are wrong in their views, but that does not blind us to the fact that the Military Service Act concedes the right for their applications to be heard and decided on their merits, and the applicants are entitled to courteous treatment. In these circumstances, we note with the deepest regret the reception accorded a conscientious objector before the Castle Donington District Tribunal, on Saturday. Mr. W. P. Woolley, in his zeal for the reputation of Kegworth, is reported as saying: "That this man should come here with such a plea is a scandalous disgrace to the parish," while the Chairman, after telling the applicant that he had come to the Tribunal with lies, observed: "The country would be well rid of such as you." Two members of the Tribunal entered a protest against the Chairman's observations, and we hope more will be heard of the matter, if necessary by a question in Parliament.

—"The Leicester Daily Post," 20-3-16.

* *

At Least Entitled to Respect.

". . . . Many of those who have a conscientious objection to conscientious objectors are content to dismiss them, in the words of the Scotchman, as 'You peetiful dribblets o' damnation,' or terms of similar approbrium. . . . Men who sincerely and genuinely put conscience first are at least entitled to respect, for they are prepared to appear before a public court, in defence of their belief, in face of the unpopularity which that course involves. . . ."

—"The Mid-Devon and Newton Times," 18-3-16.

OUR ADVICE COLUMN

Legal Expenses.

With reference to the advice previously given in this column regarding the use of local solicitors, we would point out that, wherever possible, we desire all expenses incurred in this way to be met locally. In cases where the financial condition of the branch does not allow of this being done, Head Office will, of course, consider the matter of making a grant.

Local Agitation.

We shall be glad to hear from branches who may have decided upon various schemes of local agitation. By being kept in touch with the methods adopted we shall be better able to advise other branches who may be desirous of ascertaining what is being done elsewhere. One branch may have adopted a scheme which could be worked effectively by every other branch. We want to hear about it, and to pass it on.

Our Latest Circular.

If any member has not received a copy of the circular dated March 23rd, he should at once write to his Divisional Secretary.

Recruiting Officer's Wire to Local Tribunal.

At the Hinckley Local Tribunal, on March 21st, the Clerk announced that a telegram had been received from the local Recruiting Officer, Capt. Stephenson, requesting them to grant no total exemptions.

How Robert Reasoned with a Ruffian.

"I have found the wildest and the lowest amenable to reason and kindness. One of the greatest ruffians in the regiment once spoke rudely to me in camp, and even threatened me. I was then a lance-corporal, and a mere boy. I sat down and talked to the bruiser quietly for a few minutes, and from that day he would have done anything for me."

No, this is NOT a reply by a conscientious objector to the usual "What would you do if a German ruffian threatened your mother?" but a quotation from Robert Blatchford's "Not Guilty"!

TO OUR MEMBERS.

It is essential that every member of the N.C.F. should read the "Tribunal," which can be obtained from Branch Secretaries. Only in cases where this is impossible should it be ordered direct from Head Office, when a penny stamp should be enclosed with order.

You MUST read the "LABOUR LEADER." Every Thursday. One penny.

NATIONAL LABOUR PRESS LTD., 74 SWINTON STREET, LONDON W.C.

Leeds Mercury.
2.5.16.

THE TRIBUNALS AND FEMALE LABOUR.

MANUFACTURERS' PROBLEMS IN COLNE VALLEY

The Appeal Tribunal for the East Central District of the West Riding, which comprises the areas of the Huddersfield and Saddleworth Unions, met at Huddersfield yesterday, Mr. T. Norton, Blagden Hall, presided.

A firm of film producers appealed against the decision of the Huddersfield Tribunal on a claim for exemption in respect of their manager, a single man. The appeal was dismissed.

A firm of Holme Valley manufacturers appealed on behalf of two piecers, who are engaged on night work.

A representative of the firm said that they could not get men, and women could not do night work.

Mr. E. J. Bruce, a member of the Tribunal who is a manufacturer, said that in the Colne Valley there were between thirty and forty women who had come from East Coast towns. They were engaged learning that class of work in the day time, and when proficient they would do night work.

The Tribunal allowed the firm six weeks in which to replace the men with women.

MORE WOMEN LABOUR

One firm of Longwood manufacturers had before the Huddersfield Military Service Tribunal, yesterday, twenty-nine applications for the exemption of employees. Incidentally the question of the importation of female labour from the East Riding and other districts was raised.

The representative of the Longwood firm said they could spare twenty men chiefly from the spinning department, in which there was a chance of female labour being substituted for them. Some imported labour had already been engaged, but this did not help them in the finishing and dyeing departments, which were absolutely "tied up."

The Mayor (Alderman Blamires) said the difficulties the firm would encounter would not be light, as the women who had come from a distance had never seen a mill before, and, probably, they would be frightened at first. They would not get accustomed to the noise for a month.

Twenty of the men were passed by the Tribunal for service; the applications for the men remaining were adjourned six weeks.

A QUESTION OF BADGES

At a sitting of the Keighley Military Service Tribunal, yesterday, Mr. A. Liddemore asked what was to be done in respect of two men who now turned out to be in possession of Ministry of Munitions badges.

The Military Representative (Mr. J. W. Morkill), referring to the newspaper correspondence on the subfect, said that the only thing was to raise the question again, as with the badges themselves they could do nothing as a Tribunal.

The Chairman (Ald. J. W. Smith) said that it was understood that the Ministry of Munitions had written a letter, but the Tribunal had received no communication.

Mr. Morkill said he proposed to ask the Ministry of Munitions for a copy of the letter which Mr. Beadman had written to him, and say that he was not satisfied that these men ought to be badged, and, further, to ask on what grounds he had badged them.

Canon Russell said the Tribunal would take its own course, and pay no attention to the letter in the newspaper.

Mr. Morkill said later on that munitions employers had agreed to the "combing out" of a number of single men, but the latter might urge any personal pleas.

The Tribunal spent a good deal of time in investigating these. In several cases applicants who did not appear were referred for immediate service.

"THANK GOODNESS FOR THAT"

After a young elementary school teacher had appealed at Hull, yesterday, for total exemption from military service, the Chairman (Dr. H. Woodhouse) expressed the hope that the applicant did not attempt to promulgate his views at the school.

Applicant: "No, I simply teach the curriculum."

The Chairman: "Thank goodness for that."

Asked what he was willing to do in the interests of his country, the applicant said that he was prepared to continue the work in which he was engaged.

He was granted exemption from combatant service conditional upon him undertaking work in the national interests.

Yorkshire Post.
16.4.16.

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NORTH RIDING APPEAL TRIBUNAL.

FARMERS AND WOMEN'S LABOUR.

The Appeal Tribunal for the North Riding of Yorkshire, and the County Boroughs of York and Middlesbrough, sat at the Town Hall, Scarborough, yesterday, under the chairmanship of Sir Henry Beresford-Peirse, Bart. The other members present included Alderman Vernon Wragge, York, and Alderman V. Fowler, Scarborough.

An interesting application was that of a Scarborough firm of wholesale stationers and printers, who applied on behalf of an estimate clerk whom they claimed possessed highly technical knowledge. It would, it was stated, be impossible to replace this man. The head of the firm stated that the firm had now £3,000 worth of work captured from the Germans. The clerk was acquainted with all those matters. The works, which employed 160 people, could not be kept going unless they had this clerk.

The appeal was dismissed, and leave to appeal was refused.

In another case Mr. John Whitfield, who appeared for the appellant, an attested married man, said the man attested because otherwise he was led to believe he would have no power to appeal. He thought Tribunals were to be set up to consider such cases.

Alderman Vernon Wragge: You had better wait and see. We cannot consider a nebulous Tribunal.

The military representative appealed against an exemption granted to a Whitby grocer's traveller.

The employer said that if the man went they would have to drop the most difficult journey.

The Military Representative: People can come and give their orders at Whitby, or they can be supplied with printed postcards on which to write their orders.

Alderman Wragge: Would that not be restricting the business?

Another Member: I should say it would be handing the business over to someone else.

The employer said his contention was that the man could serve his country better as a civilian than as a soldier.

The previous exemption was until October 1st, and it was now reduced until July 1st.

In another case the representative of the Board of Agriculture deplored the fact that farmers of the district did not take advantage of women labour.

In the appeal of a Scarborough dentist, who had numerous patients in the country district, the Tribunal granted a further extension of one month, expiring on June 14th.

Nottingham Guardian.
27.9.16

WOMEN ON FARMS.

LOCAL AGRICULTURAL OFFICER'S SUGGESTION.

The Mansfield Woodhouse Tribunal had before them, last evening, a letter from the Assistant Agricultural Organising Officer at Nottingham, who drew attention to the fact that there were women available for farm work from the training centres at Welbeck and Colston Bassett. They were training in poultry, milking, feeding, cleaning out stock, and horse work, and also, if required, butter-making. After a week in residence, those who were not considered likely to do good work, were eliminated, and, therefore, he had every confidence in requesting the tribunal, where possible, to recommend them to farmers who came before them.

All those whom they had already placed were giving every satisfaction. He would also be glad to know the views of the Tribunal upon the necessity for farm work in the ensuing six months, as one would wish to shape one's policy in encouraging girls to take up this work, with regard to the possibility of employment.

The tribunal made no answer to the last paragraph.

Birmingham Post
27. 3. 16

FINED FOR BAD TIME-KEEPING.

At the Birmingham Munitions Tribunal yesterday, Professor Tillyard presiding, the case was enquired into of a young woman employed at a controlled factory, who was accused of bad time-keeping. The case had been before the Tribunal on March 28, and was then adjourned to give the young woman an opportunity of keeping better time. A statement put in by the firm, however, showed that she had not done so. The girl averred that she was "fed up" with the place.

A fine of 15s. was imposed, to be paid in six weekly instalments, and the Chairman suggested that at the end of that time the firm should grant a permit.

The representative of the firm agreed; and the Chairman pointed out to the girl that the alternative was to stay out of work six weeks. If she did so she would probably experience difficulty in securing other employment, and would still have to pay the fine.

Daily Mail
5. 4. 16

WOMAN'S WAR WEALTH.

£3 18s. A WEEK GIVEN UP TO HUNT FOR MORE.

A woman munition worker before the Coventry Tribunal yesterday asked to leave her work because she was not earning enough. She said that in Birmingham she got not less than £3 18s. a week.

The Chairman: Why did you leave?

The Trade Union Secretary: She was told that the Coventry streets were paved with gold, but she earns less here than in Birmingham.

The court refused a certificate till she gave the work another trial.

Daily Graphic
1. 12

WOMEN'S WORK IN WAR.

TRIBUNAL'S HIGH PRAISE FOR THEIR SERVICES.

Sir Ian Heathcote Amory, chairman of the Devon Appeal Tribunal, made strong remarks yesterday directed against milk-sellers.

In his town of 10,000 inhabitants there was, he said, the equivalent of 20 men, whose business it was to work on the land, coming into the town each day for several hours peddling milk from house to house. It should be sufficient that milk was brought into the town and, perhaps, deposited in certain depots, to which people could go. Either that, or women could be found to take milk carts around.

Nothing a Woman Cannot Do.

This same point, about woman's capacity for work, came up at the City of London Appeal Tribunal, when an appeal was made for a young man engaged solely in cutting and designing underclothing and blouses. A girl had been tried and had proved, it was said, a hopeless failure.

"I do not think," observed a member, referring to munitions work, "there is anything a woman cannot do."

A month's exemption was granted.

Yorkshire Observer.
9. 10. 16
6798/7

LEEDS MUNITIONS TRIBUNAL.

A sitting of the General Munitions Tribunal for the Leeds district of the Yorkshire and East Midlands Division was held at the Leeds Town Hall on Saturday. Sir Alfred Hopkinson, K.C., presided, and the assessors were Mr. Joseph Henry (employers' panel) and Alderman Arthur Taylor (workmen's panel).

A. Kershaw & Son, Limited, scientific instrument makers, summoned Messrs. Rose & Co., provision merchants, for giving employment to a person employed by the complainants within the previous six weeks and not discharged by them. The employee was a married woman who had been in the complainants' service for two days as an overlooker. She stayed away for three weeks to attend to her husband, who, she said, was ill, and later it was found that she was working for Messrs. Rose.

The Chairman said there was a good deal of excuse for the defendants. The woman had left her previous employment, which only lasted two days, three weeks before, and when the defendants found out where she had come from they suggested that she should return. In view of the excuse that the defendants had, they would only be fined 10s. At the same time the tribunal wished to emphasise the duty of employers to make inquiries before engaging persons who had been employed on munitions work.

Mr. W. D. Perkins, proprietor of the firm of Messrs. Lee & Wilson, confectioners, Harehills, Leeds, was the defendant in a case brought by Messrs. Greenwood & Batley, who alleged that he had given employment to a woman who had left their service without notice. The defendant said his wife engaged the employee, who told her that she did not like the work at the munitions factory. At that time he did not know that it was illegal to employ a person within six weeks of leaving a munition works unless the person had been discharged or had a leaving certificate.

On behalf of the complainant firm it was stated that they would be satisfied if the woman returned to work out a week's notice. Such a course would have a wholesome disciplinary effect.

The Chairman said the tribunal had no power to order the woman to go back to the factory, and he was advised that if they had it would not be desirable, in the interests of discipline, to exercise it. In this case the light penalty of £1 would be imposed. Employers were warned, however, that in cases where there was deliberate breaking of the law with regard to the employment of munition workers the tribunal would not shrink from doing its duty to protect controlled establishments.

The Star.
17. 11. 16

VERMIN KILLING.

Women Refuse Work in Holds of Liners.

At the Southwark Tribunal Messrs. D. and L. Phillips, vermin destroyers, of Blackfriars-road, applied for the exemption of five employees, two of whom had been passed for general service.

A solicitor stated that these men specialised in the destruction of rats and cockroaches. The firm could not get women to do the work, although they advertised extensively and received hundreds of applications. When the women were told the nature of the work, however, they refused to take it. The work was carried on in the holds of liners.

The Mayor: Would not these men be more usefully employed killing vermin in the trenches.

The Solicitor: That is an open question.

Three months' extension was granted in the cases of three of the men, but the claims on behalf of the two who were passed for general service were refused.

Worcester Times. 29.8.16

COUNTY WAR AGRICULTURAL COMMITTEE.

"Objectors" and Farm Work.

Monday, at the Shirehall. Present: Mr. T. W. Parkes (Chairman), Mr. J. W. Willis Bund, Viscountess Deerhurst, Lady Isabel Margesson, Lady Barbara Smith, the Hon. Mary Pakington, Miss Day, Major Reddie, Dr. H. E. Dixey, Miss Micholls, Messrs. H. C. Gardner, R. V. Berkeley, J. Faulkner, W. H. Gabb, A. de C. Wilson, T. Lawson Walker, G. Vernon, J. W. Dee, A. Allsebrook, Frank Smith.

A communication was received from the Committee on Work of National Importance stating that at the reques of a large number of Tribunals throughout the county they had already been instrumental in placing several hundreds of men in farms, market gardens, and fruit growing centres. The experience of the Committee had been that, while there had been a feeling of prejudice against the employment of conscientious objectors, there were at the same time many farmers who recognised that their services should be properly directed to the land, and several hundreds had already been so employed. The Committee, with the concurrence of the Board of Agriculture, asked for the names of any farmers or market gardeners who would be likely to consider favourably the employment of such men.

Mr. Willis Bund said he did not like to say anything against the employment of these people, but he thought a man ought not to do better by being a conscientious objector than a man who was not. If they refused to fight, and wanted work, he must be given work at very little higher wages than he would get in the Army, and it must be hard work. These people had been flattering themselves that they had got off, but he hoped if they were taken on in this country, it would be on the distinct understanding that they were made to work at less wages than the agricultural labourer.

Mr. Dee said he hoped they would put it as strongly as they could. He would send these men to the front to put up barbed wire entanglements. How could they expect farmers, many of whom had sons fighting, to employ such men? If they brought some of these men to work alongside him he would "down tools."

The Chairman said personally he did not hold out any encouragement to such men, but he would bow to the wishes of the Committee. He thought they might reply that the farmers of Worcestershire would not be favourably inclined towards the employment of these men.

Dr. Dixey moved a resolution to this effect, which was seconded by Mr. Gabb, and carried.

PURCHASE OF WOOL.

The Staffordshire War Agricultural Committee wrote enclosing a resolution calling the attention of the Government to the widespread dissatisfaction felt with the arrangements made for the commandeering of the wool and hay, and the price paid for it. The Staffordshire Committee expressed the opinion that its work was being rendered migatory by the action of the War Office.

The Chairman, referring to the purchase of wool, said the regulations laid it down, after inspecting the wool, 75 per cent. of its value would be paid by the Government, and the balance when the final valuation had been made, and that the final inspection of the wool should be made in the merchants' warehouses. He contended that the final examination should be made on the flockmaster's premises in the presence of the farmer, and not 200 miles away where the farmer had no means of rectifying it. He moved that the Committee represent to the War Office that all rejections of wool should be made on the farmer's premises.

Mr. Gabb seconded, and Mr. Dee supported.

Mr. Willis Bund said he should like to support it, but he was personally interested. He had some land in Wales, where the tenants kept between 6,000 and 7,000 sheep, and they had written to him to say that until they settled with the Government they could not pay their rent. (Laughter.)

Mr. Gardner said he could not see what remedy the wool growers would have if they saw the wool inspected. The valuation of the Government was absolute, and they had to take the price. Personally, he did not think farmers had much to quarrel about in the matter of the price, but as Mr. Willis Bund pointed out, it had the effect of hanging up a certain amount of money.

With regard to hay, Mr. Faulkner complained that farmers would get less for their crop than last year.

Mr. Walker said Mr. Faulkner was under a misapprehension. The Produce Committee of the county had the power of fixing the maximum price. Last year the maximum price was £5, this year it was £6. The Committee had had a few grievances, which they had dealt with, and if Mr. Faulkner had any grievance the Produce Committee would be pleased to deal with it.

INSURANCE AND CASUAL LABOUR.

A communication from the Warwickshire War Agricultural Committee stated that they had written to the Board of Agriculture pointing out that farmers did not object to pay the insurance contributions of women who were liable, provided they were entitled to some benefit in return, but they protested against the injustice of claiming contributions when it was perfectly obvious that the women for whom they were paid would receive no benefit.

The Chairman said they were bound to pay these contributions, but why farmers or anyone else should be called upon to insure more or

Birmingham Daily Mail. 29.8.16 679.10. 679B/8

FARMERS AND CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS.

A meeting of the Worcestershire War Agricultural Committee was held at the Shire Hall, Worcester, yesterday, Mr. T. W. Parkes presiding. A communication was received from the Committee on Work of National Importance, asking to be supplied with the names of farmers or market gardeners who would employ conscientious objectors.

Mr. Willis Bund said he did not like to say anything against the employment of these people, but if they would not fight the work they did must be hard work, and at very little higher wages than they would get as soldiers.

A resolution was eventually carried that the committee were of opinion that the farmers of Worcestershire were not favourably inclined towards the employment of such men.

The Hon. Mary Pakington presented a report of the Sub-committee for Women's Work on the Land, which stated that the organisation now covered the whole county. There were only thirty-two parishes from which no returns had been sent in; 4,209 women had registered.

Miss Day (organiser for the county) stated that of the counties in England Worcester was the third in regard to the number of women who had registered, Norfolk being first with over 5,000, and Suffolk second with 4,500.

Sheffield Daily Telegraph. 22.9.16.

LINDSEY POULTRY DEALER AND WOMAN LABOUR.

A Thorpe St. Peter's poultry and coal-dealer, appealed at the Lindsey Appeal Tribunal, yesterday, on behalf of a married assistant (27). He stated that he was the only man he had left, and he dressed 500 to 600 head of poultry a week. At the outbreak of the war the appellant employed 10 men.

The Chairman (Mr. A. C. Newsum) asked if the appellant employed any women, and a reply was given in the negative.

The Chairman: Is egg collecting too difficult for women?

Mr. J. D. Blanchard: Or poultry dressing?

The appeal was dismissed.

A Lincoln builder (36), with an invalid wife, applied for an exemption on condition that he worked on munitions at such time as he could.

The Court granted the application, providing a single man from the works could be set at liberty for the Army.

Captain Marris (the military representative) said that would mean the man would have to give up the whole of his time to the work.

The Chairman agreed.

A Waddington fruit farmer (39), who also described himself as a market gardener, attested, appealed for exemption. He stated that he had an orchard of five acres, which he had possessed for about 12 years. He also grew oats and vegetables. He was married and had three children. His wife was very delicate.

Mr. E. Scorer, on behalf of the appellant, said his client spent two years in being trained, and he practised most up-to-date and scientific fruit cultivation.

Captain Marris elicited from the appellant that he possessed means and owned a motor-car, and Captain Marris suggested that he was not setting a good example to others.

The Tribunal unanimously dismissed the appeal and declined to grant leave to further appeal, the Chairman remarking that the property would improve during the appellant's absence, if the necessary pruning was done.

Mr. Scorer asked that the appellant might be granted a short time in which to gather his fruit.

Captain Marris: He should sell the trees as they stand to clear off.

Mr. Scorer: Perhaps you could tell us who would buy?

Captain Marris: I could find you a man who would buy it, only it is not part of my work.

The Court declined the request.

An appeal by the Greetwell Drainage Commissioners for an assistant engineman and drainage labourer (36), married, was not entertained, the Tribunal suggesting that the Commissioners should find a substitute not of military age.

had written to the Board of Agriculture pointing out that farmers did not object to pay the insurance contributions of women who were liable, provided they were entitled to some benefit in return, but they protested against the injustice of claiming contributions when it was perfectly obvious that the women for whom they were paid would receive no benefit.

The Chairman said they were bound to pay these contributions, but why farmers or anyone else should be called upon to insure more or less casual labour, and in the case of accident get no benefit, he did not know.

The letter was referred to the County Insurance Committee.

The Board of Agriculture wrote that the Army Council were placing 27,000 soldiers at the disposal of agriculturists for harvest work. The number allotted to this district was 225, and application should be made to Warwick.

In connection with this matter, a report was presented by Mr. Roberts, of the Worcester Labour Exchange, and

The Chairman said the Committee had been very greatly helped by the local Military Authorities. He expressed the gratitude of the Committee to Col. Edwards and Col. Winnington especially. Col. Edwards, Mr. Roberts, and he had been given very wide powers, and they had done their best for the welfare of the county, and it was no fault of theirs they had not done better.

THE WORK OF THE WOMEN.

The Hon. Mary Pakington presented a report of the Sub-Committtee for organising women's work on the land. This stated that the organisation now covered the entire county, and there were only 32 parishes from which no returns had been sent in. The parishes canvassed numbered 165, farmers registered 568, women registered 4 299. Of these women 107 received instruction under the County Council scheme; 1,380 armlets had been applied for and issued.

The Chairman said the Committee had done exceedingly well. They had shown a much better record that the County Committee were able to show.

Mr. Walker endorsed these remarks. He did not know what they would have done in their district without lady workers.

Miss Day said Worcestershire was the third county in England. Norfolk came first with 5,000 women registered, and Suffolk second with 4 500.

The Clerk presented a report by the Executive Committee which stated inter alia that the Headmasters of Malvern College and the King's School, Worcester, had made arrangements whereby gangs of schoolboys had been made available for work in the fields. The Committee had recommended the names of representatives of the Board of Agriculture on the various Tribunals in the county. The report also dealt with unsuccessful efforts to secure a steam tractor.

Mr. Allsebrook stated that Lady Barbara Smith had a steam tractor working on her home farm, which would be at the disposal of farmers in the district.

A discussion took place on the question of the arrangements made for women to take part in competitions at the annual show of the Knightwick and District Farmers' Club on October 10th.

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679B/9

CRANKS and COMMONSENSE

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TRIBUNAL

"*Tribunal. A Court of Justice.*"—Webster's Dictionary.

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THE EXTREMIST

The peace-crank is not by any means such a modern production as is generally supposed, and the fact that people to-day are regarding the opinions of the pacifist with such surprise, as something unknown before, is proof of the need of propaganda. It is close on three centuries since George Fox underwent imprisonment rather than join the Army, and since William Penn made his successful experiment in pacifism amongst the Red Indians, which we describe in another part of this issue.

Seventy years ago Emerson, in an essay on war, gave an admirable reply to some of the questions which beset us to-day, and incidentally emphasises the need for a positive and active attitude on the part of those who oppose war, as against the passive and negative attitude with which pacifism is too often associated. We reproduce the following extract from his essay, as reprinted in the Malton Leaflets No. 6, entitled "The Chivalry of Peace":

If you go for no war, then be consistent, and give up self-defence in the highway, in your own house. Will you push it thus far? Will you stick to your principle of non-resistance when your strong-box is broken open, when your wife and babies are insulted and slaughtered in your sight?

If you say yes, you only invite the robber and assassin, and a few bloody-minded desperadoes would soon butcher the good.

In reply to this charge of absurdity on the extreme peace doctrine, as shown in the supposed consequences, I wish to say that such deductions consider only one half of the fact. They look only at the passive side of the friend of peace, only at his passivity; they quite omit to consider his activity. But no man, it may be presumed, ever embraced the cause of peace and philanthropy for the sole end and satisfaction of being plundered and slain. A man does not come the length of the spirit of martyrdom without some active purpose, some equal motive, some flaming love. If you have a nation of men who have risen to that height of moral cultivation that they will not declare war or carry arms, for they have not so much madness left in their brains, you have a nation of lovers, of benefactors, of true, great and able men. Let me know more of that nation; I shall not find them defenceless, with idle hands springing at their sides. I shall find them men of love, honour and truth; men of an immense industry; men whose influence is felt to the ends of the earth; men whose very look and voice carry the sentence of honour and shame; and all forces yield to their energy and persuasion. Whenever we see the doctrine of peace embraced by a nation, we may be assured it will not be one that invites injury; but one, on the contrary, which has a friend in the bottom of the heart of every man, even of the violent and the base; one against which no weapon can prosper; one which is looked upon as the asylum of the human race and has the tears and the blessings of mankind.

In the second place, as far as it respects individual action in difficult and extreme cases, I will say, such cases seldom or never occur to the good and just man; nor are we careful to say, or even to know, what in such crises is to be done.

A wise man will never impawn his future being and action and decide beforehand what he shall do in a given extreme event. Nature and God will instruct him in that hour.

The question naturally arises, How is this new aspiration of the human mind to be made visible and real? How is it to pass out of thoughts into things? . . . . This is not to be carried by public opinion, but by private opinion, by private conviction, by private, dear and earnest love. For the only hope of this cause is in the increased insight and it is to be accomplished by the spontaneous teaching, of the cultivated soul, in its secret experience and meditation—that it is now time that it should pass out of the state of beast into the state of man; it is to hear the voice of God, which bids the devils that have rended and torn him come out of him and let him now be clothed and walk forth in his right mind. Nor, in the next place, is the peace principle to be carried into effect by fear. It can never be defended, it can never be executed by cowards. Everything great must be done in the spirit of greatness. The manhood that has been in war must be transferred to the cause of peace before war can lose its charm, and peace be venerable to men. . . . .

Self-subsistency is the charm of war; for this self-subsistency is essential to our idea of man. But another age comes, a truer religion and ethics open, and a man puts himself under the dominion of principles. I see him to be a servant of truth, of love, and of freedom, and immovable in the waves of the crowd. The man of principle, that is, the man who, without any flourish of trumpets, titles of lordship or train of guards, without any notice of his action abroad, expecting none, takes in solitude the right step uniformly, on his private choice and disdaining consequences—does not yield, in my imagination, to any man.

He is willing to be hanged at his own gate, rather than consent to any compromise of his freedom or the suppression of his conviction.

The cause of peace is not the cause of cowardice. If peace is sought to be defended or preserved for the safety of the luxurious and the timid, it is a sham,and the peace will be base. War is better, and the peace will be broken. If peace is to be maintained, it must be by brave men, who have come up to the same height as the hero, namely, the will to carry their life in their hand, and stake it at an instant for their principle, but who have gone one step beyond the hero, and will not seek another man's life;—men who have by their intellectual insight or else by their moral elevation, attained such a perception of their own intrinsic worth, that they do not think property or their own body a sufficient good to be saved by such dereliction of principle as treating a man like a sheep.

If the universal cry for reform of so many inveterate abuses, with which society rings—if the desire of a large class of young men for a faith and hope, intellectual and religious, such as they have not yet found, be an omen to be trusted; if the disposition to rely more in study and in action on the unexplored riches of the human constitution—if the search of the sublime laws of morals and the sources of hope and trust, in man, not in books, in the present, and not in the past, proceed; if the rising generation can be provoked to think it unworthy to nestle into every abomination of the past, and shall feel the generous darings of austerity and virtue, then war has a short day, and human blood will cease to flow.

THE NEED FOR AN ALTERNATIVE HEROISM.

"The fact remains that war is a school for strenuous life and heroism; and . . . is the only school that as yet is universally available. . . . But when we gravely ask ourselves whether this wholesale organisation of irrationality and crime be our only bulwark against effeminacy, we stand aghast at the thought. . . . What we now need to discover in the social realm is the moral equivalent of war; something heroic that will speak to men as universally as war does, and yet will be as compatible with their spiritual selves as war has proved itself to be incompatible.—Prof. William James ("Varieties of Religious Experience").

679B/10

The Tribunal

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THE HOME OFFICE SCHEME

Throughout the Fellowship, and particularly among our members stationed at Keddington, Dyce, and Newhaven, there is keen discussion as to the merits and demerits of the Home Office scheme. I hope the discussion will be marked by the tolerance and good feeling which have always characterised the Fellowship. The issues involved demand careful and quiet consideration, and whatever our conclusions, we must scrupulously avoid any suggestion of censure of those who do not take our view. It is inevitable that within a fellowship based upon liberty of conscience and composed of men of many different schools of thought diverging attitudes should be revealed as new problems to be faced. We ought frankly to recognise this fact, and by toleration one toward another, prove to the world that our Fellowship is strong enough to rise superior to it.

The first word I want to say is one of gratitude to the men who are being released from prisons for the stand they have already made. They have been the pioneers. They have had to bear the brunt of the fight. They have won a respect for our movement, which is finding expression wherever they have been in kindlier treatment to those who follow. To Mr. C. H. Norman particularly I want to express our thanks and admiration. He has probably passed through severer treatment than any man in our movement, and we all revere him for the resolute manner in which he faced it. Even if we do not, on the point under discussion, see eye to eye with him, and many of the comrades who have borne themselves so bravely in military and civil custody, the thought of what they have done must always be uppermost in our minds, and we must make them realise that the Fellowship is as much their home as ever it was.

A number of men working under the Home Office scheme have always been ready to accept Alternative Service but have previously had no opportunity of undertaking it. It has been manifestly unfair that they should have been compelled to pass into military and civil custody whilst others were readily given Alternative Service in the first place by the Tribunals. If they had been offered honourable service their duty would be quite clear, but the conditions attached to their work have made it a penalty rather than a service, and they must seriously consider whether, by accepting it they are not acquiescing in the imposition of a slavery which will serve as a precedent as long as conscription remains the law of the land.

But it is the position of the men who have been opposed to Alternative Service which is most difficult to understand. They argue that the Home Office scheme is not an alternative to military service, but to prison work, and that they are merely prisoners on parole. Since they have done work in prison they consider they have no right to refuse to do civil work outside, and they insist that, having compelled the Government to release them from the army, they are in a very different position from men who accept Alternative Service without passing into the hands of the military at all.

I imagine most of us will agree that they have carried the struggle much further than those who have not been handed over to the military, and that they have achieved a victory in compelling the army authorities to dispense with their services. Perhaps if we had passed through the same ordeal many of us would interpret the position as they interpret it. But situated as we are we do not do so, and whilst the experiences which they have had lend weight to their opinion, the advantage we possess of reviewing the situation from a detached point of view in the light of all the development of events outside must also be borne in mind.

I am not sure that the view of Mr. Norman and his comrades is not in large measure due to a too modest estimate of part they have played in the struggle. They seem to imply that immediately they were transferred from the army into civil prisons they ceased to be fighting militarism and the Military Service Act. None of us outside can take that view. We know that every single Conscientious Objector in prison has been fighting militarism in the most effective way possible. Had it not been for the witness of the two thousand men in custody all our agitation might have been in vain. Even if we could accept the view that the Home Office scheme is merely an alternative to civil imprisonment, we should reply that in prison the men were withstanding the Military Service Act, outside that stand has largely ceased, and only a limited victory has been won.

But we cannot accept the view that the Home Office scheme is not Alternative Service to Military Service. Surveying the progress of events, we see that the Tribunals failed, as we said they would fail, to sift out the genuine from the non-genuine conscientious objectors. The determined resistance in the hands of the military of hundreds of men who had been refused exemption by the Tribunals proved this to be the case, and the Government was compelled to ask the Central Tribunal to re-examine their claims and to offer those who were considered genuine work of national importance as a condition of release from prison and from the army. Seen in this perspective, how can it be argued that the Home Office scheme is not Alternative Service?

In addition to this the theory that the Home Office scheme is merely an alternative to prison seems to us to break down before certain concrete facts. How can work which is offered to men who have completed their sentence in prison, and who would otherwise have to return to the army, be described as an alternative to prison? Further, the agreement which the men accepting the Home Office scheme must sign states explicitly that they will be returned to the army after the completion of their prison sentences should they not fulfil its conditions. Surely these facts make it abundantly clear that the scheme is an alternative to military service?

The National Committee is asking branches to consider whether they think work should be done in prison by our members, but I do not think it can be reasonably argued that work in prison comes within the same category as work under the Home Office scheme. The former comes within the normal routine of prison; the latter is accepted by the men as a means of release from prison and the army, and is undertaken under a signed contract. Whatever view is taken of work in prison I cannot see that it need affect our judgment of the Home Office scheme.

But apart from all these considerations I would like to urge with all possible strength that the Home Office scheme ought not to be countenanced by us because it is in reality a form of slavery the acceptance of which is a denial of that sense of the worth of human personality which is the foundation of all we are doing. The positive contribution which the N.C.F. is making is its insistence on the value of individual liberty. What will history say of us if we only resist military service to fasten upon ourselves and our successors a vicious scheme of indentured labour?

A. Fenner Brockway.

Total number of men arrested and handed over to the Military Authorities	**2085**
Number of these men who have been court-martialled	**1172**
Number of these men who have been released—	
(1) until called up again	**12**
(2) on grounds of health	**95**
(3) for other or unknown reasons	**36**

THE SOLE PREROGATIVE

Liberty, we are told, is England's sole prerogative. Perhaps that is why the Government, having prevented Mr. Bertrand Russell from going to America to deliver scientific lectures at Howard University, have now forbidden him to enter for any purpose whatsoever any prohibited area in the country, including the Sussex village where he has lodgings. Mr. Russell, therefore, because he objects to nations slaughtering one another, cannot carry on his occupation in this country, and cannot go and do so elsewhere. Of a government that does things like this, it is equally true to say that a sense of humour is another of its prerogatives, in addition to liberty.

The Haunted House.

Mr. Bertrand Russell's flat is at present let to an Italian gentleman, who recently wrote to Mr. Russell saying that officers from Scotland Yard had called repeatedly at the flat and searched it from top to bottom. He says he could not prevent this, and would be thankful to know just what to do, as it gave him much trouble and annoyance.

Mr. Russell replied, "Dear Sir, . . . There is nothing to do about the police. Domiciliary visits from the police are one of the customs of the country. If you desire less interference with personal liberty I should advise you to emigrate to Russia.—Yours faithfully, Bertrand Russell."

C.O.'S FROM FRANCE PLEASE NOTE.

Mr. W. A. Brewster, 28 Watery Lane, Merton Park, Wimbledon, wishes us to ask the parents or near relatives of the C.O.'s who were sentenced to death in France if they will kindly forward their names and addresses to him at the above address.

6798/11

AT KEDDINGTON AND DYCE

Mr. C. H. Norman attended the last meeting of the National Committee of the N.C.F., and asked for a statement from the Committee of its view of the Home Office scheme. After Mr. Fenner Brockway had expressed the appreciation of the Committee of the firm stand which Mr. Norman and his comrades have made in the hands of the military and in prison, detailed consideration was given to the argument of Mr. Norman that the Home Office scheme is an alternative to prison rather than to military service, and that if the Home Office scheme be rejected N.C.F. should also refuse to do work in prison. Finally, the National Committee adopted a resolution reiterating its opposition to Alternative Service and expressing the view that the Home Office scheme is in its mind Alternative Service to military service. The Committee agreed to consult branches as to whether work should be performed in prison.

The men at Keddington, who number 49, have considered the resolution of the National Committee and have forwarded a statement in reply. They point out that they have succeeded in compelling the authorities to grant them civil work by their refusal to perform military duties, and urge that in the circumstances the work they are doing cannot be classed in the same category as work given by Local or Appeal Tribunals under the Military Service Act, as an alternative to being handed over to the military authorities, "in view of the fact that those accepting such work are not called upon to stand the pressure in the hands of the military."

They argue that there is no distinction between working for the Government in prison and out of prison, and that the acceptance of work under the Home Office scheme is work which is alternative to imprisonment, and not specifically to military service. They consider that the present attitude of the National Committee is an extension of the principles of the Fellowship and of the decisions of the National Conventions, and point out that the National Conventions have never considered what attitude should be adopted with regard to employment under civil control **after** the C.O.'s have undergone their ordeal in the hands of the military, in detention, and in prison. They express the view that it is not likely that continuance in prison would induce the Government "to grant to every C.O. at present in or out of prison complete exemption."

Finally, the statement says, "whilst we consider the rules of absolute morality require that the individual should refuse assistance in the prosecution of war, however remote that assistance may be, yet as we have decided for the better furtherance of our cause, to remain members of a community which is engaged in war, we realise that religion and morality, as well as policy, indicate that we should render the utmost service to the community that lies in our power, always provided that in so doing we are not asked to violate the fundamental principles of our conscience .

For these reasons, while expressing its appreciation and admiration of the action of those men who cannot see their way to accept work under this scheme, adheres to its decision to continue working under it, at the same time emphasising that should any attempt be made to interfere with civil liberty outside of working hours that would be regarded as a breach of the conditions and would warrant the strongest action."

The National Committee has sent a representative to Dyce, where 250 men are stationed, to report upon the situation there. He attended a meeting at the camp, at which there was a full discussion of the position. A number of the men are frankly in favour of Alternative Service, and the remainder largely took the view expressed in the Keddington statement printed above. A resolution was unanimously passed promising that they would all return to prison if the men who had rejected the Home Office scheme suffered serious consequences.

MILITARY STRATEGY.

Scene: Somewhere in Wiltshire.

Court-martial President: I should just like to ask you one or two questions. What would you do if your mother or your sister were assaulted (etc., as usual)?

Accused C.O.: May I ask you a question?

President: No; I am asking you a question.

Accused C.O.: I can only reply by asking you what you would do if you were captured by the enemy, together with your mother and sister, and the enemy threatened to violate and murder them unless you divulged military secrets, which would ——

President: The Court is closed.

Exit C.O. abruptly with escort.

NOT OF NATIONAL IMPORTANCE

A London Branch Secretary gives us the following information about one of his members, and says with truth that it is an abominable example of the penalising purpose of alternative service and an excellent corroboration of the argument for refusing it. The member in question, who is Mr. T. F. Drayton, of Golders Green, was three months within the age limit. He had been a Post Office servant for over 26 years, and was engaged on night duty connected with registered letters and foreign mails. There was no one ready to replace him at his office, which was already grossly under-staffed. He had worked there 12 hours a night for months, and had for years been connected with social work, such as classes of telegraph boys, &c., which may now have to stop through his removal.

Humour, we are informed, rainbows the tears of the world, and the fact that the Tribunal offered Mr. Drayton work of national importance is one of those things that add to the gaiety of nations. Mr. Drayton was convinced by this treatment of the fatuity of the suggestion that alternative service is "mobilisation of the nation for efficiency," and therefore decided that he will not compromise with such a scheme. He has therefore followed the lead of the National Committee, and was handed over at Mill Hill last week.

Of National Importance.

Agriculture is an industry of some importance to the nation, particularly to the women and children, whom Lloyd George accuses us of neglecting. Perhaps that is why a young "C.O." from Wales has been shut up in prison, leaving one brother and a father nearly 70 years old to manage 1,000 acres, and no one to look after 1,400 sheep. No doubt he will, however, be invited to make a road in Suffolk.

ON THE SCENT.

Work of national importance has recently been found for police and military officials in large numbers all over the country. During the last few days officials have called, armed with search-warrants, on the following:—

Rev. R. V. Holt, Edinburgh; Rachel S. Jeffrey, Edinburgh; Rev. H. J. Dawtrey, Dundee; James Marshall, Glasgow; V. Swinton, Pontypool; B. Longstaffe, Barrow; Alan M. Laing, Liverpool; J. J. Ingham, Nelson; A. Clatworthy, Warrington; Tom Evans, Swansea Valley; Councillor H. Davies, Port Talbot; T. Mainwaring, Port Talbot; Arthur Mandefield, Leeds; Moses P. Price, Pengam; H. C. Shackleton, Keighley; Mrs. Wray, New Conisboro', Yorks; B. J. Boothroyd, Finchley; P. Millwood, Streatham; J. P. Hughes, Cardiff;; P. R. Morrison, Cardiff; Mrs. Chamberlain, Bourneville; W. A. Bond, Newton Abbott; Mr. Townley, Bristol; The Friends' Institute, Liverpool; Miss Hattrill, Portsmouth; A. W. Haycock, Manchester; and H. Davies, Tenbach.

That is the list up to the moment of going to press. The result has been the removal of quantities of pamphlets and documents relating to N.C.F. and other pacifist work. "Rex v. Russell" appeared to be most in demand.

FAME!

Millwood writes from Kingston Barracks, where he is awaiting court-martial: "The 'Tribunal,' 'Labour Leader,' and 'Herald' have a good circulation among soldiers. . . . Chappelow is very popular here, they all remember him as a singer, and all respect him. His firmness and that of other earlier ones has undoubtedly made it easier for us to maintain our position, and their good-tempered endurance of all the petty persecutions has been of great value in disarming prejudice against us. The sergeant of the guard says to all newcomers: 'You've got a C.O. in there, he's genuine he is, he's a good fellow.' (That's me.)"

Millwood was court-martialled last Thursday. In his defence he declared that he was not a soldier, as he was entitled to absolute exemption, the Tribunal having admitted the genuineness of his rejection. They had, however, suggested "arbitrary and fantastic changes of occupation," obviously as a punishment, but for him to accept them would be contemptible moral surrender.

THE CENTRAL TRIBUNAL'S CIRCULAR.

With regard to Circular R96 (Notes on further cases . . . for the information of Tribunals), which we mentioned last week, the Joint Advisory Committee of the N.C.F. and F.O.R. are sending a letter to the Prime Minister and Mr. Long protesting against the virtual annulling of the absolute exemption clause which it implies, and also to its comments upon the distinction between moral and political objections to war.

679B/12

FRIENDS AND CONSCRIPTION

NEW ZEALAND QUAKERS OBJECT TO EXCLUSIVE EXEMPTION

We print below extracts from a statement by Friends in New Zealand published in the "Maoriland Worker," of July 19.

After expressing their appreciation of the manner in which Parliament has, in recognition of the traditional anti-war principles of Friends, the signatories assert that to give the right of exemption to members of their own society while denying it to those others whose views are equally well founded with their own, is to set aside the principles they hold so dear. They state that their belief is forwarded on the Divine guidance of the Holy Spirit in the individual, irrespective of creed or church membership; that freedom from war will be brought about through the faithfulness of those individuals, of whom there are many in that country.

"Pretence of Religious Toleration."

The statement continues :—

Faithful adherence to these beliefs has brought untold sufferings in the past, and we feel that to simply exempt a few descendants of those who won for us the principle of religious liberty and the right to live in accordance with the leading of our consciences, has the effect of denying the principle which was so dearly bought, and makes a pretence of religious toleration which does not exist.

We desire a more just and equitable provision for all those who can rightfully claim a conscientious objection to war and war service.

In this behalf we would earnestly submit :—

(1) That there are usually many evidences of a true conscientious belief such as an impartial tribunal could accept as proof, but that where any doubt exists, the benefit of such should be given to the applicant—as is held to be the rule in other legal matters (e.g., criminal prosecutions).

(2) That the preservation of conscience as a recognised basis of moral conduct is of such supreme importance to every community that immeasurably greater danger exists from destroying such than from the possibility of a few dishonest applicants gaining exemption under its cloak.

Alternative Service.

In the matter of alternative service . . . we would earnestly make the following representations :—

(1) The individual alone can decide whether it be right for him to accept or reject the proffered service. No organisation can have any right to bind its members in such a matter, and no attempt is made to do so by, or on behalf of the Society of Friends.

(2) It is held by some that men who accept alternative service are genuine conscientious objectors, and that those who cannot do so are mere obstructionists. We submit that such is an absolute misjudgment of the case, and is probably due to an entire misunderstanding of the basis of the objection.

(3) The conscientious objector who takes his stand upon the Christian position in opposing all war cannot logically accept any system of militarism. He cannot be satisfied with merely safeguarding his individual person, far less with acquiescing in the establishment of the Military Service to which he is opposed, or assist in any way in the harmonious administration of militarism for other people.

He is not so much concerned with the actual nature of the service imposed as its final use and purpose. It is not merely killing to which the conscientious objector takes exception, for there are numerous duties which he could take up under such conditions in non-combatant branches of military service, but everyone is now prepared to admit that a man who objects to killing ought also to refuse to kill by proxy.

The Denial of Individuality.

War is not wrong merely because men's lives are destroyed, vital though that consideration is. It is wrong because it is the denial of the worth of the individual ,because it is the one great method by which social betterment has been retarded by engendering in the life of every nation a spirit of domination, of bitterness, and of fear. It places insuperable obstacles in the path of those whose greatest desire is the true welfare and co-operation, not only within the nation, but among the nations.

The Individual and the State.

In time of war it is useless pointing out to the conscientious objector that as a citizen he ought to accept any duty imposed upon him by the State, unless you can afford him evidence that the State has in the past, or intends in the future, to impose duties upon all its citizens for purposes of social reconstruction or peace organisation. To force good works upon men in order to administer militarism is repellent to every conscientious objector. This is so, not merely because it contributes to the establishment of militarism, but is even more deplorable because it denies the spirit of free service. Service to one's fellow-men, if it means anything, implies a spirit of sacrifice which is only worth while because it is freely given.

We have no evidence of a desire by our Government for real National Service other than Military Service, and the only thing attempted so far has been the infliction of punishment for refusal to do what one knows to be wrong.

The natural alternative to Military Service is Civil Service, yet the avenues of Civil Service are deliberately closed to those who cannot take part in Military Work. Under the Defence Act, the natural alternative to training for Military Service would have been training for Civil Service, yet again the avenues of training were deliberately closed against those boys who objected to militarism, even though their work and energy had gained for them right to free places in secondary schools.

Of Inestimable Value.

We claim that the life service of every conscientious man in his ordinary avocation is of inestimable value to the nation; that to remove him from such work as he has taken up from a sense of vocation or special fitness and placing him in some other sphere for the sake of punishment for right-doing is a most disastrous policy.

Lord Roberts, speaking in the House of Lords on July 6, 1914, referring to the soldiers and men of Ulster, said : "It is useless at such a juncture to invoke the authority of the constitution, to raise fine points of law, or to threaten pains and penalties. Such things matter not one jot when men's consciences are aroused."

Surely if such an eminent militarist can recognise claims of conscience as supreme in a political issue of that nature, such claims in matters of basic religious principles held by Christians for nineteen centuries cannot be ignored.

Signed at Wellington on behalf of Auckland, Wellington, Hawkes Bay, and Taranaki Friends (10/7/1916): ALFRED GOLDSBURY, Clerk, Wanganui; JOHN HOLDSWORTH, Swarthmoor, Havelock North, H.B.; MARGARET HOLDSWORTH, ERNEST H. WRIGHT, Auckland; EDWARD H. DOWSETT, Birkenhead, Auckland; E. J. FLEWELLYN KING, Grey's Road, Hastings; WILLIAM H. GILLIVER, Urenui; EGERTON GILL, Auckland; JOHN RIGG, Wellington.

THE CONSCRIPTIONIST ETHIC.

The *Morning Post* very candidly reveals an interesting element of the doctrine which attaches to the Conscriptionist ideal. The Belfast correspondent of the journal states that a recruiting rally in Ulster has met continually with the demand for conscription, and adds that this undoubtedly represents the thoughts of many *young men* throughout the district, and is the genuine demand of the vast majority of *eligible men*. He not only quotes instances of individual men who say that they would join if the other men would, but also states that Ulster as a whole would do better in recruiting if the other three provinces would do their share. Presumably, then, it is not inconsistent with the "patriot's" philosophy that you need not do your duty unless your next door neighbour does his. The correspondent admits that in an ideal world this way of looking at things would not exist, but he thinks that it is sufficiently logical and excusable to justify the establishment of militarism in Ireland.

Why Don't Those Irish Enlist?

The "Morning Post" states that Sir Edward Carson has lately frequently urged the extension of compulsion to Ireland, and that the exclusion is causing increasing anger on this side. That journal also observes that because there is no compulsion, Irish regiments have to be filled up very largely from England and Scotland.

Other people, not on the staff of the "Morning Post," might be able to suggest some other reason why Irishmen do not rush in their thousands to the English flag.

"I tell you there is something splendid in the man that will not always mind. Why, if we had done as the kings told us five hundred years ago we should have all been slaves. If we had done as the priest told us we should all have been idiots. If we had done as the doctors told us we would all have been dead. We have been saved by disobedience. We have been saved by that splendid thing called independence, and I want to see more of it, I want to see children raised so that they will have it."

—INGERSOLL.

"He that loses his Conscience has nothing left that is worth losing."—Izaak Walton (Essays).

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Birmingham Post. 21/1/16

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POINTS BEFORE THE TRIBUNALS.

WOMEN WORKERS ON THE LAND.

At the Mid-Staffordshire Appeal Tribunal at Stafford, yesterday, the question of employing women workers on the land was raised in the case of a farmer in the Stafford district, whose application for the retention of a man of military age, the only one employed on the farm, was adjourned at the last sitting of the Tribunal in order that he might apply to Mr. J. C. Rushton, the County Council instructor in agriculture, who was associated with the War Agricultural Committee, for a woman to assist him on the farm, and thus release the man for military service.

A letter was read from Mr. Rushton, stating that the women who had undergone training at the Harper Adams College had specified the kind of work they wished to do on farms. The others whose names were on the list had not had any experience, but were anxious to take a course of instruction. About 150 women who had given their names to the village registrars of the Women's Farm Labour Sub-committee could only be looked upon as willing to perform supplementary labour in their own districts, and in many cases they could only spare a few hours a day occasionally. In some districts, he added, the women who promised to work on farms when the canvass was made refused to do so when the necessity arose.

The case was further adjourned for a month, to enable the farmer to make further enquiries.

Brighton Advertiser. 7.10.1916

BETTER THAN NOTHING."

Women and Farm Work.

WHAT CHAILEY TRIBUNAL THINKS.

"I don't say that women are as good as men, but they are a good deal better than nothing," remarked Mr. E. C. Knight to the employer of Frank George Mainwood, 31, market garden labourer, of Newick, when his claim for exemption was heard at the Chailey Tribunal on Monday.

The employer had stated that he had occasionally employed women on his 5-acre market garden, but there was hard work which they could not do. He himself was 70 years of age and could do very little.

"You will have to employ women if your man goes," observed Mr. Knight.

The Tribunal disallowed the claim.

WHAT EMPLOYERS MUST DO.

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Answering questions, Mr. Watson admitted that he had not advertised for a man, and Captain Ash retorted, "I maintain that employers must advertise, so that these young sters, who should be doing military service might be replaced."

The claim was disallowed, the military agreeing not to call the man up until November 2

BARCOMBE FARMER'S CLAIM.

Mr. Harry Geering, of Barcombe, sought exemption for Robert George Moulds, 18, carter, Godley's Green, North Common, Chailey, who was, he said, one of two carters on two farms, where the work was very much behind.

The case was adjourned till January 29 next, by which date Moulds will be 18 years 7 months old.

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It was agreed to withdraw the word "final," and to allow the employer to renew his application, the men meanwhile to go before the Medical Board.

THE ONLY TWO LEFT.

In the case of Joseph Smith, 33, carter, Trevor Gardens, Beddingham, the employer, Mr. H. Moore, said he had only this carter and his son left on a farm of 100 acres. His other sons were fighting in France.

Three months' temporary exemption was granted.

WOULD HAVE TO SELL UP.

Conditional exemption was granted [illegible]

THE DEMAND FOR MORE MEN

TIGHTENING THE TRIBUNALS.

Report of Man-Power Distribution Board.

The Man-Power Distribution Board have heard evidence tendered on behalf of the Board of Admiralty, the Army Council, the Ministry of Munitions, and certain other Government Departments.

It has been proved to the Board that fresh supplies of men are urgently needed for the armies and munition factories, in order to maintain our forces in the field at the numbers already fixed for them, and, at the same time, to maintain the supply of munitions essential for their equipment and proper utilisation.

The Board reserve for further consideration the questions of agricultural labour and of the excepted and certified occupations.

The present report deals only with other industrial and non-manual workers.

The Board direct:

(1) That no badge certificates shall be issued to men:

- **(a) Who have already been de-certificated by a Government Department;**
- **(b) Whose cases are pending before Tribunals;**
- **(c) To whom Tribunals have refused exemptions;**
- **(d) To whom Tribunals have given temporary exemptions;**
- **(e) Already under notice to join the Army.**

(2) That where a certificate has been withdrawn, the date of withdrawal and the number of the certificate should be endorsed on the man's registration card.

(3) That all men made available for the Army in pursuance of these decisions should be enrolled as soon as the law permits.

CLAIMS OF MUNITIONS.

(4) As there is urgent need for highly skilled men of certain trades, it shall be open to the Ministry of Munitions to claim the services of men of these trades included in the above order. On receipt of such a claim from the Ministry of Munitions, the military authorities shall at once transfer the men claimed to a special class of skilled men, unless they are immediately required for service in an equally skilled capacity in the Army, provided always that the men so transferred undertake while in this special class the obligation already voluntarily undertaken by the War Munition Volunteers to work under civilian conditions in whatever place the Ministry requires their services.

(5) The Board draw the attention of all Tribunals to these decisions. They desire to impress on Tribunals that they should:

- **(a) Continue to give the most careful consideration in every case before granting exemptions;**
- **(b) Avoid extending (except in cases of urgent necessity) the existing temporary exemptions, of which there are at present nearly 400,000 in existence; and**
- **(c) Expedite the settlement of outstanding applications and the hearing of appeals, of which 200,000 are pending.**

IMPERFECT DILUTION.

(6) The Board observe that the process of dilution has been very unequally carried out in different districts and in different works. They have directed the special attention of the authorities concerned to this subject. The Board regard the carrying forward of this process of dilution as of the utmost importance. It is the only method by which an extension of the age for compulsory service can be avoided. The Board have requested the Board of Trade and the Labour Adviser to his Majesty's Government to confer with employers and trade union leaders as to the extension of the practice of dilution to firms engaged wholly or partially on private work so as to set free skilled men thus engaged for munitions work. It is essential that a large part of the labour now engaged on private work should be diverted to Government orders or released for the Army.

(7) The Board have under consideration further steps to secure the release of young men and for the better organisation and extended use of women and men over military age.

(8) The Board have also under consideration further measures for the release of men of military age in Government Departments.

By order of the Board,

[illegible] SANDFORD FAIRCHILD.

SIR W. ROBERTSON STATES THE CASE.

We Shall Want All Who Can be Spared.

The unveiling of a village cross at Dalderby, Lincolnshire, which has sent 72.7 per cent. of its eligible manhood to the Army, provided the occasion for an arresting and confident speech by Sir William Robertson, Chief of the Imperial General Staff. He began by complimenting the village on having established a county record, and referring to the fact that he was himself a Lincolnshire man.

He went on to describe from what small beginnings our present armies had developed. He spoke of the splendid six divisions who fought at Mons, Le Cateau, and turned from the Marne to thrust back the enemy to the Aisne. Their story would go down through history for all time. By all the rules of war they were beaten divisions a few days after they came in contact with the enemy. But they were not beaten, and never had been. Let them think of the number of divisions we had now put in the field, brought into being solely and entirely through the energy and foresight of that great soldier, Lord Kitchener, who had done as much as any man to win the war for the Empire.

NO NEED FOR ANXIETY.

"From whatever point of view you look at the situation to-day," added Sir William Robertson, "you can do so without anxiety. (Cheers.) Not only have we got men—I do not say enough—but thanks to the men and women of this country we have got artillery and ammunition. The Army thanks the men and women of this country for what they have done in this respect. We have got guns and ammunition—plenty of the big ammunition that is known at the front as 'Lloyd George's specials.' (Cheers.) I think we can look forward with every confidence. I do that also because of the splendid spirit that prevails at the front, where you must go for the best judges of our prospects of winning.

"Notwithstanding this, in order not to create a false impression, I would like to add a serious note of warning. The end is not yet. We must be prepared to go on for a period of time which it is impossible to estimate. 'Prepare for the worst and hope for the best' is a good motto. We have yet a long way to go, and we must be ready to go all the way. 'Fight to a finish' is the order. (Cheers.)

"Therefore there must be no slackening off; on the contrary, there must be a great tightening up. We have adopted the principle of national service in theory; we must see to it that we put that principle into practice. We have done a lot, and I think we can do more. We want men, more men. We want them now, and in due course we shall want all men who can be spared. That is a very difficult question to settle. This war is not purely a military business. There are many considerations which enter into the case. This is of course a Government question.

EVERY MAN AND EVERY WOMAN.

"It would be improper for me to discuss it, but I am entitled to say that we are not justified in expecting to win this war unless the services of every man and woman in this country are utilised to the fullest possible extent. (Cheers.) A full day's work is demanded from every man and woman, old and young, on the farm, in the factory, wherever you like, in order to liberate as many men as possible to go out and support those gallant fellows at the front. For this I look to women to help. I have great faith in the women. I will not advise them how to do it, because they know their own business best. The women by universal consent have done splendidly in this war, and have shown splendid fortitude in times of anxiety, sorrow, and bereavement, and they have worked hard, too.

"We are also dependent to some extent on employers of labour and on local authorities to send us men. I hope that they realise their responsibilities.

"I would urge them and all concerned to see to it that the Army does not fall short of the men it needs in order to win this war in such a way as will secure to us such a peace as will compensate us, so far as that is possible, for the great sacrifices which have been so readily made by the fathers and mothers, sons and daughters, of our Empire.

"I have stated the case, and I leave it in your hands. This cross which has been so deservedly won must be a great incentive to further practical and personal

Leighton Advertiser
7.10.1916

BETTER THAN NOTHING."

Women and Farm Work.

WHAT CHAILEY TRIBUNAL THINKS.

"I don't say that women are as good as men, but they are a good deal better than nothing," remarked Mr. E. C. Knight to the employer of Frank George Mainwood, 31, market garden labourer, of Newick, when his claim for exemption was heard at the Chailey Tribunal on Monday.

The employer had stated that he had occasionally employed women on his 5-acre market garden, but there was hard work which they could not do. He himself was 70 years of age and could do very little.

"You will have to employ women if your man goes," observed Mr. Knight.

The Tribunal disallowed the claim.

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WOULD HAVE TO SELL UP.

Conditional exemption was granted Ernest Dennis, 33, farmer, of Court Gard Farm, Ditchling, who said he farmed a owned 200 acres, and that to be called up wo mean that he would have to sell his crops a stock, because there was no one he co leave in charge

AWAITING A CERTIFICATE.

The case of Frederick William Paris, farm carter, Firle, was adjourned for the duction of a medical certificate, the em having written that since the previous cation the man had been medically rej

The members present at the Tribuna Mr. Harry Scarlett (in the chair), th H. S. Musgrave, Major Towers Clark, Mi Knight and Mr. J. Woolland, with Patrick (clerk). Mr. A. Wadman represented the Board of Agriculture, and the military representatives were Captain Selby Ash, R.N., and Mr. F. W. Rubie.

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By order of the Board,
E. A. SANDFORD FAWCETT,
Secretary.

Sept. 29, 1916.

Approved and ordered to be published.
By order of the War Committee,
M. P. A. HANKEY, Secretary.

Oct. 3, 1916.

WOMEN'S WAR WORK.

Its Extension Essential for Victory.

The multifarious occupations in which women are now serving in order to liberate men for the Army are indicated in a remarkable publication issued by the War Office for the information and guidance more especially of military representatives and chairmen of Tribunals when they have to decide on questions of "indispensability."

The value and interest of the book are enhanced by a series of illustrations of women at work in agriculture, in the factory, on munition work, in the shipbuilding yard, on the road, and in the retail shop, some of which have already appeared in "The Daily News." Among them are photographs of women in a shipyard working on a propeller, others handling long steel bars and heavy rods and pipes. One shows a woman stoker at the furnace mouth of a large factory in South London.

The Adjutant-General speaks of the "impossibility of forecasting in any degree the extent to which the resources of the Empire may be taxed before the war is brought to a successful conclusion. It is only by amplifying and extending the scope of women's usefulness," he says, "that our country can hope to emerge victorious from a struggle without parallel in her history." The book is offered as a tribute to the effective contribution of women to the common cause as well as an indication of the way in which man-power may be released for its most effective use.

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Sheffield Independent.
11.10.16

L[illegible] REQUIREMENTS.

Doncaster Tribunal Decisions in Agricultural Cases.

Doncaster Rural Tribunal, yesterday, Mr. W. H. Chambers presiding, heard 18 applications for exemption, and nine by the military for review. The Clerk (Mr H. M. Marshall) drew attention to the circular from the Local Government Board, intimating that the calling to the colours of men employed on agriculture is deferred to 1 January, or to 1 April in cases of men whose time is necessary for the maintenance of milk production.

Regarding men in agriculture whose temporary exemptions will expire before 1 January, Captain Featherston, the recruiting officer, pointed out that not only had such men an opportunity of appealing again, but of appealing within seven days of receiving their calling-up papers if still in a certified occupation.

Farm Hands' Exemptions.

The Tribunal granted exemption to 31 December to all men engaged in farm work, except in two cases, where conditional exemption was allowed.

A house painter and decorator who asked for a further exemption for two men said he had a lot of work in hand, including some which had been waiting since 1914.

Captain Featherston: What is to hinder them waiting until after the war? It is not work of national importance, is it?—No, it is only temporary.

Captain Featherston: The war is only temporary, and the sooner we get the men the sooner we shall be able to finish it.

The application being refused, the man remarked that some of his neighbours had single men who had not been touched. A Member: We'll touch them up.

Woman's Possibilities.

The youngest of four brothers who work a farm appealed, and the Clerk said this was one of those cases that people talked about in the market place, saying the Tribunal let four brothers off on one farm.

Applicant said they were behind with their work, and were engaged practically night and day. Given to 31 December.

Among the cases for review was that of an assistant overseer and clerk to a parish council, who, it was claimed, was indispensable. He put in two days a week, it was said, as assistant overseer, and collected the rates, and attended six meetings of the parish council in a year.

Captain Featherstone asked whether it was not possible for a woman to do the work, and on receiving a reply that "it would take some doing," said it was being done in hundreds of parishes. It was admitted that no provision had been made to fill the position. The exemption was withdrawn.

The Tribunal in other cases confirmed their decisions, and Captain Featherston remarked that some of them would be taken to the Appeal Tribunal.

ADMISSION OF WOMEN AS MILL TWISTERS.

At the Accrington Tribunal yesterday, when a cotton manufacturer asked for exemption for a twister and drawer, aged 19, the view was strongly expressed by members of the Tribunal that the men's union should permit women to learn the work. Hitherto the union had rigidly excluded women.

Captain Harwood, the military representative, stated that in American mills all twisting was done by women. Final postponement to the end of January was granted.

Yorkshire Observer.
24/10/16

WOMEN TRAM DRIVERS AT KEIGHLEY

At a sitting of the Keighley Tribunal yesterday Mr. J. Longton presided, and Mr. J. F. Greenwood represented the military authorities in the absence of Mr. J. W. Morkill, who is indisposed.

The Borough Electrical Engineer (Mr. Harry Webber) applied for exemption for a clerk in the Electricity Department who had twice been rejected. He did the whole of the clerical work at the Electricity Works, it was stated, with the assistance of a girl and a boy. One clerk who was quite fit had joined the Army, and it would be very difficult to replace the man without serious extra work on the Engineer's shoulders. Exemption was given until January 1.

Mr. Webber also appeared to support the applications for five drivers employed by the Tramways Committee. Asked if it was impossible to find substitutes, Mr. Webber said he was convinced that they could train women for this work, but they would have the same trouble they had had in London when women drivers were put on. The men went on strike. The society was "dead against this."

The Chairman: Will that apply in Keighley?—Mr. Webber: If we could get the union to agree we should start women drivers.

Mr. Liddemore: You cannot be sure that these men will come out on strike.—I am only instancing what the union is doing.

Canon Russell: How long would it take you to train women as drivers?—About a fortnight. Keighley is the simplest place in the country in which to run a tramcar.

The cases were adjourned in order that the men might have an opportunity to present personal claims.

In one case Mr. Foster (secretary to the military representative) suggested that Mr. Liddemore, as a practical engineer, should visit one firm in order that the tribunal could ascertain the nature of the work being done by particular men.

Mr. Liddemore suggested that an engineer from outside the district should come to Keighley, and a Keighley man make the inspection elsewhere. He did not quite like the idea of having it said that he was responsible for a particular man being made a soldier.

On the motion of Canon Russell it was decided that Mr. Liddemore, Mr. Murgatroyd, and Mr. Redman, three members of the tribunal with experience in engineering, should make the inspection.

Grocer Review.
21/11/16

Women in Grocers' Shops.—Mr. Henry Brierley, the Registrar of the Wigan County Court, and military representative, when exemption was asked for the manager of a grocery shop, said he did not think it was in the national interest that a man should be kept in a grocer's shop at all, adding that grocers should get women. The tribunal thought differently and granted exemption until February 10.

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Birmingham Post
30-1-17

OBJECTION TO WOMEN LABOUR IN SALT TRADE.

At Droitwich Tribunal yesterday there were several cases in which the military appealed for the withdrawal of the certificates of saltmakers in the employ of the Salt Union. In the course of the hearings Captain Glanfield remarked that years ago women were employed in salt pans, and suggested that the practice might be revived.

Mr. Tom Young (manager of the salt works) explained that to do the work it would be necessary for the women to work stripped to the waist, and although the practice prevailed up to thirty years ago, his directors felt that they would be prepared to close down the works rather than the practice should be revived. The Factory Acts prevented the employment of women on the night shifts.

The Tribunal granted conditional exemption for the men pending substitution.

Financial Times
3.2.17

WOMEN AS TEA TASTERS.

Harrisons and Crosfield and Twining appealed yesterday at the House of Commons Tribunal for permission to retain the services of a tea blender and taster.

Mr. Frampton, who appeared for the company, mentioned that they had originally three men employed in this work, but one had been called up, the second was over 55, and the man for whom application was made was 34 years of age and classified B1.

The Chairman (Mr. Donald Maclean, M.P.) pointed out that it was difficult to grant exemption in the case of a man so young and classified B1. He admitted that his retention was a matter of some interest to the public, but the Tribunal were bound to balance the conflicting interests of the public and the Army, and in the present case the balance was with the Army.

As illustrating the long training which was required for the work, a member of the firm mentioned that the taste of tea varied with the waters used.

Mr. Maclean: Yes, we unfortunately know that.

A member of the Tribunal suggested that women might be employed in the work, but the director said he had never heard of one in the trade. They might be successful as tasters, but a very long experience was required for blending.

Mr. Maclean: Very well, we will give you an opportunity of trying, and grant you a postponement in this case till 1st April.

Yorkshire Post
13-4-17

FEMALE LABOUR: DARLINGTON MAYOR'S WARNING.

Yesterday, at the Darlington Tribunal, attention was drawn to the advisability of engaging female labour wherever possible. "I want it to be thoroughly understood by those who come here," said the Mayor, "that unless some attempt is made to get woman labour it must be a factor when we give our decision that this has not been done." During the hearing of an application in respect of a market gardener of 18 the father admitted that he had no woman in the garden, and that he had not attempted to get one. The youth was ordered to join up.

Daily Mail
23-6-17

WOMEN COMPOSITORS.

A TRIBUNAL QUESTION.

At the Somerset County Tribunal yesterday Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, printers, Bath, appealing for a monotype keyboard operator, said they had been informed that the Typographical Society objected to women in the composing-room.

Mr. Tanner, a member of the tribunal and head of a printing firm at Frome, said this was eminently women's work. "Has the society," he asked, "threatened to remove the men if girls are allowed to do this work?" The manager said that was so.

The military representative said it would be quite as reasonable for the Army to strike because women are employed behind the lines. He regarded such a threat as a criminal offence on the part of trade unionists.

Case adjourned to enable the military representative to report to the authorities.

Manchester Guardian.
31. 8. '18

679

A Hard Sentence.

A NINETEEN-YEAR-OLD girl clerk in the employment of the Stepney Tribunal has been sentenced to a month in the second division on a charge of forging the signature of the clerk to the tribunal to exemption forms. The "forgery" consisted in picking up a rubber stamp which was left accessible, and with it stamping forms which lay loose in large quantities in the office. The girl was cajoled into this disastrous folly by presents of chocolate from young men anxious to evade the army. Prosecuting counsel mentioned the youth and inexperience of the girl and the excellence of her record in other respects, and suggested that imprisonment was too hard a sentence. Justice would have been better served had the magistrate agreed with him. The war has compelled the employment of a great number of young girls in responsible posts. There has been little complaint of their earnestness or capacity, but obviously a special responsibility for supervision falls on their employers. It would appear in this case to have been gravely lacking. The forms and stamp were left unguarded, and though the girl was warned of the danger of encouraging the overtures of applicants, no systematic attempt seems to have been made, until too late, to conduct the office business on reasonably safe and efficient lines. A month's imprisonment is an oppressive punishment for an offence committed by an inexperienced girl for which the carelessness of her seniors seems in large measure to blame.

Machinery Market
16. 5. 19.

679

* * *

An interesting point relating to the remuneration of women workers arose recently in connexion with an arbitration claim. Before the signing of the armistice, women were employed by a Manchester firm on the soldering of tin tubes for six-pounder case shot, their total weekly wage being 37s. 6d. On the completion of the Government contracts in December notices were posted at the works that the firm was compelled to give notice to their employees, and that application might be made for re-engagement on civil work. The women were all discharged, and about twenty were, after an interval, re-engaged. The work now carried on is tin box-making for commercial purposes, which the firm claimed before the Arbitration Court is less exacting and required less skill than munition work. The rates of pay for this work vary from 23s. 10d. to 30s. a week of 47 hours, the firm having paid the minimum rate fixed by a trade board for this class of work. The Court decided that the prescribed rate of pay for the workpeople concerned is that fixed under orders of the trade board for the tin box trade.

Iron & Coal Trades Review
Jan. 30. 1920

Women on Repetition Work.

The Halifax Munitions Tribunal has given its decision in the case of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers against Messrs. Smith, Barker & Willson, machine tool makers, of Ovenden, Halifax, who were summoned for breaches of the Restoration of Pre-war Practices Act by continuing to employ female labour in turning, fitting, and slotting operations, which before the war were done by skilled labour or apprentices. The main defence was that the practice of employing women was not in consequence of the war, but owing to standardisation making the work of a repetitive character. The tribunal consider that the former practice was departed from in consequence of the war, but, believing that the respondents acted in good faith, they imposed a modified penalty of £50. Notice of appeal was given.

Iron & Coal Trades Review
5. 3. 20

Women in Engineering Works.

Mr. Justice Roche, sitting in the King's Bench Division, on Friday last, delivered his reserved judgment in the Munitions Tribunal appeal of Messrs. Smith, Barker & Wilson, machine tool manufacturers, of Halifax, against a decision of the Halifax Tribunal in favour of A. Taylor, district organising delegate of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

His Lordship said the complaint was that the appellants employed women to do work done before the war by men, thereby, it was alleged, infringing the Pre-War Practices Act, 1919. The local Tribunal held that the only evidence that could be considered was that which related to the appellants' own establishment, finding on the facts that during the war the appellants were employing women, and were still doing so, and they therefore found the complaint established. The appellants said the words used, "rule, practice, or custom obtaining before the war in any industry or branch industry," were only intended to describe the rule, practice, or custom of some general application.

His Lordship arrived at the conclusion that the decision under review could not be supported, and must be quashed. For the respondent the argument put forward on Sub-Section 2 of the Act was ill-founded. Objection was taken before the Tribunal that respondent was not in order, because he produced no written authority to act. But the Tribunal were satisfied with his evidence, and the point was not seriously argued to the contrary. There was a more substantial point. It appeared that no member of the A.S.E. was at the time of the complaint in the appellants' employment, and that therefore the union was not affected and had no *locus standi*. He was satisfied from other findings of the Tribunal that the A.S.E. was concerned in this matter by reason of the general interest of its members. This judgment did not dispose of the matter which was put before the Tribunal. It merely quashed the order made, and the matter would be remitted to the local Tribunal for further hearing and determination.

Mr. Carr (for the appellants) asked for costs, but under the circumstances his Lordship refused.

Women's Leader
12. 3. 20

The Status of Sewing Machine Workers.

The Glasgow Munitions Tribunal has decided that the women working in Singer's sewing machine factory are eligible for the rise of five shillings per week awarded to "women workers in engineering shops and foundries." In their opinion "the nature of an establishment is determined not by the class of people who work in it, but by the nature of the work done in it." This should do something to check the common tendency to give low rates for work, not because it is unskilled or light work, but because women do it. The complaint which called forth this pronouncement was made at the instance of Mr. Robert Climie of the Workers' Union, on behalf of the female workers of Singer's.

Pall Mall Gazette 6/2/16.

COMPULSORY SERVICE FOR WOMEN.

MANY SUPPORTERS FOR MISS MAY BATEMAN.

We have received a number of letters from correspondents with reference to Miss May Bateman's article which appeared in Saturday's "Pall Mall Gazette" on "Compulsory Service for Women," from which it is evident that she has the support of a considerable number of the members of her sex.

Among the communications are the following:—

To the Editor of the "Pall Mall Gazette."

True Sacrifice.

Sir,—Having advocated compulsory service for men, surely we should not expect to be exempt when our turn comes, and I warmly endorse Miss Bateman's article on compulsory service for women if necessary, not so much because women are unwilling to serve their country, but in the hope that an organized scheme for apportioning work suitable to individuals might result in the employment of vast numbers only too willing to work for the nation's good, but for whose energies nothing seems forthcoming.

Method on the lines suggested by Miss Bateman would rake in hands now folded in compulsory idleness. There is scarcely a woman in England of any age who could not do something, if it were only her own housework so far as possible through this time of stress, releasing strong young arms for heavier burdens.

If capable of the more strenuous work vital to England at present, artist, novelist, poet, dreamer, should all be willing to sacrifice themselves, lay their art aside and do anything that will help to win the war.

Women have come forward grandly, but those who are confessedly "having the time of their lives" should remember that that will not count for righteousness, that tram-conducting and ticket-clipping may present more attractions than work on the land, but that true sacrifice for country lies rather in doing what we don't like than what we like, and, moreover, doing it with a smile.

Rose Ch. de Crespigny.

Artillery-mansions, Westminster.

A Great Asset to Woman.

Sir,—After carefully reading Miss Bateman's able article on "Compulsory Service for Women," one feels it must be answered by the womanhood of the nation in a great burst of acclamation.

If this movement can be kept free from any taint of political desires or aims in the future it would be of the greatest value in throwing into a practical form all the overlapping voluntary workers already "doing their bit," and bringing into line their sisters who are not awake to the country's call.

On the land there is little that is beyond the strength of a perfectly healthy woman (given the aid of modern machinery, steam and electric). The old-fashioned plough is too heavy, but what is to hinder any girl with average brains driving a motor-plough or motor-reaper?

The greatest asset to the girl going on the land is the boundless store of health she will gain. In all the other directions indicated in Miss Bateman's clarion call to women there is that rarest of all commodities in our sex—common sense.

(Miss) Vida R. Sinclair,
Hon. Press Sec., E.V.A.C., Empress Club.

Scheme Not Difficult.

Sir,—I quite agree with Miss Bateman as to compulsory service for women. As we have all been registered, there should be no difficulty in finding out those who are really capable of working.

M. Wilton.

33, Chesham-place, S.W.

System Wanted.

Sir,—The interesting article raises a question which many women will be glad to see discussed.

That they are willing to work and to make the minor sacrifice of their leisure and comfort for their country, in addition to the greatest sacrifice of those they hold dearest, has been amply proved in the last eighteen months.

Surely the time has come when some system should co-ordinate and direct the workers, and when it should be made possible for each and all to contribute of their best to the commonwealth.

Efficient women have not yet realised that the days of strenuous competition are over, and that now their work is often at a premium. They consequently still hesitate to relinquish posts in which less competent workers could replace them, while they in their turn

The Pall Mall Gazette 4/2/16.

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To the Editor of the Pall Mall Gazette.

Sir,—I am glad to see from an article on Compulsory Service for Women in your paper to-night that the Press are beginning to realise the imperative necessity for the immediate organization of the feminine element of the nation to carry on the work of the nation.

The Government should be forced by public opinion to begin to organize and settle this big subject of women's service. Let the organization for compulsory service be started by all means, but although women have no votes let the Government treat them at least as well as the men.

Let them first be organized under a Derby scheme, and let it be clearly understood what they are required for. Let the patriotic side of the scheme be emphasised, and let it be understood that women are required to replace every single man between the ages of eighteen and forty to allow those men to go and fulfil a man's duties in the war zones, not necessarily the front trenches. *Let that be the ideal.* Let women educated as lawyers, doctors, engineers, clergy, etc., if any such there be, practise these professions and send the men out.

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Sir,—I am much interested in Miss Bateman's article counselling compulsory service for women.

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This point will naturally bring up the question as to how far "home cares" may be used as a shield from work necessary to the country's welfare. That such would be the case is proved by the story of a friend of mine who, when the National Register was being taken to avoid being called upon to work, gave as her occupation "household duties," although she is of independent means, of good health, and with no

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Efficient women have not yet realised that the days of strenuous competition are over, and that now their work is often at a premium. They consequently still hesitate to relinquish posts in which less competent workers could replace them, while they in their turn could devote their energies and talents to more responsible work. These—and they are many—would, I am sure, welcome compulsion.

Tact and discrimination would be required for this vast scheme. Will they be forthcoming?

E. F.

The First Step.

SIR,—If such a scheme is to be considered seriously the first step should be a call on the part of the Government for volunteers.

When it can be proved that women have not come forward in sufficient numbers to replace men, then compulsion might be necessary. But a lead from the Government is essential—not a policy of "You run, and I follow"—and I believe that, given such a lead, there would be no necessity for compulsion.

(Mrs.) ALICE PERRIN.

12, Cadogan-court, S.W.

The Voice of Man.

SIR,—Now that a woman, and, judging from her well-known writings, a womanly woman, has written to you regarding the compulsory service of women, it seems to me that the voice of man might be heard upon the subject, into which it might have been unseemly for him to intrude without the feminine lead.

Women have taken a lead in so many matters since the war began and acquitted themselves so admirably that, while compulsion is not as evidently necessary as with men, yet if it could be brought into action without too much red tape and administered in great part by women, then the State would be the gainer.

Woman will take a place which the gradual march of civilisation, domestic development, and labour-saving machinery have released her for, and men will, as a result, lead better lives.

WM. REED-LEWIS.

Bexhill-on-Sea.

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LOUIS VINCENT.

100, Great Portland-street, W.

The Dunoon Advertiser
7/3/16

Compulsion for Women.

Everything points to the fact that very soon there will be a very clamant call all over the country for women to come forward to take their places in the industrial life of the nation. The great sweep of the Derby net continues, and soon the Military Service Act will be bringing in its thousands. Not only in vital industries, such as agriculture, but in almost every trade, the shortage of labour will be more acutely felt as time goes on, and the official announcement from the Board of Trade to employers yesterday is really in the nature of a preliminary warning of the difficulties that lie ahead. To-day the first active step in securing recruits from the ranks of women for the farm army was taken at an inaugural meeting of the Women's Land Service Corps held at Grosvenor House. With the personal support of Mr Walter Long and Lord Milner, the corps can go forward with confidence, and it was also satisfactory that it launched its campaign with the blessing of the Prime Minister, who wrote welcoming the movement. There are abundant signs that we are at the beginning of a vigorous campaign for recruiting of women for our industries, and already there is talk in London regarding compulsory service for women. It is quite evident that there are many who favour the application of Derby methods to such a campaign for the industrial army, but there seems little room to doubt that when the fiery cross is sent round the women will be found ready and willing to take a still greater share in the national struggle.

The Yorkshire Observer
1.3.16

NOTES OF THE DAY.

Compulsion of Women?

At a meeting in Montgomeryshire on Tuesday, Mr. Lomax, the county recruiting officer, made a statement that ought to challenge investigation. He said that one of the principal War Office recruiting officers had told him that before long, when women and boys had trained themselves, the men would be taken from the land. The crisis, he added, was so important that it was not merely a question of women offering their services—they would have to go. One questions whether the War Office would confide its intentions to a recruiting officer, but the statement as it stands would seem to warrant a question in Parliament. The prospect of the denudation of practically all but elderly men engaged in agriculture and their replacement by women will alarm some farmers, especially those who have been exclaiming against women as "no good" for farm work. One protesting agriculturist told a local tribunal the other day that when his cow broke its leg the women were frightened and ran away. Needless to say, that if women are to be introduced to all kinds of farm work they will require a stronger nerve than that. But against this one has to remember that some of the best farms in the country are "run" by women.

The Pall Mall Gazette 10/3/16

To the Editor.

COMPULSION FOR WOMEN.

SIR,—"Door-mats" I call those women who suggest added indignities and struggles for the self-sacrificing and forgiving sex, cruelly denied all political rights and safeguards in peace time, and yet, "Oh, for woman's charity—toe help and save th race!" Our sacrifices we will still offer, but never by compulsion. Where are our "Antis" with their "Woman's place is the home?" Don't all speak at once.

EDITH E. PORCH.

1, Warwick-chambers, Pater-street, Kensington.

SIR,—Before a general election can take place some change in the existing register must be made, in order that men returning from the front may not be disfranchised on account of the present period of qualification.

It is to be hoped that the Government will take this opportunity of dealing with the whole question of franchise reform, and remove at least one of the anomalies and injustices of our electoral system by enfranchising women.

Women have been called upon to perform their full share of the nation's work, and it is universally acknowledged that their response to the call has been satisfactory. What reason is there for continuing to deny them the full status of citizens?

Every one realises by now that the question of women's suffrage will have to be settled very shortly. Since some measure of franchise reform will have to be passed before the end of this Parliament—for an election on the present register is recognised to be impossible, and any Bill which alters the register will be actually, even if not technically, a Franchise Bill—the wisest and most statesmanslike course the Government can pursue is to introduce a measure which, while it ensures that the men now at the front shall not lose their right to vote, at the same time extends that right to women.

No one can wish for a return to the state of things prevailing before the war.

BERTHA BREWSTER.

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The Pall Mall Gazette 7/3/16 679c

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COMPULSORY SERVICE FOR WOMEN.

SOME MORAL AND OTHER CONSIDERATIONS.

We give to-day a further selection of letters from our readers on the subject of Compulsory Service for Women, which was raised in Saturday's "Pall Mall Gazette" by Miss Bateman. In spite of some doubts and hesitations the tendency of the correspondence is in favour of a proper organization of women's work on more or less compulsory lines.

To the EDITOR of the PALL MALL GAZETTE.

The Moral Aspect.

SIR,—I have been reading your correspondence about compulsory service for women, and it seems to me that the question should be treated as well from a moral as a practical point of view. Strength of mind and of character are the great powers which are going to carry us through this war to victory, and the surest way we know of to attain these qualities is continually to force ourselves to do things which we do not like.

Miss de Crespigny has realised this when she says that clipping tickets may be more pleasurable than working on the land, but she has not carried her speculations far enough. I should prefer, for the reason which I have already suggested, to get everybody to do something which is more or less distasteful to them. By a simple investigation by the authorities it should be possible to find out every woman's idea of a pleasant piece of war work, and then set her to do something entirely different. Such an organization would often produce admirable practical results, but even if these were not always perfect, the beneficial results to national character would be tremendous.

But one group of women should, I think, be exempted, to preserve the best and highest ideals of femininity quite intact. For we must always remember that however much we should make ourselves capable of bearing man's burdens, our primary object is to bear our own, which we can never do with proper success if we ever give ourselves the chance of forgetting our sex.

CHRISTINE FRANCES.

Oriel College, Oxford.

The Object of the National Register.

SIR,—Surely compulsion is not called for from the point of view of compelling the women to come in; yet a complete local register, such as Miss Bateman suggests, would have many practical advantages. I myself have just been seeking a woman gardener, with the help of various London agencies, and by a happy chance have secured one living scarce a mile from my country cottage. But there is no local organization by which we could have been brought in touch with one another. Miss Bateman's register would remedy this.

Again, vast numbers of women are working, but that is not to say that they are working at the things most vital to the nation, and many little soft jobs might be exchanged for sterner ones if an official organization could bring judicious pressure to bear. Finally, with what other object, save to use us to the best purpose, were we originaly included in the National Register?

(Mrs.) V. M. CRAWFORD,
Catholic Social Guild.

1, Victoria-street, S.W.

Conserve the Women.

SIR,—Miss May Bateman proposes to call up the women and to oblige them to work on the farms and in the offices when they are not engaged on productive work. Women always being ready for self-sacrifice, she doubts not that they will be ready to sacrifice themselves now.

Miss Bateman is right when she says women are always ready to sacrifice themselves. Now it is proposed to encourage them to sacrifice their health, while still many men in full vigour are working in munition factories in order to be exempted from military service.

Thousands of young women will be found ready to drag themselves to pieces ploughing, digging, looking after cattle, straining organizations delicately adjusted to the work they are fitted for, and destroying their own constitutions and the health of the next generation.

Of course, many of the women will be the first to say that what a man can do a woman can do. She can. But if this is permitted in physical work it will be at the expense of her children. We know that many women do not, some cannot, and others will not, marry. But the large majority of young women are, or will be, mothers.

Now, girls are always ready to overdo things. They will work in the field, they will keep up, like the men, hours, till they drop. Therefore their physical work [illegible]

The Pall Mall Gazette 8/3/16

COMPULSORY SERVICE FOR WOMEN.

NEW SPHERES OF LABOUR.

We give to-day a final selection of letters on the subject of Compulsory Service for Women raised in Saturday's "Pall Mall Gazette" by Miss May Bateman. The correspondence has proved that there is a real demand from women that the services they can render to the nation should be organized on definite lines, and that some form of compulsion would be necessary for this purpose.

New Spheres for Women.

SIR,—I do not for a moment doubt that compulsory service for women will prove entirely practicable should it become necessary, but I thoroughly endorse the sentiment expressed in your able leader that method must prepare the ground before female labour on any large scale can bring effective relief to our conomic necessities.

It is not only on the land that the aid of women can be of immense value. There is an immense opening for educated women in trade, and as a business man I am anxious to bring all my weight to bear on its importance. If we are to crush German trade we shall not have merely to produce our own goods, but also spread their existence far and wide by means of judicious advertisements and clever travelling representatives.

It is a matter of real regret to me that with splendidly paid positions of this description now going begging, so many women of ability, for want of a better understanding of what a travelling representative really signifies, are engaged in work for which they are quite unfitted, and are not only often keeping someone else out of a billet, but failing themselves to find the niche for which they are obviously intended.

THOMAS DIXON.

193 and 195, Oxford-street, W.

A Sufficient Sacrifice.

SIR,—For those women who have not had—nor will have—to give their husbands, sons, or any very dearest to this war, and who yet live in idleness, and even reap benefit by the sufferings of us others whose all is wrenched from us—yes, certainly. But if another ounce be demanded from those women whose lives are being wrecked wholesale, and their hearts torn to pieces because men of all nations have refused in the past to give their women, mothers of the race, power to have any say in things, a great revolt of women will be the result.

EDITH ARCHDALE.

A Call for Volunteers.

SIR,—When it is remembered how many hundreds of women hastened to register at the Labour Exchanges for war work—far in excess of any machinery available to tabulate their qualifications—it seems fairly clear that what is needed in the present economic stress is, not the fashionable panacea of "compulsion," nor merely the picturesque "call for volunteers," but a general readiness on the part of the employing classes to make good their shortage of men by employing women at men's rates of pay for men's work, and an efficient machinery of organization for fitting the supply of women to the demand.

(Mrs.) E. M. WHITE.

Women's University Club, 4, George-street, W.

An Alternative Suggestion.

SIR,—I cannot share Miss Bateman's desire for compulsory service for women. So far there has been no lack of voluntary workers, only a lamentable lack of ability to organize them.

I am of opinion that there would be a marked increase in the quality and supply of voluntary women workers if a double shift system were introduced into such callings as admit of being carried on in this way. The shifts could be arranged on very elastic lines:—

(a) Shift I.—The first half of every day.
Shift II.—The second half of every day.
(b) Shift I.—The first three days of the week.
Shift II.—The last three days of the week.
(c) A Box-and-Cox arrangement—two women undertaking to do a full week's work between them, and dividing the week's wage.

Arrangement (c) would be quite feasible in the educational field, and in many departmental offices, and it is certain would make available a large amount of unutilised energy and capacity.

ADA HEATHER-BIGG.

14, Radnor-place, W.

Votes First!

SIR,—This scheme demands that English women, contemptuously denied the rights of citizenship, shall be herded up as cattle, or chattel, with never a "by your leave," their wages, hours of labour, and status fixed by some quasi-military organization, [illegible]

ing after cattle, straining organisations adjusted to the work they are fitted for, and destroying their own constitutions and the health of the next generation.

Of course, many of the women will be the first to say that what a man can do a woman can do. She can. But if this is permitted in physical work it will be at the expense of her children. We know that many women do not, some cannot, and others will not, marry. But the large majority of young women are, or will be, mothers.

Now, girls are always ready to overdo things. They will work in the field, they will keep up, like the racehorse, till they drop. Therefore their physical work should always be carefully regulated. Let them have plenty—ju-jitsu, fencing, dancing, gymnastics, swimming, all you like. But never let such work be left to themselves as to extent or amount.

Once let women have the idea that they are serving their country and helping the men in the trenches by taking up farm work, and they will work themselves to death, without complaint, joyfully.

And all the while what of the men in the munition factories, in the Civil Service, in the schools and shops? What of the conscientious objector? What of the thousands of German prisoners who would be glad of work to do but who lie in idleness? Could they not be employed on farms in the inland counties of England? Is it troublesome and expensive to use them? It will be far cheaper than using our young women, in whom we conserve the future hope of the country.

C. Cowdroy.

Crouch End High School and College, N.

A Half-Time Compromise.

Sir,—In reference to the subject of compulsion for women, may I ask if it has been suggested that half-time service might be a form of compromise? Many women are physically unfit, owing to lack of training, from working a number of hours at a time. Working a full day, too, means breaking all social ties.

The shift system might be employed in cases where one man's work could be divided up between two women. Women are showing a magnificent spirit, but, all said and done, they might be let down gently—but perhaps "pulled up" is the better expression.

Enid Dinnis.

36, Milton-road, East Sheen.

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Ada Heather-Bigg.

14, Radnor-place, W.

Votes First!

Sir,—This scheme demands that English women, contemptuously denied the rights of citizenship, shall be herded up as cattle, or chattel, with never a "by your leave," their wages, hours of labour, and status fixed by some quasi-military organization, these poor dumb make-shifts passively accepting their slavehood. As our American friends would say, this is "some" Prussianism. Women have had enough of these one-sided sacrifices: if the nation wants the help of its women, let the Government put the English woman on the same political level as her Australian sister. National necessity does not involve the economic exploitation of its women, and that is all the scheme amounts to.

7, Victoria-street, W. E. Rogers.

Mobilise the Women.

Sir,—I was much interested in Miss Bateman's able article, and I fully endorse all she says. The time has come when the women must mobilise in real earnest, and it must be done with some kind of system—this is absolutely essential if good is to accrue. It is plainly a case for organization, and the one thing to avoid is overlapping. All women are wishful to help and all are wanted; but let each be enlisted in their right place where their special aptitude will be of most value to the country.

Could they not roughly be divided up into four sections? I think this would simplify matters very materially. Let Munitions be one; the Red Cross another; the Women's National Land Service the third; and my own Corps, the British Service Corps, the fourth. The two former need no introduction; but the two latter are probably not yet known to the general public. The Women's National Land Service Corps is doing yeoman work, under the Government, putting the right woman on the land to help our second line of defence, and the British Service Corps is a fully recognised Corps, working under the War Office, supplying the need for service work on the military side to fill the places of men going on active service.

W. M. Willis-Swan,
O.C., British Service Corps.

Buckingham Palace Hotel, S.W

The Times.
3. 8. 16.

MORE WOMEN WANTED.

NEED OF A LIVING WAGE.

(FROM A WOMAN CORRESPONDENT.)

A state of war has given rise to many unexpected conditions, and one of the most surprising is the present position in regard to the employment of women. There seems no doubt that for the moment the demand exceeds the supply, a situation almost incredible to a generation brought up to talk glibly of "more than a million superfluous women."

It is a little difficult to readjust our standpoint, for the change has come so suddenly. A few months ago women were tumbling over each other in their eagerness to do their bit for the country, and there was nothing like enough work to go round. They registered by the hundred at the Labour Exchanges and at bureaux set up by numerous associations, and grew heart-sick as weeks went by and they were still unemployed. Now, however, things have changed, and in every direction the cry is, "We want more women." From the headquarters of the Red Cross Society comes an urgent appeal for more V.A.D.'s; from the Labour Exchanges a demand for more women clerks for Government work; and from several directions at once a call for any number of women for work on the land. Perhaps the first is the most unexpected, for until quite recently the despised V.A.D. has been a drug in the market. In the early days of the war there was a great rush of women to qualify themselves for Red Cross work, and thousands must have obtained the necessary certificates. Then for a time it seemed as though there were a dozen V.A.D.'s for every job. Those who were really anxious for regular work soon grew tired of the hot competition for the privilege of performing the smallest hospital duty, and found some other occupation; while the rest became slack as the first excitement wore off, and began to think that "doing the washing list" once a week at the nearest hospital was enough in the way of war work. Now we are told there is a shortage of nurses, and apparently almost anyone is welcome. Even the first aid and home nursing certificates, which were a fetish at first, are not essential now.

NOT ENOUGH TO LIVE ON.

The position with regard to the scarcity of women clerks is rather different. The majority of the posts vacant now are junior clerkships in Government offices, with salaries of from 20s. to 25s. weekly. For the type of work required, for which no special training or qualifications are necessary, the pay is perhaps sufficient, but it is not enough for middle-class girls to live on in these days of high prices.

The ordinary sources of supply of women clerical labour have been used up for some time—girls living at home in London and the suburbs have been glad to earn a guinea a week; and in addition to these a number of well-to-do girls have come up to London with allowances from home to eke out their salaries. Now, however, it seems that this supply has also come to an end, and if there is in actual fact a real dearth of women clerks, the Government must either raise the general standard of wages very materially or provide hostels where their employees can live decently on what they earn.

There are not many girls who care to spend at least 30s. a week on uncomfortable lodgings and unappetizing meals in order to earn 25s., however keenly they may desire to be patriotic. The easier way is to remain at home in the country with plenty of fresh air and good food and time for golf and tennis, and appease conscience by putting in occasional work at the local hospital, war depôt, or canteen.

The various associations engaged in recruiting women for work on the land are confronted with the same problem—the impossibility of the worker living on the wages she earns. In cases where the absent labourer can be replaced by one of his own womenfolk who has a separation allowance in addition to her earnings the matter is simple enough, but where girls of a different class are brought from a distance and housing and feeding have to be considered the whole question is fraught with difficulty and it is not surprising that girls hesitate to come forward.

It would seem that all those who want to work and can afford to are now fully employed, and the remainder are either unable to live on the pay they can command or frankly do not want to work. There is no doubt there are thousands who come under the latter heading, the Flag Day sellers, for instance. It is fre-

Daily Mirror.
13. 9. 16

COMPULSION FOR WOMEN?

SHOULD WOMEN AND GIRLS BE CONSCRIPTED FOR WAR WORK?

MORE WOMEN NEEDED.

THERE is a growing demand for female labour—and, in the opinion of many, this demand will not be satisfied unless some system of conscription is instituted for the women and girls of Britain.

What do your readers think?

There is no need to tell how splendidly Britain's women have come to the front, how valiantly they have taken up all manner of work. Yet there still remain many thousands of single women who are doing nothing at all for the nation. Also, there are numbers of married women of leisure who still seem to think of little else but social pleasure. Should there be compulsion for women and girls? F. F.

Hanover-square.

THE BRAVER SEX?

DOES the moment of peril more readily discover the hero or the heroine? I was speaking to two women at a lonely farm, which was certainly within eighty yards of an immense bomb-pit that rapidly was becoming a pond. They were not prostrate with nerve strain after the Zeppelin raid.

When I recall the heroism of Joan of Arc, Grace Darling, Stewardess Rogers (who went down with the Stella on the Manacles twenty years since), Nurse Cavell, Mlle. Moreau, the nurse whom the King recently decorated, and countless others unchronicled who have rescued from drowning, or fire, or other deadly danger—then I want to ask the question, which is this: Which is (not the sterner nor the stronger), but the braver sex?

AN INQUISITOR.

Daily Chronicle.
13. 9. 16.

WE WANT MORE WOMEN.

ORGANISATION AND COMPULSION.

By MABEL BEATTY,
Commandant W.R.A., The Green Cross Society.

It is more than a year ago since the mind of every woman in the United Kingdom was stirred to a realisation of the seriousness of affairs, by the establishment of a national register. The Government was at last awake to the fact that a large proportion of its population might be turned to account, and patriotic women who had not needed this reminder that their help was required by their country, heaved sighs of relief at the thought that at last their idle sisters would be brought to book.

The demand for female labour grew, women became clerks in banks and Government offices where hitherto they had never been employed, they became railway officials, bus conductors, liftgirls, commissionaires, van-drivers, window-cleaners, bakers, farmers, market gardeners; in fact they established themselves in all suitable and even unsuitable branches of labour, wherever the lack of men created the demand. The business instinct was probably at the root of nine-tenths of this development, and it is perfectly right that it should be so. Woman's labour and wages have been vexed questions for many years, and it is natural that she should seize the unique opportunity now offered of giving her services at a better rate of pay and in a more varied theatre of activities, sometimes perhaps to the detriment of certain established trades for women, textile fabrics for example.

The Voluntary Worker.

So much for the ordinary working and business classes; but—and here the thinking woman pauses—what about the women of the middle and upper classes? This brings us to the plane of the voluntary worker—of whom, praise be, there are many; women who have gladly placed their time, ability, money, health and energy entirely at the disposal of

allowance in addition to her earnings the matter is simple enough, but where girls of a different class are brought from a distance and housing and feeding have to be considered the whole question is fraught with difficulty and it is not surprising that girls hesitate to come forward.

It would seem that all those who want to work and can afford to are now fully employed, and the remainder are either unable to live on the pay they can command or frankly do not want to work. There is no doubt there are thousands who come under the latter heading, the Flag Day sellers, for instance. It is frequently stated in the Press that 10,000—sometimes 20,000—ladies were selling flags in the streets of London for such-and-such a cause. Where do they all come from? Some perhaps manage to arrange their usual work in such a way as to allow of an occasional free day, but the great majority must be young, unemployed women.

Some Suggestions.

It has only just begun to dawn on the authorities that there is some capacity for useful work left in the average woman even after her 40th birthday—V.A.D.'s may now be 48, and the Civil Service Commissioners have nominally removed all age limits, though actually very few posts are given to women of over 40.

Would it not be possible to devise some method by which more use could be made of the part-time services of older and married women, and thus release the younger ones for other work? In the country particularly, much of the local "war-work" is being carried on by middle-aged women who are only able to give part-time services, but it is noticeable that in the large munition centres many young girls are employed in canteen work which could be perfectly well undertaken by their elders.

Why should not the National Register—which, it may be remembered, registered women as well as men—be used for the purpose of conscripting women on somewhat the same lines as the Military Service Act? Every woman, or at least every unmarried woman, between the ages of 18 and 40 could then be called upon for work of national importance, unless she is granted exemption, and in many cases her place could be filled by an older woman. Much has been said about the male slacker—now become the conscript—and much about the excellent work rendered by the women of the nation, but there are women slackers, too, though fortunately not very many, and they ought to be rounded up.

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"How well the women have come forward" is a phrase on many lips to-day, and unfortunately there are too many willing to rest on that assumption who do nothing themselves, but who, by repetition of this catch-phrase, hypnotise themselves into the belief that it applies to women as a whole, their own petty idle personalities included; quite a number of women are undertaking the lighter forms of paid work to add to their pocket-money, really believing they are "doing their bit." There are others whose contribution to the sum of war-work consists in fleecing the latest joined young subaltern.

In Piccadilly the other afternoon I saw a woman in a neat khaki uniform with touches of green. She walked shoulders well back, head erect, as though she had an object in life. Two girls with a very new 2nd Lieutenant stared at her in supercilious amusement—their costumes hardly consorted with one's idea of modesty, and one wondered what they were really like under their mask of cosmetiques. "Fancy dressing like that creature," remarked one. "Tosh," drawled the very new officer, both of whose hands were in his pockets. I was amused, for I know that khaki woman had left her home about 6.30 that morning to get breakfasts, make beds, clean and wash-up in a big soldiers' home; that, moreover, she had been doing so day after day for many months, as a voluntary worker.

Advertisement on public hoardings has played a curiously prominent part in this war; "More Men are Wanted," "Enlist Now," "Your King and Country Need You," "To Dress Extravagantly in War Time is Unpatriotic," &c., &c. Do they strike home, one wonders? Why not a few more? "We Want More Women," "Idle Women are a Disgrace to Their Country." No, no, we want stronger measures. When the general public was busy protesting against the male slacker, did it never think of the female? The male slacker probably did, and felt that Nature had played him a scurvy trick in giving him the outward semblance of a man, while no one worried his lazy sister, because she was a woman.

The Woman Worker's Question.

Women who think, women who read, women who count the cost, women who have given unsparingly of themselves, who for nearly two years have borne the burden and heat of the day, who understand the ideal of Imperialism; these women are getting restive: they know their strength will give out one day; their one apprehension is "suppose I cannot last out the war, who will take my place?" We have talked too lightly about no one person being indispensable; in these times every man and woman worth their salt is indispensable, and the women workers of to-day are entitled to demand a measure of Government support. After all, the nation will suffer if one by one the worker droops at her post. A walk through the West-End at any hour of the day is a depressing sight, with its crowd of smartly dressed, shop-loving, healthy young women: it is calculated to give us pause, for what kind of children will these potential mothers bring into the world? Imperialists, patriotic men, wise women, or will they not reproduce the emptiness, pettiness, stupidity, and parasitic qualities of their own characters?

Let the prominent women of all movements, organisations, and societies meet together and resolve to demand a Government scheme of compulsory service for every woman and girl in the land. Let them make good use of the National Register; let them establish tribunals to inquire into the distribution of paid work and voluntary work, so that no one who can well afford to work for nothing gets a paid post unless specially adapted for it by previous good training. Let all the voluntary workers be uniformed and disciplined, for only by this means can the maximum of work be obtained by a minimum of time and energy. Let those, of whom there are a great number, who would give their time in exchange for just meals and travelling expenses, work in canteens, for canteens should provide these allowances, they could well afford it.

Not a day should be lost. The child cannot read the delights of the fairy book until you have forced him to learn the alphabet; the boy cannot appreciate the sea until you have made him swim. Cherchez la femme. Compel this oversexed, shallow, undeveloped creature to work, and then perhaps she will become a real woman, with some self-respect and a soul of her own; but you will want the State behind you. Organise the demand—we want compulsion for women.

The Queen 19.8.16. 679.C. 679c

COMPULSORY SERVICE FOR WOMEN.

By MRS MARGARET HEITLAND.

RUMOURS START ON THEIR TRAVELS without anyone being able to fix their place of origin. Not long ago a rumour journeyed my way which was as definite and circumstantial as the Russians-in-England story. It was to the effect that quite certainly and at once every unmarried woman between the ages of eighteen and (I think) thirty-five would be enrolled by the Government for compulsory service of some kind. The young women who heard this dictum expected to be obliged to give up the work, whatever it might be, in which they were then engaged, and awaited immediate commands with anxiety. But days passed and nothing happened. And nothing, indeed, of this sweeping and imperious character has occurred.

There are women, I know, who will assure me that if such a high command were to go forth it could not possibly be carried out for the reason that there now are no unemployed women. I shall be told what is happily quite true, that there are women by the hundred thousand who are making munitions, running canteens, making clothes for the miserable victims of war in Russia and Serbia, nursing in hospitals, driving motor-cars for war-time uses, acting as clerks, as cooks, as letter carriers, as dairymaids, as fruit gatherers, as harvesters, as everything almost that a useful person can be.

There are other people who will tell me a different story, and one which is equally true. They will tell me that when in 1915 the Labour Department of the Board of Trade made a great appeal to women to volunteer for war service, the appeal was enthusiastically answered by women, crowds of whom flocked to Westminster to set down their names and qualifications for work. They will remind me—these chroniclers of modern social history—that many offered to do national work and that only quite a small handful actually were provided with employment. It was a depressing episode which did much to damp the spirits of the willing. A little later came the National Registration of men and women. The registration of the men meant business, but the registration of the women seemed only to mean a compliment. This view of the matter is also true. And from yet a third quarter we may learn that many women want work and are quite unable to find the occupation for which they are suited, since the war has annihilated demands for certain classes of labour.

Yes, all these several accounts must be accepted as correct. But it may be worth while to notice unpleasing facts in the hope that by thinking about them some means may be found for making them less unsatisfactory.

The prime fact is that the nation wants a great deal of help. Other facts must be adjusted so that more help may be rendered. Notwithstanding all the splendid efforts which women are making on behalf of their country—efforts which have made many slow-thinking men suddenly realise that women cannot be left outside the nation's active life—there does remain a very considerable residue of youngish unmarried women. Go the rounds of the seaside places and what do you find? A procession of smartly dressed girls walking up and down the esplanade, gossiping and listening occasionally to the dance music of the band. There is a rivalry in the matter of transparent stockings and light shoes, completed in the evening by opulent fur coats. (In Scarborough a fur coat of Petrograd warmth and a broad Yorkshire accent invariably go together.) Some of these girls are having holidays and some are perhaps recovering from illness. But their number is quite out of proportion to that of the men, most of whom, as we know, are pledged not to make holiday during this time of tremendous pressure. Among the advertisements in the North Country papers are many demands for women to work in munition factories at rates of wages which, though low, are much better than women's factory wages used to be. I may be told that many middle-class girls are not very strong, and that they will get headaches and become knocked up if they put in a regular day of factory labour. But what about British men who are not merely knocked up, but knocked out? It seems to me that we may be too gingerly in our treatment of women's health. We may do too much saving and "bottling" for the future. It is not clear that health which is persistently spared is sure to be good and available at a distant future date. I used to read that if you cut a fresh rose and put sealing wax at the end of the stalk, it would remain lovely for an indefinite time. I never tried the experiment, so I offer no opinion on this plan of bottling up the rose's charm. But a woman's utility cannot be thus preserved. If her health is not worn by work at the end of twenty years, the chances are that it will be weakened by rheumatism or neuritis or by loss of memory or (worst of all) by the loss of the working method. Life should be used when it is at its best, and by use its faculties will be developed.

Many people have been quite surprised to discover that women can do regular work with positive benefit to their health when they are paid enough wages to enable them to be well fed and when the hours of work are not excessive. But the results of this discovery are not applied widely enough. People appear to think in a very muddled way when they turn their thoughts to the employment of young middle-class unmarried women. Persons of a certain way of thinking demand that these girls should look ornamental and do extremely little. They are content if the girls go to an occasional working party or put in a few hours a week at a canteen. Folk of a rather different type are eager that the roughest jobs should be done by girls of the highest education. They want girls to cut short their college education and do charing in the hospital wards. If they asked that greater facilities should be given to such girls to become engineers, chemists, doctors, Civil servants, or municipal officers, I should think them quite right. But they sometimes appear to wish women to step down in the scale of service for the stepping down's sake.

We shall not, I imagine, get a system of compulsory employment for unmarried women, and this for many reasons, the foremost of them being that the wishes of women could not be expressed through their Parliamentary representatives, since they have none. We can only hope for a stiffening of public opinion on the subject—such a stiffening as may make girls feel uncomfortable to be seen loafing about the streets for hours during the working part of the day. We must also hope that more systematic efforts will be made to train girls for skilled employment. Many branch [illegible]

may learn that many women want work and are quite unable to find the occupation for which they are suited, since the war has annihilated demands for certain classes of labour.

Yes, all these several accounts must be accepted as correct. But it may be worth while to notice unpleasing facts in the hope that by thinking about them some means may be found for making them less unsatisfactory.

The prime fact is that the nation wants a great deal of help. Other facts must be adjusted so that more help may be rendered. Notwithstanding all the splendid efforts which women are making on behalf of their country—efforts which have made many slow-thinking men suddenly realise that women cannot be left outside the nation's active life—there does remain a very considerable residue of youngish unmarried women. Go the rounds of the seaside places and what do you find? A procession of smartly dressed girls walking up and down the esplanade, gossiping and listening occasionally to the dance music of the band. There is a rivalry in the matter of transparent stockings and light shoes, completed in the evening by opulent fur coats. (In Scarborough a fur coat of Petrograd warmth and a broad Yorkshire accent invariably go together.) Some of these girls are having holidays and some are perhaps recovering from illness. But their number is quite out of proportion to that of the men, most of whom, as we know, are pledged not to make holiday during this time of tremendous pressure. Among the advertisements in the North Country papers are many demands for women to work in munition factories at rates of wages which, though low, are much better than women's factory wages used to be. I may be told that many middle-class girls are not very strong, and that they will get headaches and become knocked up if they put in a regular day of factory labour. But what about British men who are not merely knocked up, but knocked out? It seems to me that we may be too gingerly in our treatment of women's health. We may do too much saving and "bottling" for the future. It is not clear that health which is persistently spared is sure to be good and available at a distant future date. I used to read that if you cut a fresh rose and put sealing wax at the end of the stalk, it would remain lovely for an indefinite time. I never tried the experiment, so I offer no opinion on this plan of bottling up the rose's charm. But a woman's utility cannot be thus preserved. If her health is not worn by work at the end of twenty years, the chances are that it will be weakened by rheumatism or neuritis or by loss of memory or (worst of all) by the loss of the working method. Life should be used when it is at its best, and by use its faculties will be developed.

Many people have been quite surprised to discover that women can do regular work with positive benefit to their health when they are paid enough wages to enable them to be well fed and when the hours of work are not excessive. But the results of this discovery are not applied widely enough. People appear to think in a very muddled way when they turn their thoughts to the employment of young middle-class unmarried women. Persons of a certain way of thinking demand that these girls should look ornamental and do extremely little. They are content if the girls go to an occasional working party or put in a few hours a week at a canteen. Folk of a rather different type are eager that the roughest jobs should be done by girls of the highest education. They want girls to cut short their college education and do charing in the hospital wards. If they asked that greater facilities should be given to such girls to become engineers, chemists, doctors, Civil servants, or municipal officers, I should think them quite right. But they sometimes appear to wish women to step down in the scale of service for the stepping down's sake.

We shall not, I imagine, get a system of compulsory employment for unmarried women, and this for many reasons, the foremost of them being that the wishes of women could not be expressed through their Parliamentary representatives, since they have none. We can only hope for a stiffening of public opinion on the subject—such a stiffening as may make girls feel uncomfortable to be seen loafing about the streets for hours during the working part of the day. We must also hope that more systematic efforts will be made to train girls for skilled employment. Many largish towns, for example, are still without any good commercial classes for girls and are equally unable to offer their girls a thorough training in dressmaking, gardening, dairy work, or poultry management. Hospital training has become much more generally accessible since the establishment all over the country of V.A.D. hospitals, which give girls an opportunity of testing their aptitude for a professional nurse's life. But if professional, commercial, and agricultural training could be more extensively offered to girls by local bodies—an "if" which depends largely on the election of women members to the town and county councils—we should find ourselves far on the way towards utilising the work of our female unemployed.

UNWANTED WOMEN.

A "SLACKER'S" REPLY.

A writer in "The Daily Mail" on Monday, in paying tribute to the splendid war work of the majority of women, indicted a minority of "unsplendid women," including those who give themselves a good time under the pretext that they are "giving the boys a good time," unoccupied educated women in the homes of well-to-do parents, and single women living aimless lives in boarding-houses.

Here is the other side of the story, as presented by a woman "slacker":

Take my own case.

At first, like many another, I did not realise that the grip of war was going to tighten so relentlessly on our country. But when I did realise it I took a survey of the situation in order to see "where I came in" in the national scheme of things.

I have been a working woman all my life—first as a fully qualified teacher, then as a specialist in certain directions in business. I have known all my life that I have none of the essential qualities of a nurse, and the only part of teaching that was too much for me was the more or less continuous standing.

So it followed logically that I should be useless to my country either as a V.A.D. nurse or as a munition worker or canteen helper because of the constant standing that would be necessary. But I offered my services voluntarily in connection with the details of the particular business with which I was acquainted, and I also, at a later period, offered myself as a voluntary helper in connection with national educational movements which I read were being organised at the time, in view of difficulties after the war.

In both cases my offer was refused. My services were not required.

Now, the question remains: Ought I to have offered my services for nursing or for those other branches of help when I knew perfectly well that I should very soon have been knocked up by them?

* * * * *

I think all reasonable people will admit that I should have been far more bother than I was worth if I had done so. It was surely more sensible for me to make the decision myself than to force it upon the nation.

And I take it that there are others in the same case as myself. We are not doing definite war work because there is no niche for us.

That, our critics will say, is an easy excuse to make. Naturally the work will not come running after us. Unless we look for it and are really keen about it, the nation has no use for us.

Quite so!

But I know of many cases where women have written and visited and inquired and filled up papers about all sorts of different kinds of war work, and still their services have been —more or less politely—refused.

I know of women who have gone to big business establishments and enumerated their different practical capabilities, ending up with the remark, "Now, if you can make use of me in any of these directions, and in so doing release a man, I am willing to work without wages for the duration of the war, so that you can afford to pay his full salary to his dependents." And the answer has been that while the firm fully appreciate the generosity of the offer, they really cannot accept it. They prefer to appoint ineligible men and pay them a salary.

And the woman who has offered her services has seen the justice of this, for so long as there are men at home who are ineligible for fighting, and so long as they can do the work that is required, it is certainly more fair to give it to them and pay them a salary than to employ a woman who does not want the money.

But when, as a result of the refusal of her offer, the woman is left, feeling that her conscience is clear, to go on with the usual routine of her life, it is a little hard on her to be accused of being a slacker.

* * * * *

Then I know many other women who answered the call to work on the land, only to be informed that their services were not required. I know of other women who have offered their services for munition work and been told that there were no more vacancies.

Perhaps that was so at the moment; but surely the businesslike thing for the labour organisers to have done would have been to keep a waiting list and let suitable candidates' names be put down on it so that they could be communicated with when vacancies did occur.

I believe if a census were taken of those women who have been so sweepingly condemned for not doing their national duty, the reason for their apparent slackness would be found to be, almost without exception, one of two—either physical disability (which probably is not apparent to the observer) or rejection for the work they have offered to do.

* * * * *

Naturally, when women come to talk over this constant repetition of the stereotyped phrase telling them that while their offer is appreciated there is no vacancy for them, they wonder what the reason is.

And the majority have decided that it is because there are more women volunteers than the nation knows what to do with. I know that at the present moment there is a cry for more nurses. More girls are asked to begin qualifying for ambulance work and home nursing, so that they can do probationers' work in the hospitals.

I frankly confess that I was astonished when I became aware of this cry during the last month or two. For if the authorities will carry their memories back to the early days of the war, they will remember that it began to be asserted on all sides that they were wailing against the fact that every woman who wanted to "help" immediately seized on the notion that she was a born nurse.

Girls flocked to the ambulance and home nursing classes at the evening schools and polytechnic institutes throughout the kingdom, and the general impression that most women received was that this particular avenue was being overcrowded. We heard of girls passing the necessary examinations and never being wanted anywhere because others had preceded them.

But apparently there was some miscalculation somewhere. As a mere woman citizen I will, of course, refrain from suggesting where that miscalculation lay.

Sunday Times
8. 10. 16

679c/8

679c
Daily News + Leader
3. 10. 16

THE NEED FOR WOMEN WORKERS

IS COMPULSION POSSIBLE?

By HAROLD COX.

Within the last few weeks the public has begun to realise that a good deal of the enthusiastic praise which earlier in the war was being lavished upon women as a body for their patriotic exertions ought to have been more discriminating. It now transpires from careful estimates that there still remain a very large number of women who might be drawn upon for war work and who have not undertaken war work of any kind. Yet the call for women workers is even more imperative than it was in the earlier days of the war. The Army is using up men with increasing rapidity. We must maintain the strength of our regiments in the field and we can only do this by withdrawing more and more of the manhood of the nation from civilian employment. The places of the men withdrawn must either be left empty or filled by women.

WHERE WORKERS ARE NEEDED.

Yet the women do not come forward in adequate numbers. That is the broad fact which emerges from the absence of response to the recently issued advertisement by the Ministry of Munitions inviting application from women for free training as munition workers. This free training is given in some half-dozen centres in London, organised by the London County Council. The Ministry of Munitions called for 1,000 women students a week. At several of the institutions named only two or three applications were received in the first two days after this appeal was issued. It is fair to add that in previous months a considerable number of women had taken advantage of the free training offered by these institutions.

Altogether some 20,000 women have gone through the County Council free training schools for munition workers. But the supply of volunteers seems to have nearly dried up and the urgent question is whether it is possible to discover any means of renewing the supply. Women workers are needed not only in munition works, but also in other forms of industry from which men are being withdrawn. For example, women milkers are badly needed in order to keep up our dairying industry. The importance of that industry to the health of the nation is obvious. Yet unless women milkers can be found it will be necessary for farmers to send to the butcher many of their milch cows.

Again, in Government offices there is an unsatisfied demand for women clerks. Most of the work for which these women clerks are wanted is of an extremely simple character, requiring no previous training, but as very few educated women volunteer for this work the Government is being often compelled to employ incompetent women, who may be relied upon to make blunders over even the simplest work. There is also still a demand for hospital nurses. A great many women workers in the earlier days of the war voluntarily took up hospital work. But it has now become necessary to appoint a committee to consider from what sources more women can be obtained for the absolutely essential work in military hospitals.

THE CASE FOR COMPULSION.

Thus there can be no question of the strength of the demand for more women workers. There may conceivably be many removable obstacles to the employment of women who would be willing to be employed but fail to get into touch with the kind of employment they want. But it is to be feared that beyond this consideration there is a more serious obstacle.

Broadly we have to face the fact that there are a large number of women in the well-to-do classes, and in classes which are only moderately well-to-do, who find themselves adequately supported from outside sources and have not the slightest desire to do work of any kind. It is this great body of unemployed women that somehow or another has to be reached.

The question that naturally arises is why women of this type should be exempt from the compulsion which has been applied to the majority of the men in the country. Those men of military age who refused to enlist voluntarily—happily they were a small minority—have been compelled by law to serve their country in the field. Is there any overwhelming reason why women—and also unoccupied men—who are capable of industrial or clerical work should not be compelled to undertake such work at their country's call? After all, it is a very small obligation in comparison with that imposed upon the men of fighting age.

PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES.

When, however, we come to the practical question of how compulsion is to be applied multitudes of difficulties arise. One obvious proposal is to place a special tax upon all unoccupied women, to be accompanied by a similar tax on men who are not doing work that directly helps the war. But a little thought will show that such a tax could not be fairly levied except with great discrimination. For example, a woman whose husband is working in a munitions factory and who has to prepare his food as well as to look after two or three children cannot fairly be described as unoccupied although she is doing no direct industrial work.

On the other hand, it may easily happen that the husband gets most of his meals out, that the children are able to look after themselves, and that his wife has very little to do. Many women who find themselves in that position are already working; others are idling. But clearly it is extremely difficult to impose any general tax which would be fair unless accompanied by some searching investigation into the circumstances of each case.

Again, there is the question of the amount of the tax. A tax of 2s. or 3s. a week would be sufficient to compel a woman of the working classes to undertake industrial work, but it would have no similar effect on a woman of the well-to-do classes. A tax to be fair must necessarily take account of the resources of the payer.

It is, however, open to consideration whether it would not be possible to make use of the national register taken last autumn in order to effect the purpose in view. Women as well as men were then registered, but except for a few intermittent inquiries little use has been made of the women's side of the register. It ought to be possible now to make full use of the information obtained. To do so it would be necessary to establish tribunals for women analogous to the tribunals established for men for military service.

Admittedly it would not be possible actually to compel a woman to work as the nation can compel a man to fight, but it would be possible to say to every woman who had no adequate excuse for refusing to work that she must either undertake certain specified work or pay a sufficiently heavy tax to make her leisure costly to herself and productive of revenue to the State. And the same alternative should be given to men who are engaged in money-producing and not in war-aiding occupations.

WOMEN WHO DO NOT WORK.

Conscription for All?

To the Editor of "The Daily News."

Sir,—Has not the time arrived for the conscription of women of all classes not already employed on women's work, for war work, as a complement to the conscription of men?

Most adult women are already fully occupied on their indispensable duties as mothers and wives, and, say schoolmistresses; and of the remainder, many are voluntary war workers, just as most men had enlisted previous to conscription. What, then, is the need for female conscription? Let us define female conscription. It means that the State can compel a woman to work, and to work not at what the woman wishes or has been used to, but as is most necessary to the State, and consistent with the female conscript's faculties—i.e., that the woman with private means may be made to work, and also deprived of her "lady's maid," who will be set to some more useful work.

Let us recall the arguments for conscription of six months ago, and the results of conscription. It brought in many men who were not shirkers, but who reasoned: "If I am wanted I shall be fetched" and "Why should I go while my neighbours stop at home?" There were logical trade unionists who would not volunteer; but were ready to vote for conscription for everyone, including themselves.

This argument will apply to women also. A girl may say: "Why should I slave at hospital cooking or housemaiding, while my cousin plays or plays at work?" The Countess may say: "Why should I give up my lady's maid? I can pay her more, and she likes it better than munition work"; but the Countess has had to give up her son.

But besides the above argument there are reasons especially applying to women—good, bad, or indifferent—why conscription is necessary. There is the natural shrinking of the quiet, middle-aged woman from publicity and promiscuity, influencing the great mass of the easied classes who cherish those ideals which constitute the delicacy of the English lady. They are "shocked" (I use the word of malice aforethought) at the pictures of more strenuous ladies that appear in the illustrated Press with various titles to distinction and various costumes.

There are thousands of quiet spinsters between the ages of 25 and 55 living sad and lonely lives in boarding-houses and flats who are quite patriotic, and could and would do useful work; but they want to be asked. They are shy to come forward; just as in other days they could not ask a man to love or to marry them. They need to be guided.

Then there is an unhappy class of women who are dependent on some selfish taskmistress, sometimes a malade imaginaire; sometimes a rich relation; and these can only be liberated by the strong arm of the law. Perhaps those who could be most easily spared would be the last to come voluntarily—the most ingenious to find excuses; the solitary shrew, the parasite, the unliveable, the unloveable, the stall-fed, the hypochondriac who always breakfasts in bed.

There is need of a law to say all available women shall work, and shall work in the way best suited to them and the public needs. Apart from the national interest, a far happier destiny may await these—well, drones—if they are made to work.

There are physical limitations and adaptations of work which only conscription can apply, e.g., a woman of forty who has never worked cannot and must not be allowed to instantly do an eight hours' day and seven days a week; but, beginning gently, she can be trained to concert and she must be properly fed. Mocking ridicule has been abundantly poured on women attempting work for which they were at all events in the first instance unsuited, as, e.g., the skilled labour of milking cows and the skilled and heavy work of ploughing. But many a man, both in and out of khaki, is doing, and doing well, work he never practised before Bank Holiday, 1914; and women are, to say the least, as adaptable as men. With legal conscription there can be a regulated organisation and training, whether the conscript woman is to be a nurse, a munition worker, or to replace a soldier

days of the war. The Army is using up men with increasing rapidity. We must maintain the strength of our regiments in the field and we can only do this by withdrawing more and more of the manhood of the nation from civilian employment. The places of the men withdrawn must either be left empty or filled by women.

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Again, in Government offices there is an unsatisfied demand for women clerks. Most of the work for which these women clerks are wanted is of an extremely simple character, requiring no previous training, but as very few educated women volunteer for this work the Government is being often compelled to employ incompetent women, who may be relied upon to make blunders over even the simplest work. There is also still a demand for hospital nurses. A great many women workers in the earlier days of the war voluntarily took up hospital work. But it has now become necessary to appoint a committee to consider from what sources more women can be obtained for the absolutely essential work in military hospitals.

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When, however, we come to the practical question of how compulsion is to be applied multitudes of difficulties arise. One obvious proposal is to place a special tax upon all unoccupied women, to be accompanied by a similar tax on men who are not doing work that directly helps the war. But a little thought will show that such a tax could not be fairly levied except with great discrimination. For example, a woman whose husband is working in a munitions factory and who has to prepare his food as well as to look after two or three children cannot fairly be described as unoccupied although she is doing no direct industrial work.

On the other hand, it may easily happen that the husband gets most of his meals out, that the children are able to look after themselves, and that his wife has very little to do. Many women who find themselves in that position are already working; others are idling. But clearly it is extremely difficult to impose any general tax which would be fair unless accompanied by some searching investigation into the circumstances of each case.

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Admittedly it would not be possible actually to compel a woman to work as the nation can compel a man to fight, but it would be possible to say to every woman who had no adequate excuse for refusing to work that she must either undertake certain specified work or pay a sufficiently heavy tax to make her leisure costly to herself and productive of revenue to the State. And the same alternative should be given to men who are engaged in money-producing and not in war-aiding occupations.

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For those ladies who have no special gifts there is open a position apparently humble but really most useful, and therefore the noblest—the female hospital orderly. Trained nurses are indispensable in a hospital, and a few strong men are necessary to lift the patient to the operating room and elsewhere; but outside this sphere it is a waste to see young trained soldiers or young men fit for soldiers as hospital orderlies when the entire unskilled work of the hospital can be discharged by women.

Lastly, is it fair to make women work? In the name of all that is common sense, women are really the greatest sufferers from a war; and the sooner one brings every effort to bear to bring it to an efficient close the better for women.

W. N. M. G.

London, Oct. 2.

Scotsman. Edinburgh.
3.10.16

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS AND ALTERNATIVE CIVILIAN SERVICE.

MEMORIAL TO THE PRIME MINISTER.

A MEMORIAL has been submitted to the Prime Minister setting out certain considerations with regard to conscientious objectors to military service, who refuse the offer of alternative civilian service. There are 32 names of ladies and gentlemen supporting the document, including those of William Archer, M.A.; Lord Henry Bentinck, the Rev. John Clifford, D.D., B.Sc.; Lord Courtney of Penwith; Samuel Doncaster, managing director of Daniel Doncaster & Sons, Sheffield (controlled establishment), and director of Samuel Fox & Co., Stocksbridge, Sheffield (controlled establishment); P. T. Forsyth, B.D., Principal, Hackney Theological College; Mary Macarthur, J. O. F. Murray, Master of Selwyn.

They say:—"It is not necessary to share the opinions of the men in question (as, in fact, many of us do not share them) to feel an uncompromising hostility to this policy. The men in question may be mistaken, but they are undoubtedly sincere. They have proved their sincerity already by suffering for their beliefs. Such men, whatever they are, are not 'shirkers.' They believe it to be their duty to make their protest in this way against war. Their objection to alternative civilian service is a logical result of their objection to war. If, by civilian service, they release other men for military service, they will, they hold, be sending others to do that which they themselves think it wrong to do. We may be sure that if they consented to do this, they would be accused of cowardly inconsistency, and with reason. On the other hand, if they are left to themselves, they are the kind of men who will make it their main object to serve the community to the best of their ability in ways which their conscience approves.

"The number of these men is not large enough for the issue of the war to be affected one way or the other by their serving or not serving. To shoot them would be to inflict upon them the death penalty not because they have committed any crime, but because they hold certain convictions. They have already been punished for disobedience. It appears, therefore, that their disobedience is to be regarded as a continuing act, and that punishment is to be continued also until they desist from it. Therefore, the more their disobedience is the result of sincere conviction, the more they will be punished for it, so that the offence for which they are to be punished is their conviction itself, and the aim of punishment is to make them recant from that conviction. We believe this to be a precedent of the worst possible omen for the future of liberty in this country."

Daily News & Leader.
3.10.16

PLEA FOR THE MEN OF CONSCIENCE.

Influential Petition to Mr. Asquith.

A plea on behalf of conscientious objectors who refuse the offer of the alternative civilian service has been drawn up in the shape of a memorial bearing the signatures of many influential people and sent to Mr. Asquith. Referring to the position of objectors after their term of imprisonment expires, the petition says:

"It does not appear from Mr. Forster's statement that the men with whom we are now concerned will be regarded as entitled to any further consideration. There is then at least grave risk that they will be condemned to death and shot. . . . Their objection to alternative civilian service is a logical result of their objection to war. If by civilian service they release other men for military service they will, they hold, be sending others to do that which they themselves think it wrong to do. . . . They have already been punished for disobedience. It appears, therefore, that their disobedience is to be regarded as a continuing act and that punishment is to be continued also until they desist from it. We, therefore, respectfully urge that the only course consistent with that policy of respecting conscience which was embodied in the Military Service Act is to give these men the unconditional exemption for which the Act provides and which in fact has been given in other cases where no scruple of conscience is concerned. . . ." The following are the signatories to the memorial:

Mr. William Archer; Councillor Margaret Ashton; Mr. Arnold Bennett; Lord Henry Bentinck; Mr. A. Clutton Brock; Miss Janet Case; Rev. Dr. John Clifford; Lord Courtney of Penwith; Miss Margaret Llewelyn Davies; Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson, Fellow, King's Coll., Cambridge; Mr. Leonard Doncaster, Fellow, King's Coll., Cambridge; Mr. Samuel Doncaster, Managing Director of Daniel Doncaster and Sons, Ltd., Sheffield; Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, Vice-Chancellor, Sheffield University; Rev. Dr. P. T. Forsyth, Principal, Hackney Theological College; Sir Edward Fry; Rev. A. E. Garvie, Principal, New College, Hampstead; Rev. R. C. Gillie, [illegible]; Professor A. J. Grant, Leeds University; [illegible]

Daily News & Leader. 679 e
4.10.16
679c/9

"WOMEN WHO DO NOT WORK."

To the Editor of "The Daily News."

Sir,—Has not the time arrived when the large crowd of busybodies who are wanting to "compel" everybody else should be firmly sat on? If your correspondent "W. N. M. G." will inquire into the way the War Office has treated the V.A.D. nurses and helpers—the very class against whom the new compulsion is to be directed—there will be perhaps more hesitation in recommending the infallible specific: "Conscription."

The idea that the spinsters of 55 want to go into Woolwich Arsenal or some hospital is simply grotesque. As for the pretence that women with selfish taskmistresses need the strong arm of the law to "liberate" them, "W. N. M. G." had better tell that to the women who have been "liberated" by V.A.D. work. Why it is more "liberating" to buy your own uniform and receive no pay in order to be bullied by a hospital matron than it is to be bullied by a "selfish taskmistress" who pays you wages, I have yet to learn.

R S P

Daily News & Leader.
4.10

SHOULD WOMEN BE CONSCRIPTED?

'Slacker' Charges Declared Wholly Unjust.

Some of those in closest touch with the facts are indignant with the correspondent signing himself "W. N. M. G.," who suggested in yesterday's "Daily News" that conscription ought to be applied to women "slackers."

"Perhaps," wrote "W. N. M. G.," "those who could be most easily spared would be the last to come voluntarily—the most ingenious to find excuses; the solitary shrew, the parasite, the unlivable, the unlovable, the stall-fed, the hypochondriac who always breakfasts in bed."

"Does the writer really know what he is talking about?" asked one of the chief organisers of the Women's Service Bureau, which from its offices in Victoria-street, Westminster, has passed many thousands of women into the offices and workshops of the nation. "I don't think he does," she answered, "for our experience is that there are plenty of women volunteers for every vacant job. The whole trouble at the present time is not found in the failure of women to come forward but in the difficulty of training them.

"Hundreds of women anxious for work present themselves at this office every day. Many of them are fairly well educated, but they are entirely unacquainted with the details of any trade or profession. A lot of them are just the sort of 'drones' your correspondent probably has in mind—women who have never done anything much in their lives except play games and travel, and have a good time generally. What we are particularly anxious to do now is to educate them for some occupation. Then there will be no difficulty in their finding work.

"The charges are not only unjust," she added, "but the proposal to apply industrial conscription to women is utterly unpractical. All the Government would acquire would be a huge mass of entirely unskilled labour. What could it do with it? Train it by force? But the whole idea is too visionary for practical discussion."

Special facilities are now available, through the bureau, for training women to become glassblowers, oxy-acetylene welders, dental mechanics, and engineers. There are magnificent openings for women who are willing to take up the mechanical side of dentistry—the making of false teeth, etc.—and those who have gone in for oxy-acetylene welding, which is largely employed in the manufacture of aeroplanes, are doing particularly well. The demand for skilled women in these and other trades is practically unlimited, but their training is naturally a matter of time and effort. The only women whom it is still found difficult to place are quite unskilled women of more than forty years of age.

for the issue of the war to be [illegible] the other by their serving or not serving. To shoot them would be to inflict upon them the death penalty not because they have committed any crime, but because they hold certain convictions. They have already been punished for disobedience. It appears, therefore, that their disobedience is to be regarded as a continuing act, and that punishment is to be continued also until they desist from it. Therefore, the more their disobedience is the result of sincere conviction, the more they will be punished for it, so that the offence for which they are to be punished is their conviction itself, and the aim of punishment is to make them recant from that conviction. We believe this to be a precedent of the worst possible omen for the future of liberty in this country."

Daily News + Leader.

3.10.16

PLEA FOR THE MEN OF CONSCIENCE.

Influential Petition to Mr. Asquith.

A plea on behalf of conscientious objectors who refuse the offer of the alternative civilian service has been drawn up in the shape of a memorial bearing the signatures of many influential people and sent to Mr. Asquith. Referring to the position of objectors after their term of imprisonment expires, the petition says:

"It does not appear from Mr. Forster's statement that the men with whom we are now concerned will be regarded as entitled to any further consideration. There is then at least grave risk that they will be condemned to death and shot. . . . Their objection to alternative civilian service is a logical result of their objection to war. If by civilian service they release other men for military service they will, they hold be sending others to do that which they themselves think it wrong to do. . . . They have already been punished for disobedience. It appears, therefore, that their disobedience is to be regarded as a continuing act and that punishment is to be continued also until they desist from it. We, therefore, respectfully urge that the only course consistent with that policy of respecting conscience which was embodied in the Military Service Act is to give these men the unconditional exemption for which the Act provides and which in fact has been given in other cases where no scruple of conscience is concerned. . . ."

The following are the signatories to the memorial:

Mr. William Archer; Councillor Margaret Ashton; Mr. Arnold Bennett; Lord Henry Bentinck; Mr. A. Clutton Brock; Miss Janet Case; Rev. Dr. John Clifford; Lord Courtney of Penwith; Miss Margaret Llewelyn Davies; Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson, Fellow, King's Coll., Cambridge; Mr. Leonard Doncaster, Fellow, King's Coll., Cambridge; Mr. Samuel Doncaster, Managing Director of Daniel Doncaster and Sons, Ltd., Sheffield; Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, Vice-Chancellor, Sheffield University; Rev. Dr P. T. Forsyth, Principal, Hackney Theological College; Sir Edward Fry; Rev. A. E. Garvie, Principal, New College, Hampstead; Rev. R. C. Gillie; Professor A. J. Grant, Leeds University; Mr. Edward Grubb; Professor C. H. Herford, Litt.D., Manchester University; Rev. Silas K. Hocking; Mr. W. E. Johnson, Fellow, King's Coll., Cambridge; Miss Susan Lawrence; Rev. F. B. Meyer; Miss Mary Macarthur; Rev. J. O. F. Murray, Master of Selwyn; Rev. W. E. Orchard; Earl Russell; Lady Strachey; Professor G. Unwin, Manchester University; Professor [illegible]

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"Hundreds of women anxious for work present themselves at this office every day. Many of them are fairly well educated, but they are entirely unacquainted with the details of any trade or profession. A lot of them are just the sort of 'drones' your correspondent probably has in mind—women who have never done anything much in their lives except play games and travel, and have a good time generally. What we are particularly anxious to do now is to educate them for some occupation. Then there will be no difficulty in their finding work.

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The Star
4. 10. 16

WOMEN ARE NOT "SLACKERS."

The Female Conscription Suggestion.

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Anxious for Work.

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Special Facilities.

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Daily News & Leader
5. 10. 16

679

679

"WOMEN WHO NOT WORK"

—And "Men Who Will Not!"

To the Editor of "The Daily News."

Sir,—I admire "W. N. M. G.'s" letter on "Conscription for All." I would like it to be for all. He mentions women of between 25 and 55 who would be willing to do useful work. Yes, they are willing; but what about the men of between 41 and 55—plenty of strong, capable men who will not work and at present cannot be made to. They are living lazy, useless lives in these strenuous days, and should be compelled to show that they are doing useful work for their country—not necessarily fighting. We can all do something; and if we do not do it voluntarily, we should be compelled. Certainly let it be "Conscription for All."

PHOEBE GOODWIN.

Highgate, Oct. 3.

"Exploited Women Labour."

Sir,—I have read with interest the letter of your anonymous correspondent on "Conscription for Women." I note that whereas men are conscripted up to the age of 40, it is suggested that women of 40 should be compelled to start work, and work up to the age of 55—a critical period. No doubt this matter could be regulated by a medical board of male doctors, with the brilliant results achieved hitherto in the medical examination of men.

It will not, of course, be necessary to investigate how many thousands of women seeking work are still on the Labour Exchange Registers, nor how many university educated women cannot find work at reasonable salaries, while the Government is at a loss to find educated women at the driving salary it offers. Nor how many women cannot undertake V.A.D. work because they cannot afford to work for nothing, or for the ridiculous gratuity offered.

We have constant appeals for educated women to go on the land and pick hops for 15s. a week—finding their own food, with "allowances" of barns to sleep and do their own cooking in, and straw to fill their own empty mattress cases. And now the glorious vista opens before us of a mighty England conscripting her grandmothers, while her young men in Government offices and factories, in batches of 25, initial documents which are the epitome of fraud and corruption.

It is quite amazing that a vicious sex appeal to penalise "the solitary shrew, the unlikeable, and the unlovable" should be made a ground for conscripting women, and it would be interesting to know how, even with this charming and inspiring docket, women can be forcibly transformed into the drudges which unfortunately so many women have too eagerly and generously rushed to become—so earning for themselves the cynical sneer of a correspondent of the "Times" (Sept. 27) that "with no sense of their own value and a keen desire to make martyrs of themselves," women are also themselves to blame for their circumstances.

B. S. PIGOTT.

Oct. 4.

For Compulsion.

Sir,—"W. N. M. G." is right. It is time that women were called up. There are scores who would like to work for their country, but who do not dare to push themselves forward. I had always hoped that registration was for the purpose of calling up women, as well as men, to serve their country.

It would be the salvation of hundreds of women to be compelled to work. It would enlarge their minds to be forced to mix with others. Work—and proper rations—would improve their health and develop their minds.

As to the age limit, there is no such thing if people would keep themselves fit.

A WOMAN OF SIXTY.

Sheffield Telegraph
11.10.16

DEFENCE OF WOMEN'S WORK.

At the Bakewell Urban Tribunal, over which Mr. A. H. Kerr (agent to the Duke of Rutland's Haddon Estate) presided, a number of cases where men had been passed for sedentary labour and other work abroad, were adjourned.

The master at the Bakewell Workhouse, aged 39, married, who had been passed for home service only, was appealed for by Mr. A. Hawes (clerk to the Board of Guardians), who, on their behalf, stated that he was now the only male officer at the institution, the labour master and porter having joined the army, the former as a reservist.

The case was adjourned.

The Superintendent of an Assurance Company, appealing for an assistant superintendent at Bakewell, married, with four children, observed that he had appointed a few local women to act as collectors and canvassers in the district, but apparently the first thing they did was to "make a muddle of the books."

The Military Representative (Captain W. K. Pritchard): Your sneer against women who are doing their bit is entirely uncalled for. If that is your only objection, it doesn't in my opinion, amount to very much.

The Superintendent: We have to train these women for the work.

The case was adjourned.

The question of two of the Bakewell slaughtermen doing the work for the other butchers in the town was left in abeyance for a time.

It was stated that a woman yeast merchant, whose motor-van driver had been called up, was learning to drive herself.

Mr. C. H. Glossop (a member of the Tribunal): So many people say to us that their employees are indispensable that it is a credit to this woman to find that she is trying to do a lot of the work herself. (Hear, hear.)

Daily News & Leader.
6.10.16

THE UNWANTED WOMAN.

The Case of the Middle-aged.

To the Editor of "The Daily News."

Sir,—One reason given by "W. N. M. G." for the conscription of women is that the middle-aged woman would have a chance; also that she would be trained gently and gradually by a nice motherly Government.

It sounds all right. But there are hundreds, and perhaps thousands of women, of from 35 to 40 years of age who put their names down at Labour Bureaus at the beginning of the war as willing to be trained for any work; and they are still waiting.

It is not conscription that is required, but a different idea of the value of women's labour by employers. Women have shown conclusively that they can soon adapt themselves to various kinds of labour. But in order to get employment they must be young. Yet we cannot all be from 16 to 19; nor, unfortunately, do we remain at 35.

The woman of 40 has very little chance, however active, willing, capable, or adaptable she may be. She lacks that "smartness" which is considered an essential by employers—"smartness" which would not sit well on a woman of 40 did she assume it. It is a libel on women as a body to say that they require to be conscripted in order to make them work. Gradually women are filling all trades and professions; thousands have been trained during the last two years to take men's places.

Further, I think there is now very little of that shocked feeling of which your correspondent speaks regarding honest work of whatever sort.

A WORKER AT HOME.

Oct. 5.

"Should Women be Conscripted?"

Sir,—Two paragraphs in your issue today leave me in doubt as to which to believe. Under the above title it is stated: "There are plenty of women volunteers for every vacancy; the whole trouble at the present time is not found in the failure of women to come forward, but in the difficulty of training them. Hundreds of women anxious for work present themselves at this office every day."

Lower down, in the same column, you announce that the Ministry of Munitions is asking for women to undergo training at the technical centres in the London district, and elsewhere. What is one to believe?

A SOLITARY SHREW.

Oct. 4.

Daily News & Leader. 679
7.10.16

WOMEN AND WAR-WORK.

The Willing and Unwilling

To the Editor of "The Daily News."

Sir,—Would it not be as well for those women who lay down the law for others and advocate "conscription for all women" to quietly ask themselves whether they are doing all they might to help their country? They are apparently women of leisure, and possibly money, so could find work without conscription in unostentatiously seeking out their less fortunate sisters, whose homes have been broken up, and whose husbands are at the Front; and by rendering them service in many little ways they would still be helping their country.

Women have volunteered willingly to release men for fighting, but one must not overlook the fact that there are many willing enough, but physically unfit to go out every day in all weathers. These, of course, under conscription, need not expect any consideration or exemption from the Medical Board (judging by the treatment already meted out to unfit men), so that when their husbands return from the Front, possibly wounded or chronic invalids, they would find neglected homes and invalid wives to add to their burden. Truly a cheerful prospect!

Conscription for all women would be an economic failure. There would always be slackers, and the usual injustice to others. One can only appeal to women collectively, and try to realise, being ignorant of their circumstances, that they too "also serve who only stand and wait."

(Mrs.) M. MONTAGU SKINNER.

5, Bramshill-gardens, N.W.

"Waiting" Lists.

Sir,—Your correspondents appear to me to write from the standpoint that female labour is unobtainable. My inquiries lead me to the exactly opposite conclusion. I am informed that there are long waiting lists at all the banks, insurance offices and post offices; and in one provincial town there are upwards of 100 applicants for tramcar conductorships and 150 for those on the vehicles (motor and horse) of the local company, and not one vacancy.

J. P. BACON PHILLIPS.

Crowhurst Rectory, Sussex.

Volunteers and Pressed Service.

Sir,—Is the growing freedom of women so irksome to "W. N. M. G." that he must needs agitate for it to be taken away before it has well nigh come?

The *voluntary* going of women into the nation's workshops is just what is needed to widen their outlook and to give them a more intelligent grasp of the great problems of life and government. If, however, they are conscripted into it the value is gone; for there can be no interest or enthusiasm for self-improvement where it is pressed service.

Again, surely it should be the women who should decide whether there should be conscription for women, and not men.

D. M. M. B.

Derby, Oct. 5.

Women and the War.

Sir,—I fully agree with "W. N. M. G." upon the subject of conscription for women within certain ages. Why men should have to do all the fighting and working I cannot understand.

It is, of course, true that a few women are driving cars about, which could be better done by discharged soldiers, that some are at work in munition works, for which they receive splendid pay, and that some are at work on the land. I cannot, however, see where their patriotism comes in.

Women have more to gain by the winning of the war than men; therefore, if there is conscription for men's lives there should be for women's labour.

M. E. W.

Ilford.

9c/11

NEED FOR WOMEN WORKERS.

SOME REPLIES TO MR. HAROLD COX.

THE DIFFICULTY OF FINDING POSITIONS.

The article by Mr. Harold Cox, published in the last issue of THE SUNDAY TIMES, on the need for Women Workers, has brought us a large number of letters, also the reply, printed below, from Miss Mary Cornwall. A selection from these letters is printed herewith.

A further article by Mr. Hardd Cox will be found on page 7.

MORE WORKERS THAN POSITIONS.

By MARY CORNWAL.

Mr. Harold Cox's article in lat Sunday's SUNDAY TIMES is one which will cause a good deal of amazement, not urnixed with indignation, amongst those women workers who during the last few monthshave either been seeking work or helping others to come into touch with employers of labour.

If the call for women workers is so imperative, how is it that the Labou Exchanges are daily turning away women applicants, educated and otherwise, both fr munition, farm, and clerical work.

BROKEN PROMISS.

To take Mr. Cox's first complaint re the Ministry of Munitions' offer offree training to intending female munition orkers. Mr. Cox admits that "a considerale number of women" took advantage of te free training some months ago, but thatnow only two or three applications a wek are being received. The reason is simple—the girls who took the free training hae not got the posts they were promised. Sme have work certainly, but the majority ae only getting a bare living wage, in may cases 20s. a week, which, under existing conditions in industrial districts, equals about 14s. 6d. before the war. Also, before starting work they have to pay 18s. for ools, etc.

Can girls of limited means be expected to waste their time training and earning nothing if they do not know how long they may have to wait before getting a job, and whether, when they get it, they will be able to support themselves in decency?

CLERKS AND FARM HELPERS.

Mr. Cox's next point concerns the women clerks. A great many educated women have volunteered for these posts, and if we take the State as the model employer what positions do we find offered to them? Educated and highly-qualified women of the university type are offered posts which any young person with an elementary school education plus common sense would be perfectly competent to undertake.

If Mr. Cox will inquire at any bureau of employment which endeavours to "place" the well-educated woman worker, he will find that the supply largely exceeds the demand.

As regards the farmers, they are not by any means pining for women helpers, nor when they do give them a belated and reluctant trial, at the instance of a paternal Tribunal, do they trouble to give them a fair wage and accommodation. Considering the conditions under which the average farm labourer has to live, it is hardly surprising that many of the young women win a reputation for fussiness and over-fastidiousness when they have to labour under the same disadvantages.

WORK WANTED—NOT WOMEN.

No doubt the supply of hospital nurses is running short, but the number of girls who can afford to take up V.A.D. nursing is limited, considering that it is all work and no pay, even uniform and board and lodging in many cases having to be paid by the worker. Perhaps, though, Mr. Cox is a pessimist on the subject of the war and regards it as likely to continue for another three years or so, in which case our female shirker who enters a hospital now will just finish her hospital course in time.

At any rate, the point of my reply to Mr. Cox's article is that there are already more hostel opened free for them while learning. For instance, there are many domestics—refined, clever girls—but they have to live in, as their wage is not sufficient to keep them. Many, too, have no homes to fall back on. Consequently, there is nothing else for them but to continue ignoring their country's call.

NELLIE DOWDELL.

London, W. October 8.

15 10

Where is the Work?

Sir,—Mr. Harold Cox suggests the possibility for compulsion of women workers. Now, compulsion may be possible but I feel sure that our women do not require any step so drastic to get them to work. What they *do* want is the opportunity.

Let me state my own case, which is by no means isolated. I am a healthy, capable woman, and yet after repeated applications at the labour exchange, after repeatedly advertising and answering advertisements, I am still unable to obtain employment. I have had considerable experience in business, but because I do not know shorthand, typewriting, French, and I nearly said German—I seem to be "taboo" for any kind of clerical work. I have also had some experience in welfare work, but because I am not a trained nurse into the bargain I am for that work also "taboo."

I do not state my age because I do not think it matters. What matters most is that I am physically, and mentally I hope, "fit," very much so, moreover I am anxious to help my country and also help myself, and if Mr. Harold Cox can tell me how to obtain work he will earn the everlasting gratitude of

ONE WHO IS WILLING TO WORK.

Prestwich, Manchester.

War Office Dictum.

Sir—I am a certificated student of Girton and have had experience in tuition, office routine, social and literary work. I applied to the Women's Service Bureau, the Professional Classes Relief Fund, the War Office, Censor's Office, Munition Welfare, and various Libraries. The only two posts offered me were both of a nature requiring about six hours walking daily, which I was unfitted for. The War Office, in its reply to my application, said there were many more applicants than vacancies.

This letter is not meant as a complaint—all labour is probably a question of demand and supply—but merely a statement of facts and to show that women like myself are not wanted at the present moment.

GIRTONIAN.

A Man's Protest.

Sir,—As one of the unemployed men over military age, I wish to protest against part of Mr. Cox's article. He considers it our fault. I am a retired professional man of 60 and was doing social work unpaid the first year of the war. Three of my dividends diminished and three disappeared, and the Registration Act led me to hope some work would be given all who were fit for even sedentary work and under 65.

I applied to the Civil Service Commissioners, the Post Office, Inland Revenue, Local Government Board, and Exchequer, but, except that the first-named put me on their list, have either had no answer or a mere acknowledgment, while in another office a friend failed to get me work, and the Ministry of Munitions, after holding out hopes if I put my name on the Labour Exchange, took no further notice. I have also applied to banks, etc., but have not even had an acknowledgment.

I have written Mr. Walter Long, asking what he had in mind when he registered people of 58 and upwards, and what steps we could take to get work, but, naturally, he lies low and says nothing.

If work were properly organised it would be found we should do sedentary work as well as the present clerks, while younger men could develop their muscles.

A.

"Only Vacancies for Shorthand Typists."

Sir,—I should be glad if Mr. Cox would tell me in which offices this "unsatisfied demand" exists.

Being a trained secretary and book keeper, but out of work, I applied to several Government offices, and at one after calling three

At any rate, the point of my reply to Mr. Cox's article is that there are already more women wanting work than there are posts to fill, and that at the present time compulsion for women would mean a considerable embarrassment for the Government and more particularly for the Ministry of Munitions. When all the women the latter have so generously trained are in adequately paid posts, in cleanly, well-heated, and ventilated factories, it will be time enough to look round for the women shirkers who, I suppose, are lurking somewhere, though personally I have yet to meet one.

A War Office Experience.

Sir,—Mr. Harold Cox seems to think the "educated" women of England are holding aloof in this time of stress. That may be true in some cases, but not in all. My own experience is a case in point. I have been well educated—a thoroughly good English education, with a couple of foreign languages, both learnt abroad—but I am in the fifties. Hearing that the War Office was using lady clerks to release men for active service, and being most anxious to do something to help, I offered myself. I was sent for for an interview at the War Office, answered in French to French, read and translated a German letter, gave three references, and was told that, provided they proved satisfactory, as my German was excellent, and they had for weeks been seeking a good German translator, I might almost consider it settled. Who so delighted as I! Ten days later I received a refusal.

I tried the Admiralty, and every other Department I could—refused everywhere. I know I have not now the strength for munition work, but I am quite healthy in mind and body, and perfectly fit for the sedentary work of an office, and to the ordinary mind a woman of my age would seem quite as fit for Government work as a younger woman.

Mr. Harold Cox reproaches us for not coming forward. How can we give services which are persistently refused?

KATHARINE J. EDMONDS.

Girton House School, Ealing.

Part Time Work Wanted.

Sir,—Many women would be glad to accept a post for a few hours daily, and do that thoroughly and efficiently, who are unable through health, domestic ties, and various other reasons to work the whole day—say, from 9.30 to 6 or 7 p.m.

A friend of mine has lost nearly all her artistic work through war depression. She is cultivated, musical, an excellent accompanist, speaks and writes French easily, and knows a fair amount of German and Italian. She is, unfortunately, not normally strong, and her eyesight will not allow of continuous close work for many hours. She has applied to the Red Cross Society, the London County Council, the Registrar's Office, and the War Office, and only from one was offered an arduous post from 9.30 to 6 p.m., with probability of overtime being often demanded.

Is my friend unusually unlucky, or has she not applied to the proper sources?

MARIE KEANE.

10, Cedars Road, Clapham Common, S.W.

Question of Pay.

Sir,—There are many girls to-day who would gladly take up some work to help the country in its hour of need, but they cannot afford to give their services free, nor can they take advantage of the free training offered them, unless, while training, they are paid or some but out of work, I applied to several Government offices, and at one after calling three times was told to start work on the morrow.

On the first and second days I worked in the Registry; on the third I wasted the whole morning waiting for a job—in the afternoon I was sent up to the attic and given typing to do, although I had stated that I was not a skilled typist. The work I did had to be submitted to someone on the ground floor, which naturally entailed constant journeys up and downstairs (105). On the fourth day I appealed to the official who had engaged me, pointing out that owing to a physical infirmity I was unable to climb an indefinite number of stairs—also, that I was not a typist. I was informed that there was no other work to be done, and I was paid off.

Apparently the only "unsatisfied demand in Government offices" is for shorthand typists. There is seemingly no demand for women secretaries with years of good experience, capable of filling responsible positions, and also willing to do "the simplest work" without mistakes.

A WOMAN WORKER.

V.A.D. Complaint.

Sir,—May I draw attention to a point which Mr. Cox did not touch on, in connection with women's work in war time? I refer to the large number of very well-to-do young women who wish to pose as workers, but are quite determined not to leave their comfortable homes. These find comfortable shelter in the V.A.D. as they exist at present. So far, there has been no weeding out of the purely ornamental members from among those who cheerfully perform the drudgery work of the real hospitals. The Red Cross Society is itself to blame for any lack of women for "essential hospital work." As things are now, the auxiliary hospitals used as convalescent homes seem to be conducted so as to absorb the maximum amount of feminine labour.

In the neighbourhood of my present home there are two of these Red Cross convalescent homes within three miles of one another, and it is the fashion for the daughters of the wealthy houses in the district to motor, or drive, in for part of the day to these hospitals for periods of about a fortnight at a time. Their occupation when there seems to consist mainly of cutting up bread and making beds. One of these homes receives from twelve to twenty absolutely convalescent soldiers, and it is quite the exception for any of them to require the simplest dressing or medical attention. The men help in the rough work of the house and kitchen. The Red Cross staff consists of a "commandant," a "quartermaster," a fully trained and paid hospital nurse, a paid cook, and a paid charwoman, also a male Red Cross worker who comes at odd times to take charge and relieve the staff.

OBSERVER.

Mayfair, W.

Not Too Old at 40.

Sir,—Much of the shortage of which Mr. Harold Cox speaks has arisen from the "no use after forty" fiat. There are very many well-educated gentlewomen above this absurd age limit, only too glad and anxious, like myself, to undertake work. The bureaus are hopeless; one is only met with cold attention, if not absolute curt rebuff. Capability is not considered or even tested.

If there are now possibilities heretofore blocked, perhaps Mr. Cox would be good enough to point out where, how, or to what Government department application for clerical work could be tendered, and for this information I should feel grateful.

A. M. W. EDWARDS.

South Norwood, S.E. October 13.

The Queen
21.10.16

679.C.
679c/13

THE WOMAN-POWER PROBLEM.

By MRS MARGARET HEITLAND.

WHEN IS THE GOVERNMENT going to make use of the National Register of women?

The National Register of men has been used carefully and exhaustively so far as the registered men of military age are concerned, and we shall probably learn before long that the "man-power" of citizens too old to be of much service in the field will be more fully utilised than it is in many cases at present.

This winter, when the country has determined to quicken the pace of the war, the country will have to make a fuller use of its people. These islands are thickly crowded with population, every unit of which must yield its value. Hitherto tremendous value has been yielded by the young men, some of the most indispensable of whom are gone. Beside and beyond them are millions of other people. Of these latter a large portion have their time fully engaged in doing work which is wanted. But there are others, and, speaking now only of the women among these others, I believe that they would welcome some definite direction with regard to the work that they ought to do. For more and more it becomes clear that the best distribution of man-power will not be effected so long as any considerable residue of woman-power is suffered to go to waste.

When, in the summer of 1915, the National Register was taken of everyone in the country between the ages of sixteen and sixty-five, it will be remembered that women who were occupied with the domestic maintenance of their families were directed to describe their employment as "Household Duties." That was quite as it should be. But—and this is a very important *but*—the women who were doing nothing in particular and were not offering their services in any capacity, these also were instructed to describe themselves as engaged in "Household Duties." To some of us this admixture of the idle with the employed appeared to cast a slur upon the work of family maintenance. Grown-up girls living in a home managed by their mothers, widows and sisters living on private means, and attended by servants—all these when classified by the registration scrutineers had their papers thrown upon the huge "Household Duties" dumping heap, with which nothing so far has been done.

What I would specially urge to-day is that this dumping heap should be overhauled. I should like, of course, to see a full and proper use made of the whole National Register of women. It was in order that it should be so used that many of us pressed for women to be included with men in that great counting of heads.

But the examination of the "Household Duties" women is far the most pressing part of the problem. People are looking uneasily at the badge-day and flag-day women. Observers may or may not mind seeing girls standing, rather sensationally arrayed, as patriotic beggars at street corners. Patriotic begging is not a very pleasant business, especially in bad weather. But the sight of the flag sellers sets people thinking. Most of the flag sellers are registered under "Household Duties." The truth, which is made rather staringly obvious, is that "Household Duties," which mean toilsome days for the working-class mother, do not mean long, serious, unremitting labour for women from servant-keeping homes. If the flag sellers are sufficiently at leisure to come out into the streets to-day they possibly could have been equally free yesterday, and might be so to-morrow. We may perhaps be told that they have made a special effort to give so much time on one day, and that they have set aside many little duties and engagements for this particular cause; also that it is not easy for their mothers to spare them, that the girls are not very strong—and so forth. But portraits of many of the soldier boys reveal to the discerning eye defects of health. They, too, are wanted, often sorely, by old and widowed mothers. But they go, and must go, when everything is at stake. And nobody who believes in the rightness of our cause thinks otherwise.

We are apt in this country to do things bit by bit and to "get a move" on ourselves by groups and sections gradually. We find that plan answers better for us than the systematic clean logically-made sweep. Following this precedent I think we ought now to make a direct patriotic appeal to all the unmarried women registered under "Household Duties" who live in homes where at least one domestic servant is employed, and whose age does not exceed forty-five, or perhaps fifty. These are in the main the girls and women of the flag-seller class. Most of them are partially occupied. That I do not deny. Work in V.A.D. hospitals takes up some of their time. But I think if they are not employed at least forty-four hours weekly in such work, and are not officially stated to be indispensable to the superintendent of the hospital in question, they ought at once to be "combed out" and sent off to do munitions work or whatever other kind of paid work the Government at the time most needs for the successful prosecution of the war. The work, too, should be regular, full-time work.

We all know that there are many difficulties. There are two in particular which make themselves felt. First, there is the curious, long-lingering class prejudice against paid work. The objection, so far as it rests on a solid basis, is the dislike of being under definite control. It is the preference for personal freedom, a laudable preference, but it cannot be indulged by all. It is not indulged by young men of the middle class, who in peace times are paid workers, and now are members of a disciplined manhood in arms. This preference for freedom—for a position outside any contract for service—cannot be indulged by girls of the poorer class. In so far as girls of the middle class try to keep out of the ranks of paid workers they are separating themselves from the poorer women, and they are disobeying the principle of share and share alike, which is so splendidly manifest in the fighting services. The upholding of this class barrier ought to be abandoned if for no other reason than this—that the younger women must offer themselves for munition work in a large body if the work done at home this winter is adequately to strengthen our forces and put a stop to the enormities which have been practised against the civilised world. To get the large additional number of young women who are needed for munition making the girls of all classes must move *en masse*, as a new Kitchener's Army. For there is this further point to consider. If the well-to-do girls go into the arsenals and factories with the rest they will help the others. If there are any conditions to remedy, the more educated girls will be able to arouse attention to them. One of the few good results of the war would be the creation of this solidarity of feeling and interest between the working women of every section.

The second big difficulty is the difficulty caused by the anomalous political status of women. It is the realisation of this difficulty which has, I suggest, made statesmen and great military organisers slow to command the services of women. They have realised that they were not in the case of women dealing with persons who were committed to their country's decisions by the commitments of their Parliamentary representatives. They might be bound to follow those decisions and to obey them in all their implications. But in the particular way in which men are bound they are not bound. Men can bind themselves politically to obey the laws which their own spokesmen have enacted. Women may, and generally do, obey those laws, but they have not bound themselves to do so in the same way as men, and their obligation is not of the same nature. "We have asked your opinion. You have given it. Now act up to it!" Thus, leaders of the State are entitled to address men; but to women they cannot speak in similar terms, though before long I believe they will be able to do so.

Meanwhile, women, bound or unbound, will, I am sure, press that a more complete use should be made of their powers. The best way to do this is to give the women's papers in the National Register a thorough examination. I submit that the National Register of women contains a store of valuable woman-power, and that it is time to turn it to account.

679c

THE NATION'S CALL FOR A MILLION WOMEN WORKERS.

Where the "Slackers" Are Hiding.

A MILLION more women are wanted for war work now. The country is calling for them. The latest and strongest appeal comes from the munition factories and training centres. They are asking for volunteers at the training schools at the rate of from 800 to 1,000 a week. The training is free and takes at most only six weeks, after which the student or munition apprentice must serve her time in a factory as a wage-earning munitioneer.

The home women, the women who can cook or sew and cut and fit, are well fitted for munition work. Learning to handle with accuracy the raw material for munitions is not difficult, nor is physical strength required. It is a matter of a good eye and a delicate touch, and that is what most women have. The students at the training centres learn to measure and turn and bore, to drill and shape and mill, and go into the factories equipped and efficient.

The principal training centres are at Shoreditch, Battersea, Brixton, and Wimbledon. From these about 500 women a week are sent off to factories. These are not enough. The millions of men at the front demand millions and millions of shells, which the women must provide.

It is a pleasure to go to one of these training centres and see eager, earnest women and girls of all ages and types, clad in blue overalls, bending over their machines, testing gun-sights or finishing shells with an ease and expertness which is astonishing to anyone who realises that only a few weeks ago a sewing-machine was the only machine they could handle.

"We do not wish to take women from important war work," an official at the Ministry of Munitions assured me yesterday. "We want the women who are doing things which do not count so much and have time to spare. Above all, we want the women who are doing nothing at all, to help.

"The great advantage of munition work is that almost every woman can undertake it. The very young woman, the middle-aged woman (we take them from 18 to 45), the untrained woman. All that is necessary is that a woman should be young enough to have the will to do and the strength of purpose to accomplish her task.

"Many months ago Lady Scott laid down her chisel for the munition machine; a little group of painters and art students followed her example. There are women munitioneers who have university degrees, there are women writers, women photographers, and women who have been in domestic service. There is no caste or class in a factory where every woman is working to save some man or many men by providing shells and more shells."

In some of the training centres there are young war widows who find a balm for their sorrow in toiling at the shell-finishing process. There are girls whose sweethearts are at the front and women whose sons are fighting. "Every piece of work I finish," said one of these mothers, "I feel may mean protection for my boy."

THE WOMAN SLACKER.

The woman-slacker can have no excuse for not answering this great stirring call from the country. She has turned and twisted and evaded. She has talked of the things she meant to do and she has not done them. She is either too young or too old; she cannot find her niche. She has a battalion of excuses at her command.

A French writer, who visited us recently, said he did not believe there were women slackers in England. He had been to the munition factories, the workrooms, the hospitals, he had talked to women chauffeurs, ticket-collectors, porters, conductors, engineers, postwomen, policewomen, and many other representatives of the great splendid feminine army of workers.

He could have found the slacker, though, if he had gone to the shopping centres, where she flutters and fritters and bargains as she did in pre-war days. He could have found her in the smart tea-rooms, in the restaurants, in the women's clubs, where she is generally occupied in making excuses for her idleness, and in the bridge clubs, where she goes to play "just one rubber before dinner," or many rubbers after dinner.

"We need more women for home work and for work in the rooms here," said one of the ladies at the Red Cross central workrooms, and this appeal is made from many other work centres. But the women slackers refuse to listen. It is necessary to impress upon them that there is work for every woman to do.

M. R.

WOMEN WORKERS.

Sir,—I can hardly believe that "Watchman" has ever seriously thought or made inquiries about educated women workers. Surely anyone can see how impossible it is for many ladies to give up all their time regardless of remuneration. Does "Watchman" think homes and children, etc., look after themselves? Every woman is aching to do her "bit" and would willingly give some time daily or weekly as her circumstances and finances allowed, but no employer will arrange for work in shifts, and hence the number of women "Watchman" is pleased to call shirkers and slackers.

If educated women were allowed on the committees we should see a vast improvement everywhere. They are far more fitted to organise and arrange than they are for picking fruit at ½d. per hour or washing up dirty dishes frantically at a munition canteen. Instead of railing at educated women as he does, "Watchman" might note how some employers are trying to get the use of brains for nothing.

It is quite true difficulties are manifold in the path of the would-be war worker, voluntary or otherwise. It has taken me till now to obtain permission to work in a canteen for one evening and one morning. Elsewhere all my endeavours were met by the fact that I must either (1) give up all my time, (2) live away from home, (3) buy a uniform, etc., (4) pay so much per week for the privilege of working, (5) buy my own materials, and so on, all of which I can no longer afford to do.

A SO-CALLED SLACKER.

Charing Cross-road, October 22.

Sir,—Allow me as the mother of one of the educated women employed on war work to reply in a few lines to "Watchman." Men of education and refinement may be, and no doubt are, content to receive one shilling a day in the trenches, but they receive that plus clothes, boots, washing, food, mending, and other trifles. My daughter receives £2 a week; her board and lodging cost her 25s., luncheons 4s. a week, washing 5s., leaving 8s., a trifle over 1s. a day for clothes and boots, getting to the office, etc.

Is this a living wage for a First-class Honours Girton graduate, whose education also comprised years in France, Germany, and Rumania?

Many of the women employed on war work use their pay as pocket-money, others invest in War Loan, but the majority have to live and clothe themselves on it. My daughter's occupation was suddenly stopped by the war; before that she earned more than £300 a year.

A WAR-WORKER'S MOTHER.

Sir,—"Watchman" is illogical, for if the former breadwinner is now only earning a shilling a day in the trenches, however cheerfully he may be performing his task, is it not all the more necessary that the woman who is taking his place at home should demand a wage sufficient to keep things going during his absence? It is; and more than this, it is the duty of every woman who is competently filling the place of a man at the front to keep up, as far as lies in her power, the standard of that man's wages, so that when he returns he may not find himself ousted from his post by the woman who has temporarily filled it at half the price.

Circumstances, sad as they are, have given to woman the opportunity of proving her ability. It is neither right nor just that the employer should be the only person to profit by the result. Many present employers of female labour would undoubtedly be delighted if they only had to pay conscription prices.

There is not a woman living who would not willingly forgo the "halfpence" if one who was dear to her could be spared the "kicks." This being impossible, it is her sacred duty not only to herself but in the interests of all our dear ones at the front to see that she gets as many "halfpence" as she is worth.

RITA RUSSELL.

Lyceum Club, October 23.

Sir,—I do think "Watchman" in last Sunday's issue rather overlooks the fact that hundreds of educated women of the professional classes have to face life *now* with greatly reduced incomes. Can they be blamed if they demand a living wage?

There is not much "safety" or "comfort" going home in crowded trains and through pitch-black streets to servantless houses. Many of these women are unaccustomed to the strenuous, anxious life of to-day and they feel they must look ahead in case they break down, and there is no little nest-egg to help through with the doctor and nourishing food.

God forbid that any of them should grumble when their men are giving their lives for a shilling a day! But I think the burden is equally shared, for often the waiting and the dread is worse than the actual reality.

"Watchman" seems to forget even if there are a few greedy women (with comfortable homes and husbands safe and well, earning their ordinary salaries) who take good posts that ought to be reserved for those women who *really* need them, on the other hand are there no greedy men who have passed inferior goods of all kinds, food, clothing, even broken-winded horses, thus endangering their country and the lives and the health of many thousands of the brave fellows we all love and honour.

EVELYN MILLER.

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EVELYN MILLER.

Lyceum Club, October 26.

Norfolk Chronicle
27.10.16

LABOUR ON THE LAND.

SUBSTITUTES MUST BE FOUND.

Mr. Walter Long, addressing farmers at a meeting of the Women's Legion in London, said that in regard to the question of replacing farm labour by women, breathing time was to be given to agriculture, but the men would ultimately have to be taken. We had to send away the fighting men, and it could be done if we had more workers and fewer critics.

Lord Crawford, President of the Board of Agriculture, said departmental conferences had recently decided that no man should be taken from arable farming before January 1st, and no man necessary to maintain the nation's milk supply should be requisitioned before March 31st, unless an efficient substitute was provided. It should be the aim of the Women's Legion and similar organisations to supply and train the substitutes. Those who spoke gloomily of the future of agricultural prospects in this country would do well to remember that the harvest which Germans were now gathering consisted largely of beech nuts, acorns, chestnuts, and nettles, from which to obtain substitutes for making flax. The next few months of war would be critical, and would govern the terms of the victory we hoped to win in 1917. That victory would be won, not on the fields of Flanders alone, but upon our own agricultural land and by our home production of food.

Lord Chaplin said this country need fear no foe save one, and that foe was starvation. There was a time when English-grown corn fed twenty-five million English people, but now the total was something like four millions only. With good organisation this could be improved.

Sunday Times.
5/11/16

WOMAN WOE

Sir,—Your three correspondents who criticised my letter in your issue of October 21 no doubt represent fairly a considerable section of female opinion on the subject of woman's work, but I submit that each one of their letters emphasises the necessity of conscription for women for work during the war.

Women now cannot be allowed to pick and choose their work. Eight to ten hours a day on the land or work of other national importance is not too much to ask when men are risking death and wounds in the trenches.

It is the unattached women who are reaping the golden harvests over this war, and not the married women, who are far better employed on home duties.

There is a great need of female labour on the farms, but the response of appeals for volunteers has been very disappointing, and many of those who have worked in the summer are now giving up owing to bad weather.

This cannot be tolerated, and if women are not patriotic enough to work in safe and comfortable England for soldier's pay voluntarily, there is nothing else for it but compulsion.

"A War Worker's Mother" speaks of the "hardship" of a girl worker with 40s. a week, and who spends 34s. on her board, lodging, and washing, and the ladies of the Lyceum Club complain of the lack of safety and comfort in going home in dark streets and crowded trains.

Are these ladies really serious? If so, let them think of the lot of the men in the firing line, whose places the women are taking.

No one wishes employers to benefit by cheap female labour, but surely the soldier has a right to expect that a portion of the wages earned by the woman substitute should be put aside for his benefit or that of his next-of-kin?

WATCHMAN.

Royal Societies Club, St. James's-street, S.W.

Sir,—The many interesting letters upon women's work never seem to "touch the spot" to my sense of logic. There are numbers of educated women most desirous of doing some of the country's work, but in over two years there has been no adequate method found for placing them.

Labour exchanges are and always have been the most expensive and disastrous fiascos that a long-suffering nation has been called upon to endure, and their usefulness (*sic*) could be accomplished by lists in free libraries, at smallest cost to the nation. Women should be interviewed by officials capable of understanding how to question them in an appropriate and inoffensive manner.

I am not of opinion that women are doing their part in this war; nothing they can do can possibly equal the work of our men in all the services who offer their lives, the supreme sacrifice. At any rate, women should forgo fine dress, amusements, and luxury, and the Government should help by organising their labour in a sensible and suitable manner. The nation would be better both morally and economically.

(MISS) K. S. BIRNSTNGL

Edinburgh Dispatch
1/11/16

"Women Slackers."

TO THE EDITOR.

In reply to the correspondent whose article, headed "Women Slackers," appeared in the *Dispatch* on Monday, I should like to say that I consider women slackers are very few and far between. Many ladies who have never before had to do any work are devoting their whole day to war work. I could instance many.

On the other hand, there are many who, though engaged all day at business, are willing to devote their evening hours to war work. They, however, have experienced great difficulty in finding an outlet for their energies. I, personally, have applied to the Red Cross Association, and find that unless I can give up my whole time there is nothing for me to do. I have also spoken to ladies who are engaged in war work of various kinds, and they have been unable to suggest what I could do.

I should therefore advise the writer of the abovementioned article to give matters a little more consideration before he or she makes such disparaging statements. The women of the country have, in my opinion, risen to the occasion nobly. Those who visit picture houses and restaurants are not necessarily "slackers." Our soldiers and sailors are to be seen in large numbers in such places.

I should be obliged if the writer would kindly suggest some work suitable for those whose days are fully occupied, and who are only too willing to do what they can in the evenings. M. C.

Daily Mail.
30/11/16

CALL UP THE WOMEN.

To the Editor of *The Daily Mail*.

Sir,—To girls who are well and strong and longing to do their duty, and yet are held back by considerations which it would be difficult for anyone outside the domestic circle to understand, compulsion would come as a relief and would still the home voices most effectually.

Another reason is the waste caused by the countless activities maintained by voluntary labour. These things are for the most part necessary and magnificent, but surely the physically fit and those who have all their time to give should be combed out of these places. It is piteous to see a sound and healthy girl rolling bandages three days a week as her contribution to the national emergency when her grandmother could do it just as well. One knows that buffet and canteen work is hard, but by working in shorter spells and the introduction of more part-time material drawn from the married and over age it should be possible to work them quite satisfactorily and release a large number of able-bodied girls and otherwise untied women.

M. BERKELEY.

The Cottage, South Darenth.

Daily Mirror.
30/11/16

"WOMAN-POWER."

ALL the women I know who are worth anything are now working hard.

The frivolous type is no use for work. Do not conscript her, for goodness sake! She will only get in the way of good workers.

She will ask questions and flirt with the men. Let her remain outside war work, if she can.

Too many people judge by the standard of numbers in an affair of this sort. It is not so much numbers that tell as quality in workers. We want efficiency, not folly.

MATRON.

Park-lane, W.

Weekly Dispatch.
26/11/16

SHOULD WOMEN BE CONSCRIPTED?

"They Must Do More if the Country is to Win Soon."
—*Lady Londonderry.*

Should women be conscripted?

Flag days alone have proved that there are thousands of women with plenty of spare time on their hands. Should the State force them to make munitions or do some other work that would release men for the Army?

Women volunteer workers, like the men who joined the Army without waiting to be pushed, have done wonderful work for the country, and many people think that all-round compulsion would be the only fair way of utilising our great reserves of woman-power to hasten victory.

Below are opinions received from well-known women:—

THE MARCHIONESS OF LONDONDERRY.

"I am strongly in favour of conscription for military and industrial service both for men and women. But we must have such conscription in Ireland as well as in England, Scotland, and Wales. Everyone in the British Isles must do his or her share of work now.

"The women have done well, everyone must admit that, but they must do still more if the country is to win soon."

MRS. BELLOC LOWNDES, the Novelist.

"I am strongly against the proposed conscription of women for home service. I consider that the number of Englishwomen who are doing nothing in aid of their country at the present time is extremely small. But whether they are few or many, I do not believe that the wit of man can devise a means by which they can be turned into real, earnest workers.

"I much regret to see the growing tendency to copy German ways and German methods, and I am sorry indeed that our Government, instead of taking a leaf out of the German book, did not at once take several leaves out of the French book.

"There has been no feminine conscription in France; on the contrary, everything has been done to keep life as normal as possible, not only in the myriad trades where women have had to take the place of men, but also in the home. It is quite true that Frenchwomen are now doing an enormous amount of work that used to be done by men, but it must be remembered that this is no new thing in France, where agriculture has always been to a large extent carried on by the wives, mothers, and daughters of the owners of the land."

LADY BYRON.

"I once read 'The only way to treat a bully is to be a greater bully.'

"Had I been Prime Minister I should have taken this ruthless maxim for my motto—and advocated conscription throughout the Empire of every man, woman, and child for war work—for ruthless efficiency can only be conquered by ruthless efficiency, and weakness among ourselves and kindness to our enemies is base blackhearted treachery to the brave men who are fighting for us."

MRS. MARY CAUNT, the Explorer.

"Of course there should most surely be conscription for women. Never before in all its history has this nation realised the value of its women; nobly have they risen to the occasion; well have they seconded their menfolks.

"But when we look at the very best that has been done we must see that because there has been no organisation—no Government or authoritative organisation, I mean—there has been necessarily much overlapping, much waste of energy, much energy not used at all. For there are many women, willing, able and capable, but still a little held back by the conventions that hold so largely among the women of the upper middle classes, and for them no place has yet been found.

"Think what might be accomplished if every able-bodied woman between the ages of seventeen and fifty-seven were set to work of national importance, work that would forward that end which the whole nation has so deeply at heart. Of course there are children to care for, children to be born, old folks and sick to be tended, but these are works of national importance, and proper control of women's labour would see that they were properly attended to.

"But allowing for all this, if the women of the country were organised as the men have been organised, if they were all put to the work for which they are best suited, if those who have never worked except in that amateurish manner which makes for conceit and does not count were taught to work for the national good we should find not only that great strides will be made in the present welfare of the nation but that the physique and the morale of the women will be immensely improved."

MRS. ELEANOR MORDAUNT, the Novelist.

"I am strongly in favour of a form of industrial conscription for women.

"Anyone who goes to the West End shops can get an idea of just how many women there are who are not doing war work or any other work. These are the women who should be organised for industrial service.

"The women who have families to look after or who are earning their living would have to be exempted, but the great number of women with energy and initiative going to waste could be utilised, and I believe these women, far from resenting such a step, would be glad to be industrially organised."

MISS MARGARET BONDFIELD, the Woman Labour Leader.

"I am strongly opposed to conscription, either military or industrial, for men or for women."

MISS ATHENE SEYLER, the Actress.

"I certainly believe in civil conscription, but only as an educational effort to produce real citizens—male or female. As for present conditions, I think that all available useful material among women gives itself voluntarily to war work, and the slackers would be more trouble than they would be worth.

"Imagine Tottie Lightfoot, the revue dancer, conscripted for farm work!"

MISS SYLVIA PANKHURST, the Suffragist.

"To any form of industrial conscription for men or women I am strongly opposed, but it is particularly dangerous for women, because it would take them from their homes and children, and the care of the children is the most important thing in the world.

"The women in the East End of London are working hard to earn their daily bread and are striving to keep their homes together. Some of them have released men for service and are trying to replace them to the best of their ability. As long as this is done voluntarily, well and good; but to force women to do it would mean the collapse of many things we have been striving for so long, and I don't believe women would consent to it."

Daily Express.
18/12/16

CONSCRIPTION FOR WOMEN?

Mrs. Pankhurst has written to the President of the Board of Agriculture stating that before any measure of conscription for women is adopted women will demand proof that the services of the conscripted will be properly used. At present, she says, there are thousands of capable women who—

Have had their proffered services wholly refused, or

Have been put to war work which is totally unsuitable and below their qualifications and capacities.

"As regards agricultural work," she writes, "it is the strong opinion of our union that it is the women of the country districts, the wives, sisters, and daughters of men agriculturists, who must be put to this kind of work."

Daily Mail.
7/12/16

THE WOMEN WANT COMPULSION.

To the Editor of *The Daily Mail*.

Sir,—Since you printed a letter of mine a few days ago I have received quite a considerable number of letters urging that a form of conscription should be immediately applied to women.

The writers, all women, are wanting to work for the nation, but are held back, either through home influence or from lack of knowledge how to turn their capabilities to the best account.

Says one of my correspondents: "Women and girls, heaps of whom I know, are so willing, but do not know how to start about it, and as soon as one tries . all the unpleasant side of things is brought up to turn them back."

There is nothing like compulsion for removing obstacles, and it is wonderful how easy a thing becomes when you are *obliged* to do it.

We still read of night clubs, of theatre parties, of dancing and revelling—a state of things which would soon cease to exist if the female element were withdrawn. If a man is a cur who hides from the Services in the munition factory, what is a woman who hides from the munition factory in the night club?

Germany has not included women in her new Bill. Cannot we for once steal a march on her and fit all our women into the machine which is some day going to crush the Hun?

M. BERKELEY.

The Cottage, South Darenth.

Newcastle Journal
4/12/16

SHOULD WOMEN BE CONSCRIPTED?

"A Female Minister for Female Labour."

Should women be conscripted?

A number of well-known women answered this question in last Sunday's "Weekly Dispatch," and we have since received the following letters:—

MRS. FLORA ANNIE STEEL, the Famous Novelist.

"I think conscription of women quite preposterous until some sort of effort, however feeble, to organise female labour has been made. Nothing has really been done on any practical, efficient lines. Men have footled over it as usual. Having failed egregiously they have laid the blame on the wrong shoulders. I know of thousands of capable women waiting at home, impatient for employment which they cannot get.

"At the same time I believe swift organisation absolutely necessary if dilution is to go on as it should go on. Appoint a female Minister for female labour. Give her every one of the advantages given to her male congener, offices, clerks, superintendence—and red tape if you will. Let us *for once* manage our own affairs unhampered by ignorance, and there will be no fear of the result.

"Our first step would be to secure justice for the woman worker, to see that unskilled male labour should not get £2 17s. 6d. a week while female labour at the same job in the same room gets £1.

"Yet if conscription comes we women will not complain. We are too patriotic to strike!

"Our reckoning will come when peace comes."

Newcastle Journal
5/12/16

WOMEN AND CONSCRIPTION.

North Shields.

Sir,—There is a certain unconscious humour in the letter of "A.W.C." which appears in your issue of yesterday. That exceptionally shrewd and canny young woman, the north country farmer's lass, is to be bribed and coaxed and blarneyed into leaving her well paid and valuable work as munition-maker, van driver, chauffeur, or whatever it may be, by the gift of little badges and buttons and rhetorical appeals to her patriotism, and so lured back to heavy agricultural labour at a wage quite insufficient to support herself, let alone her dependents, unless it is supplemented in some more or less questionable manner. If she does not rise at once to this bait, she is to be "conscripted," though how this is to be done, and who is to do it, "A.W.C." wisely makes no attempt to explain.

Now, conscription of the country's man-power was a perfectly legitimate political move, and the men affected retain the power of expressing their approval or otherwise at the next election. Women, as yet, have not that power; hence the conscription of women is at present not only impracticable, but unthinkable, and would make us the laughing stock of every allied, neutral, or enemy nation. Let the farmers pay their women workers a decent wage, and provide them with decent accommodation, and they will not have to complain of a shortage of labour next year. There is no other way of solving the problem. M.

Daily Mirror.
28/11/16

MORE WOMEN FOR WAR WORK.

Munitions Minister Complains of "Waste of Material."

ARMY v. WORKSHOP.

More women are to be employed in munition factories.

They are to take the place of men who are to be "combed" out for the Army.

This highly important and significant statement was made yesterday by Mr. Montagu, the Minister of Munitions, in the course of a welcome to ten French munition-makers, who are visiting this country.

"We are going to ask more and more women to come to our help (Mr. Montagu declared) to take the place of men who are not indispensable in our munition factories."

"We have many hundreds and thousands of women already working in our workshops," Mr. Montagu went on. "We know the Germans are increasing their ammunition.

"We know that there are numbers of men working in our workshops who could be better employed on the field of battle.

"It is waste of material to keep them in the workshop. It is unfair to them to prevent them going to the field of battle."

"We are going to ask women to come who are skilled, and we are going to ask women who are not skilled to come to our training shops and learn.

"And then," said Mr. Montagu, "when peace is restored, and when almost every woman has found an opportunity of serving her country, it will be a great thing to remember that the German menace has been for ever removed, not merely by the men suffering on the field of battle, but by women working and suffering in the munition factories and elsewhere."

WAITING THE CALL.

"The moment the Government say that conscription for women is necessary there will be an instant and enthusiastic response

That was the view expressed to *The Daily Mirror* yesterday on the absorbing question of women's conscription by Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, LL.D., who is president of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and widow of the Right Hon. Henry Fawcett, Postmaster-General.

Mrs. Fawcett is careful, however, not to commit herself into stating whether or not women should be compelled by the State to engage in war service.

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A strong opinion in favour of women's conscription is expressed by the Marchioness of Londonderry, who, while conceding that "the women have done well, as everyone must admit," urges that "they must do still more if the country is to win soon."

"I am strongly in favour of conscription for military industrial service, both for men and women," she says.

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"But, whether they are few or many, I do not believe that the wit of man can devise a means by which they can be turned into real, [illegible] workers."

"In this crisis," says one correspondent ("An Englishwoman"), "all women not engaged in the care of children, the sick, the wounded and the old should be helping those at the front by making ammunition or working on the land.

"To be equal to Germany next spring we need thousands more munition workers now.

What It Would Mean.—"Universal war service for women would mean larger stores of ammunition, and starehouses stocked with food; no more shortage of potatoes, nor the need for highly-paid officials to examine potato-peelings!

"There are thoughtless women crowding out tea palaces, restaurants, theatres and shops—there are others eating their hearts out in their desire to help their country. Press the Government to make us all do 'our bit.'"

Daily Express
28-12-16

679c/18

NO NEED TO CONSCRIPT LABOUR.

The suggestion has been made that women should be conscripted for war work, as men have been conscripted for the Army, but those with any inside knowledge of the world of women's labour under present conditions report that there is no need for such a measure as this, as there are any number of women available to take up useful work.

The main difficulty experienced by women workers is to find just where their services are needed and through which channel to apply. Indeed, lay clearly before women (as the "Daily Express" in this "Women and Their Work" column has been doing during past months) full details of the kind of work for which their services are required, and the correct persons to whom to apply for appointment, and it will be seen that the supply of workers is by no means exhausted.

Last week an announcement was made in this column that women were needed as upper and under housemaids for a hostel for munition workers. Close on a hundred applications were received, the majority being fully-trained housemaids anxious to be employed on war work. The vacancies at the hostel are now being filled. The remainder of the applicants will be offered posts in hospitals and convalescent homes for soldiers, where workers of this kind are urgently needed and where great complaint has been made regarding the difficulty in selecting women to fill such posts.

PLENTY OF POSTS.

On the other hand, it is certainly true that there are certain fields of work for which women are required, but in which the supply of workers does not meet the demand. There is an ever-increasing scope for women in agriculture, and there are plenty of posts available for women who are prepared to undertake this kind of manual labour after some training. Many women, however, fight shy of farm work, either thinking they are not physically strong enough, or because it is imperative for them to earn higher wages than those usually available at this employment.

A mistake is made, however, by organisers of women's work in not taking sufficient steps to lay before the public particulars regarding the vacancies they wish to fill, and also through dilatory methods in dealing with applications by letter and in compiling registers of those who have applied. One finds that the labour exchanges, for instance, nearly always have numbers of posts on their books, many of them extremely good ones but women are chary of applying to this organisation, as their experiences have too often been that their names and addresses are taken and nothing further transpires.

There is a system working in the exchanges by which particulars of posts are circulated to every branch, and the difficulties in hearing of work at the local exchange, about which many women complain, must surely be due to carelessness on the part of the clerical staff. The labour exchange system has certainly improved considerably during the last few months, but there is still prejudice against applying through this channel that will take some little while to die out.

Enormous numbers of women are still seeking employment, preferably in occupations bearing on the war, and it is therefore absurd to talk of conscription for women when so many women eager to work are still unsuited.

There are certainly difficulties to be faced in many fields of labour regarding such matters as wages and suitable accommodation, but attention to these details will be a much surer way of securing women recruits than by looking to compulsion to fill the gaps.

The employer of women workers should bear these facts in mind before complaining of the shortage of available staff, and by making known his or her need over as wide an area as possible, and studying the well-being of the workers themselves, a remedy for the difficulty should be speedily found.

COOKS AND WAITRESSES FOR THE ARMY.

A large number of women are wanted to enrol as soon as possible for the constantly occurring vacancies for cooks and waitresses for military convalescent camps, officers' and sergeants' messes, etc. The War Office is ever extending the activities of this branch of the Women's Legion, and it is difficult to keep up a sufficient supply.

It should be understood that the workers are paid by Government while under the supervision of the organisers of the Women's Legion. The pay for both assistant cooks and waitresses is £20 a year, plus laundry allowance of 6d. a week, full rations, and accommodation. The women are also provided free of charge with the uniform of the Women's Legion when they have completed their probationary period, which lasts for one month, and have signed an agreement to serve for twelve months or the duration of the war, whichever is less. Third-class railway fares incurred by the workers on first joining the camp or hospital will be refunded. The age limit is from eighteen to forty-five.

It is possible that the present rate of wage for these posts may be raised in the near future. Almost an unlimited number of women are required. Experience is not necessary, as the duties are simple and are quickly learned under the direction of the superintendents during the month of probation. Good health is, however, a necessity.

Applicants should write to the secretary, Women's Legion, Military Cookery Section, Room 4, Centre Block, Duke of York's Headquarters, S.W., giving full particulars of themselves, their age, previous employment or experience, and stating when they will be free to begin work.

Pall Mall Gazette
23-12-16

679c

COMPULSION FOR WOMEN.

By May Bateman.

A year ago I wrote an article on the above subject for the "Pall Mall Gazette." It evoked a correspondence which lasted for more than a week. Women, socially of widely different classes, politically of widely different opinions, contributed to the discussion. The majority of correspondents was admittedly in favour of the sex, if eligible in point of age and health, being organised to work in the country's service, not merely when and where they wished to do so, but arbitrarily, as in the case of their men comrades.

Within the year—within the last few days even—the situation has changed. Conscription for men has become law. There are gaps now in ranks which it was scarcely possible to believe a year ago would ever be left empty; even Government offices are to-day being depleted of all eligible male employees fit to fight, except those few whose personal work is vital to their department. The psychological aspect of the nation has changed with the turn of the wheel on the material plane. There is very little of the first reckless enthusiasm left; it has solidified into something much more tangible. There is very little rancour; its place is filled by something much more serious for the enemy. Our victories do not inconsiderably exalt us, nor do temporary "throwbacks" unhinge the balance of our will. The soul of the nation has steadied into an unflinching determination to win the war, no matter what further sacrifices may be needed before that issue is quite clear. And the soul of the nation knows that we shall win the war, because if ever there were holy war this is, despite its ravages and horrors.

Work for Educated Women.

To-day's change of scene will be, perhaps, most indicative of all, since the actual declaration of war, of the people's mind.

To prophesy what answer the Allies will make to the Peace Proposals is beyond the province of this article. But if the answer be as we believe it will, to send more men and more munitions to build up the gigantic wall of the Allies' solid power, which will end by proving impenetrable to the enemy, then, too, more women will be wanted here in England to carry on the work which men have had to leave in answer to the immediate call.

Some of us have shown ourselves now to be a national asset. But there is still a percentage of women, inactive or of negligible use, who possibly through diffidence, hold back; whose energies could be used, whose energies must be used, in an hour when wastage of any sort, in any sphere, is no longer foolish, but culpable.

In some instances women of education are doing work which could be done as well by unskilled women. There are still domestic servants who could be released for more important work in factories. In a higher class, women—the names of some have been given to me confidentially in the past few days—do, perhaps, one day's work for the nation when they are free to give the week's work.

Private initiative, example, moral suasion, can do no more. A central bureau in London, backed by Government, is needed, with representative bureaux in every county, to obtain a comprehensive roll showing which women who are not now working are free to be utilised in the country's cause. There are excellent registers of would-be workers available, to simplify the work; in one Government office at least, under a most practical head, it is kept completely up to date, through careful organisation.

Practical Suggestions.

The "willing" would-be workers of each district thus classified and registered and (it is hoped) allotted, the next task would be to deal with the unaccounted for remainder. These would receive notices to attend the local

manual labour after some training. Many women, however, fight shy of farm work, either thinking they are not physically strong enough, or because it is imperative for them to earn higher wages than those usually available at this employment.

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Practical Suggestions.

The "willing" would-be workers of each district thus classified and registered and (it is hoped) allotted, the next task would be to deal with the unaccounted for remainder. These would receive notices to attend the local Tribunal. Just cause should be shown why such a woman could not fulfil the duty which the State required of her. In cases, for instance, of a widowed or spinster householder who had lost some of her income through the war, and possibly the appointment by which she then earned money, exemption might be granted for some months until she had been able to relieve herself of the obligations incurred, and so forth. In some cases, the applicant would be given work forthwith. The Tribunal members should be composed of persons of probity, tact, and discrimination.

Conscription for women as a definite practical scheme would compel Government recognition. No existing society—political or social—could grapple with its problems unaided. But with the weight of the Government behind it, it could be enforced. To submit to it means the acceptance of investigation and inquiry distasteful to many. To say we are ready for it is to put ourselves on an equality with "conscripted men" and be willing to go where and when the State pleases and do what the State wants. But if this further sacrifice be required of us in order that the war may be shortened and precious lives spared to the country, there is not, I believe, one woman of eligible age and health in England who would not welcome, instead of cavilling at the compulsion which would make all women of practical national use.

Weekly Dispatch 23. 9. 17.

WILL THE ARMY AGE BE RAISED?

War Office Comb-Out of Non-Combatants.

WOMEN WHO DO NOTHING.

Will the Army age limit be raised? That is the question everybody is asking who has studied Sir Auckland Geddes's National Service pronouncement.

Men over the present military age need not have any immediate anxieties—*nothing has been settled.* A Bill would be required, and there is no sign that any steps in that direction have been taken.

In any case, such a measure, opposed as its passage through the House would sure to be by pacifist obstructionists, could not come into force much under three months' time.

In so far as Sir Auckland can rely on the co-operation of the Government, he aims at placing recruiting on a much more scientific basis and with greater regard to the value of his available material.

Attention will be paid to occupation in the case of men in low medical categories. He will not take away from civilian life a C 2 man of military age whose work is of national or semi-national importance. He will not send navvying a B 2 man who is a considerable employer of labour when hundreds of navvies over 41 years of age who could do the work a hundred times better can be secured under a proper system of organisation.

THOUSANDS SIFTED OUT.

Meanwhile the War Office has been conducting a tremendous comb-out among the administrative branches of the Army.

Thousands of men from the Army Service Corps, Army Ordnance Corps, R.A.M.C., Army Pay Corps, and even from the Expeditionary Force Canteens, are gradually being sifted out and drafted into the infantry. The urgent necessity for this move was pointed out in *The Weekly Dispatch* in May last.

Unfortunately this drastic "combing-out" has not taken place without a certain amount of trouble. Thousands of men who have been receiving the higher rates of pay in the administrative branches are now complaining very strongly of being reduced to the infantryman's shilling a day.

Although it is difficult at present to form a reliable estimate of the numbers of men involved in this "comb-out," it is probable that the total number will be not far short of 250,000. "A" men of all descriptions have been put into training reserves by the thousand. Both in England and France special arrangements have been made for training as infantrymen men whose previous experience in the service necessitates but brief instruction before they are fitted for the trenches.

Much of this instruction is being imparted by the N.C.O.s of our original Expeditionary Force. Dozens of schools have been established behind the line in France, where the infantry recruits are taught squad and company drill, musketry, bombing, Lewis gunnery, camouflage, and the precautions to take in the event of gas attacks.

MORE WOMEN WANTED.

A still greater comb-out could, however, be effected if the enormous number of women still doing no national work would make up their minds to help the war.

At the moment there is an absolute famine in women willing to do clerical work in Government offices. The standard of efficiency has been so watered down that it now only really amounts to willingness, while the wages, even in these days, are by no means bad, averaging with the better-paid posts for women a good 50s. a week.

We have to-day a curious situation. In munition factories and other similar places of prime importance we have hundreds of thousands of fit young men every one of whom might be in the firing line if a substitute could be found; we have semi-fit men doing light but necessary work and we have women doing nothing at all.

Obviously the thing to do is to get the women to do the light work, get the semi-fit (C1, B2, C2, B3, C3), and all men to 55 on "munitions," while the fit young "indispensables" would put on khaki and take their turn at fighting.

This is the problem, and it can only be solved by women. If "Single Girls First" be adopted as a motto we can easily have a million more fighting men in France within the next four or five months.

Cumberland News 22-9-17

THOUSANDS OF WOMEN

STILL WANTED BY THE MINISTRY OF MUNITIONS.

GOVERNMENT'S GROWING DEMAND FOR WORKERS.

Where are the great armies of women workers to be found to meet the requirements of the Government and private employers?

The War Office requires 10,000 women a month, mostly for domestic and unskilled work, and a small proportion for clerical and motor transport work. The Ministry of Munitions will require thousands and thousands more women for munition and engineering works and for airplane construction. The Food Production Department will want thousands more women in the new year. The Government is swallowing more and more clerical workers, and employers generally are at their wits' end to find workers.

"All the capable women are fully employed," said an official of the National Union of Women Workers on Tuesday. "I cannot see where these thousands of workers are to come from."

A woman who has had the task of interviewing hundreds of women for Government employment thinks that the women can best be found by shutting down some employments as non essential and restricting many others. "A large number of girls and women can still be drawn from luxury trade and occupations and many idle young women should be forced to work, if only in their own homes."

Morning Post 15-10-17

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DEMAND FOR WOMEN WORKERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE MORNING POST.

SIR,—Sir Auckland Geddes in his splendidly inspiriting speech at Nottingham on Wednesday said:

The Women's Army Auxiliary Corps was in need of recruits. Women of all sorts were wanted, and they were not getting enough. He knew the women of the country had been splendid, but those who had been showing the splendidness belonged on the average either to the working class or to the upper class. There was a great mass of young, quite healthy, middle class femininity which was doing nothing really to help the war along.

From recent personal experience I know the above remarks to be true. During the recess I have visited several large fashionable hotels both in Great Britain and Ireland, and the presence of this class of women shirkers forced itself on public notice. Cannot women bring some social pressure to bear on such defaulters? In some cases, doubtless, these women have left their homes and taken to live in hotels in order to avoid such social pressure, but there are many who are doing nothing simply because they possess no imagination, never read the newspapers, and never hear of the great national need for women workers.—Yours, &c.,

MEATH.

Kildare Street Club, Dublin, Oct. 12.

Daily Mail 11-10-17

THE WOMAN SLACKERS.

The men are not tired of saying that "the women are splendid." But the women are beginning to be tired of hearing it.

They know, for one thing, that what is true of the sex as a whole is not true of every individual who belongs to it, and that many women, taking advantage of the general admiration for those who have done well, are doing nothing at all.

What Sir Auckland Geddes, the Minister of National Service, said in the speech we reported yesterday confirms the observations of everyone who goes about with his eyes open: "There is a great mass of young, quite healthy, middle-class femininity which is doing nothing really to help the war along."

It may be seen any day in the streets, in the theatres and restaurants, and especially in the shops; and its excuses for a slackness that is in danger of becoming indifference usually relate to someone who is at home on leave from the front. But we are getting to a stage of the war when the plea that "the men like us to dress well," and that it is necessary to keep a multitude of women unemployed in order to "give the boys a good time," is wearing very thin.

The Women's Army Auxiliary Corps needs thousands of women at this moment, will need thousands more a few months hence, and is not getting them. It needs them as cooks, as waitresses, as clerks, as general service women for hospitals, as motor drivers, as motor mechanics, and in a hundred other capacities.

Sir Auckland Geddes frankly stated that households with more than three servants will be expected to relieve the surplus for national work. It is only now, indeed, and in a very mild form compared with what our Allies are suffering that the effects of the war are being felt in our hearths and homes. There is a time of stringency and discomfort ahead for all of us and very much will depend

Yorkshire Evening Post 18-10-17

WOMEN AND WAR WORK.

"J. E. E." writes protesting very strongly against Sir Auckland Geddes' remark that the women of the middle-classes had not responded to the nation's call for war work so well as the women of the working classes and upper classes. She points out that, like many others, she responded to the country's appeal for munition workers. After working for nine months on the night shift at a certain factory near Leeds, and keeping good time, she, with many others, were given their discharge one day, just half an hour before the hour for closing, and along with their discharge a week's wages in lieu of notice. "Just as if we were the scum of the earth," she puts it.

Since then she has tried the Labour Exchanges; but they have nothing to offer. In view of facts like these, she regards Sir Auckland Geddes' strictures as unfair.

Daily Mail 9-11-17

TOO MANY SERVANTS.

SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES TO ANNOUNCE "STEPS."

Mr. Duncan Millar yesterday called attention to the advertisements for servants in households of one, two, or three persons, where seven to ten servants are kept.

Mr. Beck replied for the Ministry of National Service: These advertisements have not escaped the notice of Sir Auckland Geddes. He hopes that the awakened consciences of those who have in this respect failed to appreciate their duty will provide an immediate and sufficient remedy. If not, in an early statement on man-power he hopes to state definitely the steps which will be taken.

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Sir Auckland Geddes frankly stated that households with more than three servants will be expected to relieve the surplus for national work. It is only now, indeed, and in a very mild form compared with what our Allies are suffering that the effects of the war are being felt in our hearths and homes. There is a time of stringency and discomfort ahead for all of us and very much will depend on the women of the country as to whether we go through with it in the right spirit. They will have to get along with no servants at all or with fewer than their usual number, and the women who are now idling or playing at canteen work or trifling with bazaars ought at once to find out where and how they can be really useful.

Women's work in the war will end only when the war is over. Until that time comes it is bound to expand in scope and to become more exacting in character.

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National News 28.-10.-17.

WAR WORK FOR ALL.

INTERVIEW WITH THE LORD MAYOR.

Special to "The National News."

Although the new Minister for National Service has set his face definitely against compulsion, there is a feeling in some quarters that a satisfactory result will never be achieved by voluntary measures. Among those who share this opinion is the Lord Mayor of London, Colonel Sir Edward Dunn. In an interview with a representative of *The National News* he said:—

"Although I anticipate efficient management of this great scheme under Sir Auckland Geddes' control, I feel, however, that what is really wanted can be achieved only by industrial compulsion.

"At the very beginning of war industries I realised that compulsion, both in the field and at home, could only solve the problem. Later on compulsion was adopted for our forces; people disliked the idea of it, though they stooped to necessity. If only industrial compulsion could be likewise enforced we should gain big results.

"Of course, I know that to pass such a measure would be a big undertaking, but this industrial question is far more intricate than the average citizen understands. What delays compulsion is the attitude of the working man, including the soldier. He does not like to see his wife go out to work; if he happens to be in this country he dislikes her absence from the home. In fact, 'keep the home fires burning' means that hundreds are being kept at home to see that they remain burning.

"This objection made by the male worker has merit in it; he argues that he works in order to keep his wife and home. Why should he part with both through the wife's absence in the industrial world? Also, one must recollect that the child-bearing mother ought to stay at home—another reason why men tend to encourage her absence from industry.

"Many months ago I called together my London colleagues; industrial compulsion was vetoed unanimously for reasons that I have outlined. On the other hand, I believe that Mr. Neville Chamberlain hoped for it, and I think that his resignation occurred when he found that 'no compulsion' remained the general opinion.

Big Salaries for Little Work.

"I believe that National Service, on voluntary methods, has accomplished all that it will accomplish. Sir Auckland Geddes will achieve what is actually necessary, while nothing greater will follow on the present lines. If we want more men and women in industry we must use force.

"Many women work to-day because they are paid heavily for their work. That is one reason why I say that National Service has reached its numerical limit. On the other hand, women fill paid posts when without any need of the salaries thus earned; quite wealthy women receive good salaries for the simplest duties. If they refuse to accept money their colleagues bitterly resent their gratuitous work. If compulsion prevailed women would be placed to duties for which they proved suitable as regards rank, brains and experience. At present there is considerable overlapping, besides unnecessary salaries, handicapping industrial progress on the whole.

"As regards Sir Auckland Geddes' appeal for more women workers, I see no reason why these workers should be lacking. What I do say is that he must encourage these women to relinquish the monied jobs in favour of less paid and more essential forms of industry."

The Queen 24.8.1918. 679c/22 1-7n

THE PROGRESS OF EVENTS.

Important Posts in the Naval Service.

FEW OF THE WOMEN'S CORPS have created from the start a more favourable impression than those who have been enrolled as officers in the W.R.N.S. Perhaps the uniform has something to do with it; for the well-cut suit of black cloth with blue facings and the broad-brimmed black hat with braided ornament above the brow convey an air of distinction and good breeding. But it is not a matter of dress alone. The naval women are carefully chosen; and so they play their part well.

The difficulty is that there is never any surplus of competent, well-educated, responsible women; and although there may be crowds of girls looking in at the shop windows or amusing themselves up the river, many of these are too little disciplined in the training school of work to be suitable for high positions.

Among our own readers are many women of a different type from this—women who have been educated at the best high schools and colleges, as well as those who have been born in social conditions which have obliged them to take the lead in their own world. Girls and women of this class are just now peculiarly needed to fill the higher places in the W.R.N.S.; and we have therefore been asked to set forth some of the details concerning the appointments in the service which are waiting for the right candidates.

Administrative and Non-Administrative Officers.

The vacant posts for educated women of ability in the service are of two kinds—administrative and non-administrative. Administrative officers deal with the women when they are off duty. They are responsible for the management of the hostel and for the discipline and welfare of the ratings under their charge. The appointments for which non-administrative officers are required are posts involving secretarial work of a highly confidential and sometimes of a technical character.

All officers in the W.R.N.S. have to pass a selection and medical board, and when they are found suitable for the service, they are sent for a month's training, which consists of drill, lectures, &c. For non-administrative officers this training is somewhat shorter, and is supplemented by a short course in their own special branch of work. The age limits for applicants are preferably between twenty-two and forty-five. The salaries vary according to the posts and duties, the annual amounts ranging between £120, £150, and £175, with a lodging allowance of 2s. 3d. per night, if quarters are not available. A deduction of 15s. 6d. per week is made in the case of officers living in hostels, to cover board and service.

The work is serious, and must not be undertaken by women who are apt to tire of each employment in turn—for unfortunately there are women of that type. All officers in the Naval Service sign on "for the duration," and must be prepared, with few exceptions, to be sent on duty to any part of the British Isles, or even abroad, though home posts form the majority. Appointments of this calibre are not to be had for the asking; they can only be held by women who possess a high standard of efficiency, and also of conduct. But they are certainly posts which patriotic women of the upper and professional classes would be proud to fill. The W.R.N.S. has its headquarters at 15, Great Stanhope-street, W. 1.

Conscription or "Combing-out."

There is certainly a shortage of capable girls. A couple of years ago most of the authorities in Government Departments would not admit that there was a case for the conscription of women. To-day there is rather a different tone noticeable. The drawback to conscription or to any general appeal is that departments and employment exchanges become overcrowded with women who are either ineffective, bad "stayers" at their job, in doubtful health, of doubtful character, a good deal less capable than they say they are, or a good deal older than they declare they are. For one or other of these disqualifications or an amalgamation of them many names of candidates must be written off.

The ground just now is a good deal cumbered by the elderly women. Many of these are not anxious to be employed in regular paid work, even if they were adequately equipped. But they do not quite know what to do or how to occupy their time. The result is that in numerous instances they travel about the country attending conferences, annual meetings, summer meetings, and the like. These gatherings have their uses, and are not unduly festive. In some cases women return from them primed with fresh ideas which may animate their public or charitable labours. But these defensive apologies cannot be offered on behalf of all the aged female "students" who attend such conventions (usually to listen while men do the speaking or lecturing), and even when they can be put forward with truth, they are hardly adequate just now. For not only do these ladies cumber the trains, cabs, and omnibuses, but they upset the nicely measured distribution of our food supplies—which, at present, is the gravest complaint one can make. The grievance against them is that they are not (to use the current phrase) "mobile units" of teachers or workers, but merely travelling audiences. And audiences in war time—especially audiences long past their youth—should really stay at home.

Wanted: The Young Women.

It is the young women who are needed. But in regard to them the war itself has created a difficulty. Marriage in all ranks has been stimulated, especially early marriage, and though the young wives of officers and privates do frequently take paid work, yet it must naturally happen that many by reason of their marriage become occupied with home work and young children. Steady training for skilled professional work ceases; the young wife moves about the country to be near her husband if his duties are in Great Britain; and thus women who in peace time would be unmarried and available are withdrawn from the field of regular non-domestic work. The girls to whom public employers turn with most alacrity are those who are just about to leave the best secondary schools, or are reaching the end of their university course. The last named are so scarce and so quickly bespoken (especially for educational and the higher scientific work) that they must be left out of our present reckoning. There remain the secondary schools or high schools. Here it does seem to us that some definite pressure might be exercised perhaps, indeed, it already is in operation. It ought certainly to be difficult for any girl to leave one of the top forms of her school without going straight into training for some form of national employment commensurate in payment and calibre with her attainments. Unless the girl is a positive invalid, there should be no thought of her returning to live at home, even though it be to do part-time V.A.D. work, to organise girl guides, or to cultivate her father's garden. Each of these duties—notably the last—may be most meritorious. But work done in or from the parental home and more or less at one's own or one's parents' pleasure is never done under really business-like conditions. It is bound to partake of the nature of the "soft job." Therefore we return to our dogma and emphasise it quite firmly: while the war lasts, and while young women are needed, the girls who leave the high schools should be "combed out," offered a good choice of employment, and told that they must enlist among the regular workers.

M. H.

WOMAN LABOUR.

Attitude of Trade Unions.

EMERGENCY ONLY.

The Same Pay as Men for the Same Work.

An indication of the extent to which women have displaced men in industry was given in Manchester on Saturday, at a conference under the auspices of the Manchester and District Women's Interests Committee.

Mr. W. Mellor, formerly of the London Fabian Research Department, submitted a list of occupations closed to women before the war, in which women were now engaged. The list included tramway conductors, street sweepers, railway workers (porters, booking-office clerks, carriage cleaners, and station mistresses), messenger girls, telegraph girls, grocery assistants, clerks in Government and insurance offices, gardeners, commissionaires, lift attendants, motor van drivers, taxi drivers, and women police, irrespective of the large number engaged in armament works and aircraft factories. While agreeing that there was need for better organisation in munitions industries, Mr Mellor criticised the Government's failu to realise that the reorganisation industry must begin from within and a their panic methods. He wanted to protest strongly against the view that the trade unions had not given up anything and were merely sitting tight.

Taking the Chance.

The trades unions were agreeing to a relaxation of rules, thereby allowing unskilled and female labour to enter into their industries, but it was one thing for officials to agree to a relaxation of rules and another to get the rank and file to agree to that relaxation. The women's view seemed to be "we have got a chance; let us take it." That was a thoroughly dangerous attitude, and it was going to lead to more trouble and more putting back of the clock in the labour world than anything else. It would put up the backs of the men's trade unions, who would fight the women tooth and nail.

Co-operation between men and women wou l only be possible if they were prepared to treat the problem as one of emergency labour for the period of the war in order that male labour should not suffer afterwards. His suggestions for dealing with the problem were for the unions which did not now admit women to admit them; for women to be paid at same rate for the same jobs as men; for a record of emergency labour to be kept, and the trade unions concerned notified of every emergency worker taken on by each firm, with particulars as to wages paid and work done; and for women to be admitted into each industry on the distinct understanding that they would have to be the first to go when displacements occurred through men coming back from the war and claiming their old jobs.

Mrs. Annot Robinson protested against the suggestion that women vere less patriotic than men, or were seeking to take advantage of men who had gone to the front by stepping into their jobs. She did not think it would be fair or practicable, however, to ask women to give up their work and give place to men at the end of the war. The result of that, she declared, would be social chaos.

Mr. A. A. Purcell, the furnishing trade union leader, said he stood for the return of men to their former positions and the displacement of the women if necessary. The men had had to fight severely for the small pittance they had to-day, and they did not want the employers to be supported by women's labour.

The committee, whose headquarters are at 66, Barton Arcade, Manchester, is sending out to the various trade unions a list of questions which aim at discovering to what extent and under what conditions women are replacing men in industry, whether the replacement is likely to be permanent, and the attitude of the trade unions towards it.

In cases where women have entered a particular trade since the war, the union is asked to state whether they are (a) married women returned to the trade; (b) women not previously in industrial employment; (c) women from other trades. Information is also sought as to whether women are doing the same work as the men they have replaced, or whether conditions or processes have been adjusted to suit them.

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Each union is asked, further, to state whether any of its rules have been relaxed or stiffened, and whether it proposes to accept women as members.

Manchester Guardian
9/7/15

WOMEN'S WORK.

THE MINIMUM WAGE.

A conference was held in Manchester on Friday evening between representatives from the Women's War Interests Committee and representatives of the Manchester and District Trades Council, the Women's Trades and Labour Council, and the Women's Trade Union Council.

Councillor Margaret Ashton, who was in the chair, said it was their desire to protect women's interests in the new work they were taking up; to prevent them from lowering the value of work normally done by men; to secure from the start a decent living wage for the women; and to avoid the creation in the Manchester district of new industries paying inadequate wages to women.

The meeting unanimously agreed that no effort should be spared to secure adequate wages for the women engaged on munitions work. It was further agreed that this could only be secured by establishing a guaranteed minimum wage.

Manchester Guardian
6/7/15

WOMEN'S WORK AND WAGES.

THE MUNITIONS RATE.

The Manchester and District Women's War Interests Committee yesterday discussed with the Trade Union Section of the Armaments Output Committee the possibility of obtaining a minimum wage for women workers on munitions.

Mr. Purcell, for the deputation, said that in the view of the women represented a guaranteed minimum of £1 per week should be paid to all adult women workers on munitions (over 18 years of age) for a 48-hour week, and on piecework the rates should be such as not to cause the weekly wage to fall below £1. All women employed on night work should be paid at the rate of time and a quarter.

Councillor Margaret Ashton pointed out that, although in some cases women were actually doing the same work as men, yet in the work on shells and fuses they were doing work which had been done by women before at sweated rates, bt which was new to Manchester. The Women's Interests Committee were anxious that good conditions and fair rates should be recognised before the employment of women in ammunition works became general in Manchester.

Mr. Grierson said that £1 was an average weekly wage of machinists engaged on war work in Manchester, so that they were not fixing the minimum too high.

Mrs. Annot Robinson called attention to the low wages and long hours prevailing in the Midlands for munitions work, and urged that it was necessary in an industry new to Manchester that the district rates should not be lowered.

Mrs. Dickenson, the secretary of the Women's Trades and Labour Council, compared the proposed minimum with the wages of organised women workers in engineering shops in the Manchester district, and considered the recommendation moderate and fair.

The Armaments Output Committee were very much in sympathy with the views expressed. They were keenly alive to the danger of cheap women's labour, but there had been difficulties in regard to the interpretation of a clause in the memorandum drawn up by the Advisory Committee on March 19.

Manchester Courier
19/7/15

WOMEN WORKERS' WAGES

PROPOSALS OF MANCHESTER COMMITTEE.

Representatives of the Women's War Interests Committee met in conference representatives of the Manchester and District Trades Council, the Women's Trade Union Council, and the Women's Trade and Labour Council at Manchester this week-end, the object of the conference being to enable the War Interests Committee to lay its proposals before the other representatives, and also to ascertain accurate information concerning the entry of women into munitions work.

In outlining the general programme of the War Interests Committee, Councillor Margaret Ashton, who was in the chair, said that it was their desire to protect women's interest in the new work they were taking up; to prevent them from lowering the value of work, normally done by men: to secure from the start a decent living wage for the women; and to avoid the creation in the Manchester district of new industries paying inadequate wages to women. They believed that in asking for the payment of a decent wage to women engaged in the manufacture of munitions they would have the support of fair-minded and public-spirited citizens. They considered that existing conditions strongly emphasised the point that women's wages should not be based on the supposition that their period of dependence on their own earnings was a short one.

The meeting was asked to consider and give its support to the following proposals: (1) That a guaranteed minimum wage of £1 a week should be paid to every adult woman (over 18 years) working on munitions. (2) That the piecework rates for the women should bear the same relation to their time rates as the men's piecework rates bears to theirs. (3) That the relation between overtime rates and ordinary rates should be the same for the women as for the men.

It was unanimously decided to support the proposals.

The Royal Technical Institute Departmental Sub-Committee at Salford is to provide, subject to the approval of the Board of Education, short courses of instruction in engineering machine tools for persons who desire to assist in the manufacture of munitions of war.

The Manchester Guardian
11/8/15

THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN.

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.

Sir,—In reference to Mrs. Tomlinson's letter in Saturday's issue of the "Manchester Guardian," I think the vagueness of Mr. Lloyd George's promise to Mrs. Pankhurst should be made clear. A minimum wage for women munition workers was to be enforced, he said, in controlled establishments. As yet we have failed to discover an establishment sufficiently controlled to make the munition authorities care to interfere with wages.

Further, we want public opinion to make clear to Mr. Lloyd George what an equitable minimum wage would be. If, as would be quite natural, he followed existing standards, a grave injustice would be done. From the large number of instances of the wages paid to women munition workers throughout the country which have been given to the Manchester and District Women's War Interests Committee it is seen that while bad employers pay 10s. to 12s. for this work the average decent employer pays 15s. a week on time rates, and on piecework wages oscillate between 15s. and £1. With food at its present price it is not possible for women to maintain the physical efficiency necessary for using heavy machinery on 15s. a week, especially when travelling expenses and insurance have to be deducted from this.

It must not be forgotten that a far larger proportion of women are and will be self-supporting as a result of this war. The large number of women wage-earners wholly or partly maintaining dependents, proved by the figures given by the Fabian Women's Group, before the war will be greatly increased now, for Government allowances, except in the case of the very poor, do not come near the wages the men were receiving before they left home.

All these considerations are operating in every trade where women are working at present. It is urgently necessary, therefore, that the standard wage in an industry like the manufacture of munitions, which is to some extent centralised and controlled, should be such as to recognise the fact that a woman should be able to live on her week's wage. This might help to pull up the disgracefully low level of women's wages, which in many cases fall below subsistence point.

It is for this reason that the Manchester and District Women's War Interests Committee is urging on Mr. Lloyd George that a minimum wage of £1 per week of 48 hours, or, to be more accurate, a minimum time rate of 5d. an hour, with time and a quarter for overtime, should be established for all women in factories doing Government war work.—Yours, &c.,

ELLEN C. WILKINSON, Secretary Manchester and District Women's War Interests Committee.

66, Barton Arcade, Manchester August 3.

The Daily Dispatch – 7.2.16

WOMEN ON WAR WORK.

The Question of Discharges When Peace Comes.

At a conference convened on Saturday by he Manchester and District Women's War Interests Committee it was suggested that women now employed in munition factories, and who will be thrown out of employment at the end of the war, should be compensated.

The gathering was attended by trade union representatives and delegates from suffrage societies, and it was ultimately agreed to circulate the proposals that were discussed among the bodies represented at the meeting, and again consider them a month hence, with a view to their submission to the Government.

Miss Margaret Ashton, who presided, said that the national service of the women who had taken their men's places at home ought to be recognised, if they were not to have an enormous number of women unemployed after the war.

Mrs. Annot E. Robinson said that in some industries the women had come to stay, and that not only would it be difficult, but almost impossible, to turn them out. The new machinery provided by employers would stay, and the reorganisation would be permanent.

Because of that a sex war would be set up at the conclusion of peace. The one thing that must be obviated was the retention of women in industry as cheap labour. (Hear, hear.) That was the biggest danger before them.

One of the priposals discussed by the gathering was that women displaced at the end of the war should receive, through trades unions, adequate out-of-work benefit until able to find other work, or for a period agreed upon, and that the Government should subsidise the trades unions to enable them to meet the increased demands on their unemployment funds.

Another suggestion to which the meeting gave assent was that no women should be retained on work done by men before the war at less than a wage of £1 per week of 48 hours, and where doing work equal to that performed by men, the recognised trade union rate of wages should be paid.

The conference also passed a resolution protesting against the action of a Salford firm in allowing a woman worker to be employed 61 hours for 13s. 1d. The resolution, which refers to a case heard before the Manchester Munitions Tribunal on Thursday, was ordered to be sent to the Minister of Munitions.

Bristol Times

26/2/16

The notice which appears under the heading "The Woman Worker in Bristol" in another column of to-day's issue is one to which earnest attention is invited. Not only is every religious denomination represented, but many well-known civic names are to be found amongst those helping the project. Upon the committee various social organisations are represented including the National Union of Women Workers, the Women's Labour League, the Bristol Civic League, and others. Suitable premises have been secured in Portland Square, and it is hoped that this most useful and needed enterprise will secure the help it deserves.

Western Press (Bristol)

26/2/16

THE WOMAN WORKER IN BRISTOL.

The notice which appears under this heading in another column of to-day's issue is one to which earnest attention may be invited. Not only is every religious denomination represented, but many well-known civic names are to be found amongst those helping the project. Upon the Committee, varied social organisations are represented, including the National Union of Women Workers, the Women's Labour League, the Bristol Civic League, and others. We are informed that suitable and commodious premises have been secured in Portland Square, and this most useful and needed enterprise should secure the help it deserves.

The Common Cause
680/7

Women's War Interests.

WORK OF THE MANCHESTER AND DISTRICT COMMITTEE.

We have been asked to publish, in THE COMMON CAUSE, accounts of the work of Women's Interests Committees, for the benefit of Societies which are wishing to promote such committees in their own districts. The following account of the work of the Manchester Committee is taken from their pamphlet, recently issued, on "Women in the Labour Market During the War."*

The Committee was formed in May, 1915, chiefly with a view to investigating and making public the conditions of women employed in munition factories, but as new occupations were opened to women as a direct result of the war, the scope of the Committee was extended. Its work has chiefly fallen into three branches: (1) Investigation; (2) the holding of conferences and consultations; and (3) the making of direct representations to Government departments and local committees.

INVESTIGATION.

A thorough investigation was made into the conditions of women's war work in the Manchester district. Inquiry forms were sent to secretaries of trade unions and other labour organisations, while information was secured from employers by correspondence and personal interviews. In this way reports were obtained from a large number of firms engaged in munition work. A careful collection of Press cuttings was started at the outset, and has been continued ever since.

CONFERENCES.

The first conference was held on June 12th, and the following proposals were put forward by the Women's Interests Committee as a suggested basis for a publicity campaign :—

WAGES.—That a guaranteed minimum of £1 per week of forty-eight hours should be paid to every adult woman worker (over eighteen years) employed on munitions. On piecework the rates should be such as to give a guaranteed minimum of £1 per week.

All women employed on night work or overtime should be paid at the rate of time and a quarter.

HOURS.—That a three-shift system of eight hours is preferable to continuous overtime for women. No woman should be employed on night work for more than two weeks out of six.

CONDITIONS.—That ample canteen provision should be provided, and, where night work is in operation, this should be obligatory.

At the second Conference, held on October 23rd, representatives of various branches of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and of the Cotton Operatives Association were present, and the question of the transference of women from textile to munition factories was considered.

The third Conference, on December 18th, was summoned to make more widely known the existing conditions of women's labour on munition work, and to arrange joint action in securing "a minimum wage of £1 per week of forty-eight hours for all women engaged in the manufacture of war material, and the extension of the definition of 'munition workers' to cover all persons employed in the production of war material." Representatives were present from twelve trade and labour councils, thirty trade unions, five branches of the I.L.P., nine branches of the Women's Labour League, eleven branches of the Women's Co-operative Guilds, four Suffrage societies, and a number of other women's organisations, the Manchester and District Labour Party, and the Rochdale Labour Party. These unanimously endorsed the policy of the Women's War Interests Committee, and promised full support.

In August, a national conference of the united metal trades was held in York, when the proposals of the Manchester Women's War Interests Committee were adopted as representing the minimum conditions under which the men trade unionists ought to sanction the entrance of women's labour into the production of munitions. This was an event of great importance. It was the first occasion on which a representative group of men trade unionists had shown signs of recognising the serious menace to their own position by allowing women in considerable numbers to undertake work usually done by themselves, and at wages far below their own standard.

DEPUTATIONS.

As a result, a joint deputation from the metal trades, the National Federation of Women Workers, and the Manchester Women's War Interests Committee met Dr. Addison and Mr. Beveridge, as representing the Ministry of Munitions, and placed before them the proposals adopted at the York Conference. Dr. Addison agreed that women should not be under-paid, and that the danger of depressing men's wages should be carefully guarded against.

On December 23rd Dr. Addison met a further deputation, at which he agreed that it was important to have women properly represented on committees which controlled the working conditions, and also that he was prepared to consider the appointment of women to such committees, "more especially to wage tribunals, on the ground of their personal knowledge of women's wages and conditions of labour."

The persistent presentation of the Committee's proposals, concludes the Report, has certainly influenced the Government's recommendations to employers in controlled establishments, and the constant presentation of facts showing that the recommendations as to wages are being ignored, has assisted in inducing the Government to take power in the amended Munitions Bill to regulate wages and conditions of labour for women in controlled establishments, and the clear case which has been made out for more direct representation of the women workers in the Manchester area has led the Ministry of Munitions to consider this demand favourably.

The Newcastle Chronicle
8/31/16

LOCAL GOSSIP

BY ELFIN

WOMEN WORKERS' INTERESTS.

Women in the labour movement have not been inactive since the war began in looking after the interests of their sisters who have engaged in occupations hitherto filled by the male sex. Following upon examples in Manchester and other large industrial centres, Newcastle has now its Women's War Interests Committee, and one of its principal objects is to create public opinion on the various new problems which have arisen out of the great conflict, particularly as they relate to the economic position of the women workers. Probably the trade unions may deem it their function to deal with the organisation of the new mass of female labour which has appeared in all directions, but there is doubtless a good deal to be done that only a Women's Committee can do.

THE FUTURE OF THE RACE.

New openings for women have presented themselves in many trades as the young men have been steadily drawn to the colours, and the way females have adapted themselves to strange occupations has been wonderful, but some of the new work to which they have applied themselves is a severe test of their health and physical endurance, and it is necessary that we should see to it that the women do not overwork themselves in their eagerness to help the national cause. We must spare a serious thought for motherhood and the future of the race.

PATIENCE IN TRAINING.

Men are usually impatient in teaching young women work of which they have hitherto had no experience, but I believe it is very generally recognised that once a girl has mastered her task she becomes a real asset to her employer. When a woman knows her job she invariably works at it with all her power. I heard a business man say yesterday that if patience and consideration were exercised in the training of a female to do the work of a man the return in honest labour was assured. He gave me instances of it in his own business and his testimony was good to listen to after the grumblings I have heard by irritable men when they have had to substitute girls for work previously done by young fellows now in khaki.

NEW PROBLEMS.

At the outset the majority of the men's trade unions were hostile to the intervention of women, but they have since come round to the point of view that it were better to admit women to their societies than to refuse to work with them. The railway workers, for example, have altered the title of their union so that it may include women. Many labour and social problems have arisen by the entrance of so many women workers in the different trades, and adjustments after the war will call for careful consideration. The withdrawal of a large part of male labour from productive industry has opened the door to an influx of women's labour into hitherto barred trades, and when we look all round the new position of women we can easily understand how much there is to occupy the attention of an organisation such as the Women's War Interests Committee.

Electrical Times
23. 3. 16.

Women Workers After the War.

Are the women to continue in the factories when we've wound up the Watch on the Rhine, or are they not? At the Manchester conference of the Women's War Interests' Committee, the secretary of a certain engineers' society said that the engineers had not agreed that women workers should be retained after the war at all. Have the various engineers' societies convinced themselves that they occupy a dominant position, or that this position will improve when some millions of artisans are released from the ranks?

Another male speaker "wanted the engineers to recognise that the women were in the shops for ever." He added that the engineers' delegates were trying to create a sex war. Personally we should accuse them of nothing but supreme selfishness, without regard to sex or anything else. Certain fitters and boilermakers of various denominations have established a record in this war for truculent loutishness. When nearly every other class of tradesman has retained his self-respect and shown himself at heart a Briton, the indecent arrogance of irreconcilables amongst the fitters, who, like the Welsh miners, deemed that they had the country in a cleft stick, has engendered a disgust that will not easily be forgotten. Possibly some of the underpaid workers may appeal with success for public sympathy after the war; the fitters, we feel sure, would meet with nothing but failure and disappointment.

Fortunately, there are very many decent fellows amongst them, and in any case we hope that employers will take the long view, and be ready to pay American wages for output on an American scale. It is regrettable that some of the women are underpaid; they are certainly entitled to the same scale as the men whom they displace. But if manufacturers subscribe to these improvements in the fitter's status, it will certainly not be in exchange for the rule of sullen hostility, "ca' canny," and general guerilla warfare against the productive capacity of our works.

Sheffield Independent 8-5-16.

WOMEN'S WAGES.

A Demand for Trade Union Rates.

SHEFFIELD CONFERENCE.

No woman shall work in any trade at less than the recognised trade union or district rate of wages, when employed on work hitherto done by men. Where a recognised trade union or district rate does not exist, the wages should not be less than £1 for a week of 48 hours.

This resolution was passed with practical unanimity at a conference of workers held at Sheffield on Saturday. The conference, convened by the Sheffield and District Women Workers' Organising and Interests Committee, was attended by representatives of over 70 trade councils, trade unions, women's organisations and similar bodies in Sheffield and district, and Mrs. H. A. L. Fisher, wife of the Vice-Chancellor of the University, presided.

Mrs. Fisher said we were in rapidly changing times, and one of the things that had changed the most had been the position of women. It was, therefore, tremendously important for them to have a short time to stop and think and guard against some of the dangers of rapid change. Women of all classes and occupations had flung themselves into all kinds of work and taken the places of men doing other work. In fact they had behaved rather well, but in their patriotism and eagerness to help it was possible that certain dangers might arise. One of those dangers was that of low wages. Many women were not trained to organise, did not realise the need of it, and all too often were willing to take wages which they had no business to take.

After the War.

Another danger that had to be faced had reference to the future of the women now in industry. Some people said that when the war was over the women would go back to their previous conditions of life, but that was not true. Even before the war a very large number of women had to earn their living, and after the war the number would be much greater. For a long time there had not been enough men to help the women at home, and after the war there would be still fewer. She was not altogether sorry for that, for in the past many girls had not been brought up to do a fair share of the world's work, and that was going to be changed. A large number of women were never going back to half employment.

But after the war there would be a great turmoil, and unless steps were taken beforehand there would be much suffering. The men should do their best to teach the women to organise. It was worth their while to do it, because otherwise the women would become a real danger to them. There was no question of sex antagonism in this matter, for men and women were meant to work together, and we were finding that out in this war. Women did not want to undo the work men had done, but to stand by them and work with them as comrades.

Duty of the Unions.

Mrs. Annot Robinson, of Manchester, in moving the resolution, said that in the past it had always been the idea that women should be paid less than men. At the very commencement of the war those trades dominated by strong unions ought to have opened their ranks and taken in the women along with the men. In that way they would have secured complete control of the conditions under which the women worked, and they could have insisted upon equal pay for equal work. The resolution asked only for 5d. an hour, which was little enough, but the other day she found women working in a shop for 2½d. an hour, and yet the men did not come out on strike to improve their pay. When the women had got 5d. they must go for more.

Mrs. E. Barton (Sheffield) seconded.

Mr. A. E. Chandler said the trade unions should take the women in, and after the war, instead of turning them out, should see that surplus labour was used to reduce the number of hours of work, so that the workers had sufficient leisure.

Mr. Thraves, of the Tramway Workers' Union, said his trade had been nearly swamped by the women, and they had found no difficulty in getting them into the union. They would come in, but the difficulty was to keep them in, because if

Sheffield Daily Telegraph 8-5-16.

WOMEN WORKERS CONFER.

A conference organised by the Sheffield and District Women Workers' Organising and Interests Committee was held in the Cambridge Hall, Sheffield, on Saturday afternoon. There were present representatives of seventy-seven different trade unions and other societies in Sheffield and the surrounding district. The object was to do something to make the Government recognise its responsibility to the displaced women war workers.

Mrs. H. A. L. Fisher, who presided, drew attention first to the rapid trend of events, and one of the things which was changing most was the position of women. On the whole, women had behaved rather well; but in their patriotism and eagerness to do the best they could they had fallen into dangers.

First was the very real danger of the question of wages, which was not a question of any class or profession, but was one of the whole world of earning. Many of the women now working were not trained to organise: they did not realise the need of it, and all too often were prepared to take wages or salaries which were much too low. A great many did not realise that they were doing any harm to others, while many were too modest, and did not realise their value.

Even more important was the future of these women. A great many said placidly, "Oh, they will go back." But many would not be able to go back. Before the war there were many who could not earn their livings by keeping house and bringing up children, and after the war there would be still more in that position. They could not live in a fool's paradise; there would not be sufficient homes for them.

She was not sorry, said Mrs. Fisher, for this. A great many were experiencing independence for the first time, and doing an honest day's work; but, she feared, not always for an honest day's pay. There would be a great turmoil after the war, and unless they took pains before the end of the war, she feared there would be a great deal of preventable suffering. If this horrible struggle were going to open up a new world, men and women must learn to work together, and there must be no sex antagonism. They must realise they were not made to work apart, but to work together. Remember, said Mrs. Fisher, that the women who are working now are the mothers of the race to come, and therefore the lives of the women are even more important than the lives of the men.

The first resolution: "No woman shall work in any trade at less than the recognised trade union or district rate of wages, when employed on work hitherto done by men. Where a recognised trade union or district rate does not exist, the wages should not be less than £1 for a week of 48 hours," was proposed by Mrs. Arnot Robinson, of Manchester. She thought that owing to the two measures of conscription this conference had come at the most opportune moment. Women had been admitted to the trades without any preparation as to the standards of labour, and the great mistake had been that women had not been admitted to the trades unions.

This was seconded by Mrs. Barton, and after considerable discussion was carried with only one dissentient.

The second resolution, proposed by Mrs. Pryce Jones (Sheffield), and seconded by Mrs. Oldham (Rotherham) was to the effect that any woman displaced by the cessation of the war, or war orders, should receive adequate out-of-work benefit, either till she gets work or for a period to be agreed upon; that such benefit should be payable through trade unions, and urged the Government to make an adequate subsidy to the trade unions for this purpose.

This was opposed by Councillor Alfred Short on the grounds that it provided an avenue by which the Government could avoid its obligations to the women in the country, the men in the trenches, and all their dependents. Mr. A. E. Chandler thought it was a matter for the trade unions to find a scheme to protect the women who would be thrown out of work at the close of the war. The resolution was supported by Mrs. Barton, because it was better to ask for something directly and then ask for more. She agreed with Councillor Short that the matter ought to be one entirely for the Government. The resolution was lost, and it was stated that the matter would be reconsidered and a new resolution drafted.

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Position of the A.S.E.

A representative of the A.S.E., replying to several speakers who had adversely criticised the society because of its refusal to admit women, said that the society insisted on the women being paid the same as men. If the present difficulties had occurred in peace time the men would have come out on strike to compel the employers to pay the women proper wages, and it was because some of them did so on the Clyde that they were deported.

The resolution was carried with one dissentient.

Mr. Pryce Jones, of Sheffield, moved:

"That any woman displaced by the cessation of the war, or war orders, should receive adequate out-of-work benefit, either till she gets work, or for a period to be agreed upon.

"That such benefit should be payable through trade unions.

"We therefore urge the Government to make an adequate subsidy to the trade unions for this purpose."

Dealing with the third point the mover said this was a national problem. It was for the sake of the nation that the women had gone into industry, and as the Government could raise enormous sums for the war it could also raise money for repairing the ravages of war.

Mr. Oldham, of Rotherham, seconded.

Councillor A. Short strongly opposed the resolution, which he argued would enable the Government to forego its obligations to the people. We must not deal with the poverty arising out of the war, he said, by granting a miserable out-of-work allowance for a given period. If the nation were going to acknowledge the sacrifices made by the workers, the Government must provide legitimate employment at a proper wage.

The resolution was also opposed by Mr. Chandler and others, and defeated; and Mrs. Fisher announced that the matter would be reconsidered, and a fresh resolution drafted.

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Manchester Guardian
14/6/16

WOMEN WORKERS.

TRADE UNIONS AND THE NEW OCCUPATIONS.

A meeting of the Manchester and District Women's Interest Committee was held on Saturday to discuss the action to be taken by men's trade unions in relation to the women workers who are now doing work which before the war was done by men.

Mr. W. Mellor said the list of new occupations by women included those of tramway conductors, street sweepers, railway porters, carriage cleaners, booking office clerks, messenger girls, telegraph girls, grocery assistants, clerks in Government and insurance offices, gardeners, commissionaires, lift attendants, motor-van drivers, taxi-drivers, and police. A number of women were also engaged in armament works and aircraft factories. He suggested as means for dealing with the problem that the trade unions which did not now admit women should admit them; that the trade unions should be notified by firms of every emergency worker taken on; that women be paid at the same time rate for the same jobs as men; and that women be admitted into each industry on the distinct understanding that they would have to be the first to go when the men came back from the war.

Mrs. Annot Robinson said she did not think it would be fair nor practicable to ask women to give up all their work and give place to men at the end of the war.

Daily Dispatch
Oct 10, 1916

WOMEN AND TRADE UNIONS.

The Need for Organisation.

The question of industrial and social reconstruction after the war was considered at the first annual meeting of the Manchester, Salford, and District Women's War Interests Committee last night.

Mr. Hallsworth, of the National Union of Co-operative Employes, said that one of the industrial difficulties would be to create in women workers a desire for better industrial conditions. In Manchester today there were tens of thousands of women and girls who did not know what organisation meant. It would only be by the force of trade union organisation, with men and women banded together, neither undercutting the other, that they would break down that attitude of mind, already made manifest, which favoured a return to the worst days before the industrial revolution of the last century.

Mr. A. A. Purcell (the chairman) said that so far from there being any improvement in the spirit between masters and men there was likely to be more hostility. He agreed that it was essential that men and women workers should be brought into the same trade union.

Mr. A. E. Zimmern said that in spite of the increase in food prices the standard of living of many sections of the community had been raised, and it was inconceivable that the working classes would acquiesce in the reintroduction of the old bad state of things.

Manchester Guardian.
14.10.16

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WOMEN WORKERS IN MANCHESTER.

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.

Sir,—A recent letter from Dr. Barbara Tchaykovsky raises a matter of very great importance to thousands of women workers in Manchester and district. I cannot say that the actual rates paid to machinists in most Manchester factories range so low as those quoted by Miss Tchaykovsky. The real problems here are more complex and more difficult. By selecting a rate paid for common work, or, worse still, for sale goods, a wage will be obtained of 10s. and 11s. for a week of fifty hours; with the cost of living as it is at present this is not merely a low wage, but is gross sweating. On the other hand, by taking the best rates for the best goods a wage is obtained of 25s. or 30s. a week. It is obviously unfair to the women to assume that their real wages are always on the top scale; it is equally unfair to the employers to assume that the women are always on common work and their wages represented by the bottom scale. There are in Manchester at least a dozen different machinist trades, and their hours, rates, and conditions vary one from another; but taking the average a woman with a week of mixed work, common and high grade, earns about a pound. This is not good, but it is certainly not sweating.

Unfortunately, this does not settle the matter. There are still very real difficulties which render the rate of pay a very poor index of the actual wages earned by the women. All the branches of the trade are seasonal, and during the slack periods the women do not earn anything approaching a living wage. Further, by the custom of the trades the women are expected to stand by their machines and wait for the work to come in, which effectively prevents them from seeking work elsewhere. A woman may in this way spend a whole week in the shop and earn only two days' wages. In some branches of the trade, and more especially in the blouse-making, the work cannot even be called seasonal. It is merely irregular, the workers not knowing from week to week whether they will be on full time or "playing." Further, in some branches of the trade the normal hours worked are very much too long. In one firm, to my knowledge, the women are employed from eight till one and from two till seven—that is, two stretches of five hours. No tea interval is allowed, and any attempt to take one is rigidly suppressed. The evidence taken by the Health of Munition Workers Committee has made it clear beyond controversy that such continuous labour is damaging to the health of the workers, and at the same time is not even productive for the particular firm.

Here, then, are two very real defects in the trade which urgently need removing. As the various sections have different seasons, if each employer did not so jealously safeguard his own reserve of labour, it ought to be possible by the co-operation of the Employment Exchanges to secure for each worker a much larger proportion of full time and a correspondingly regular wage. Further, it is a crime not only against the women themselves but against the whole community for any firm to employ workers for two stretches of five hours per day, and there should be no hesitation in stopping it.—Yours, &c.,

GEO. K. GRIERSON, Chairman Manchester Women's War Interests Committee.

Manchester University Settlement and Art Museum, Ancoats Hall, Manchester.

Manchester Despatch
20.2.17

WAR STRICKEN WOMEN.

Needle Workers' Pitiable Plight.

One of the sections of women workers in Manchester who are being hardest hit by the war are those engaged in the sewing trades.

In these trades, according to Mrs. Annot Robinson, one of the joint secretaries of the Women's War Interests Committee, there is a great amount of surplus labour, with the result, more particularly when trade is slack, that numbers of them hang about factories whole days at a time in the hope of getting a little work.

"Two or three days' earnings," remarked Mrs. Robinson, "are very often the only outcome of all this waiting. With few exceptions they have got no war bonus," she added, "so that their plight in these days of high food prices is extremely pitiable."

She pointed out that the sewing women are practically unorganised. A movement has been started with the object of bringing this and other classes of women into various trade unions, and to give it a send-off a public demonstration has been arranged for next week.

680

680/12

Manchester Evening News

IN THE PLACE OF MEN.

Manchester's Army of Women War Workers.

"A Humanising Influence in Banks."

Can women adequately fill the place of men in industry and commerce?

In view of the new demands of the army, this question is again being widely discussed, and interesting answers to it have been given to an "Evening News" interviewer by Manchester employers and others qualified to speak on the subject.

The women war workers of Manchester are playing many parts for which in times of peace many people would have refused to acknowledge their fitness.

They are acquitting themselves well as

Munition makers,
Tram conductors,
Railway servants,
Clerks in post offices, banks, and commercial establishments,
Postwomen,
Window cleaners,
Lift attendants,

and in various other spheres of labour. They are even seen driving commercial motor-vans.

On every side their work has won admiration. Their industry, adaptability, and patriotism are universally commended, but it is also agreed that until a new race of Amazons appears men will remain indispensable for many kinds of work.

Post Office officials speak highly of the women undertaking what are still comparatively novel tasks; bank managers and business men praise their new lady clerks; the 10,000 feminine munition makers, have surprised their early critics by the skill they have displayed; and the other fair ones who are doing men's work "for the period of the war" are giving little cause for fault-finding.

It has been said that in one large office experience has shown that three women are required to do the work of one man, but the author of this statement—a man—admits that he will probably have to revise it before long, "when the women have had more training."

MUSCLE AND BRAIN.

Speaking of feminine war work generally, Mrs. Annot Robinson, of the Manchester and Salford Women's War Interests Committee, said: "Where substitution and reorganisation have taken place, women are doing the work they have undertaken extremely well.

"Of course, there is some work—in certain branches of agriculture, for instance—which women cannot do as well as men. Even the carriage cleaners employed by the railway companies are not doing all that was done by the men they have replaced. They do not work on the roofs or underneath the trains.

Where it is not so much a question of muscle but of ability, especially in organisation, women are better than men.

"It has also been proved that they are ready to over-exert themselves, and this is a very serious matter because of the breakdown which follows the strain of overwork."

Like the members of the once maligned "weaker sex" who now wear the uniform of railway servants, the tramwaywomen have won the hearts of the public.

NOTHING BUT PRAISE.

When Mr. J. M. M'Elroy, the general manager of the Corporation tramways, was interviewed on the experience of the Tramway Department in the employment of women he said: "We have always employed a large number of women clerks in the department. Since the outbreak of war the number has been increased owing to enlistments among the men, and we have been very well satisfied with the result.

"On the tramcars we now have about 250 women, and we are appointing others to fill the places of the men called up under the group system. We are very well pleased with the way in which these women are doing their work.

"We take a great deal of pains in appointing them, being careful to see that we get the right class, and they carry out their duties exceedingly well. Tramway passengers are evidently well pleased with them, for we get nothing but praise of them from the public, and the public extend every consideration to them."

MANCHESTER LEADS THE WAY.

In the great business houses of the city—as in the mills and workshops—women are now performing many tasks which before the war were exclusively carried out by men.

An army of them has occupied positions vacated by those who have laid down the pen to shoulder the rifle.

So many young women and girls have taken up clerical work in Manchester since the exodus of the men began that a club is being organised for them.

The Manchester Education Committee was

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The Manchester Education Committee was the first authority in the kingdom to establish a scheme for training recruits' wives and other women to take positions in business establishments. Many of those who took advantage of the first course of instruction are now in municipal offices, banks, home trade and shipping houses, and in insurance offices.

A HUMANISING INFLUENCE.

The manager of one well-known bank told our representative to-day that he had no complaint whatever to make regarding the female clerks who have now been employed by him for a considerable time.

"The employment of women here," he said, "has been a most successful experiment. They have adapted themselves very readily to our conditions, and we have found them quite as good as the men whose places they are filling.

In some respects they are better than men. They are more industrious and more careful.

"I have also noticed that they have had a civilising or humanising influence on the crusted old fogies who are to be found among our staff as in any other bank. We like their company and appreciate their work, and I believe they have come to stay.

"Even after the war we shall want to retain their services, not only because many of the men who have gone will refuse to return to the old life, but also because it will pay us to continue to employ members of that sex whose business capacity we once despised."

"USEFUL AS A STOP-GAP."

Another bank manager was less enthusiastic, though he did not withhold a limited measure of commendation for the war-time additions to his staff.

He refused to accept the suggestion that women bank clerks will become a permanent "institution!" While they are very useful in many ways," he remarked, "one cannot say that they have 'adequately' taken the place of men, but for the purpose of a stop-gap we have found them very satisfactory, though, of course, like men, they are 'mixed.'

"When a man begins a career in a bank he knows that his whole life depends upon the work which he does. The women have not the same incentive to industry. Though they learn quickly and carry out very well the more or less mechanical tasks allotted to them they do not take themselves and their occupation so seriously as men are compelled to do. There are exceptions, but the average woman has no intention of spending her life here—and I do not blame her."

Textile Mercury

WOMEN'S WORK IN SPINNING ROOMS

A recent report of the Women's War Interests Committee (Manchester and Salford district) deals with the changes that have taken place in regard to the substitution of female for male labour in the cotton trade. Some of the branches of the Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton Spinners still refuse to employ female piecers. At Preston and Stockport, the spinners' trade unions decline to accept women in any capacity in the mule spinning room. Oldham, as previously pointed [illegible], gave way on the question of employing females as piecers, but not as minders or joint-minders, and in Ashton and Stalybridge they are allowed to enter any branch of spinning. In all cases where women are employed they are paid the same rates as were disbursed to the males they replace. Cotton spinning is one of the few industries in which this condition of equality has been established, but, of course, the system has practically always obtained in the weaving branch.

The report states truly that the opposition to women is based on the contention of the unsuitability of the work. There is also an objection on moral and sentimental grounds, considering the nature of the work, to men and women working together. Opinions naturally vary on this matter. A Stalybridge official expressed the view that on account of the arduous character of the employment and condition of the atmosphere in the rooms, the life is not suitable for women, but he thinks there is no foundation for the objection from a moral point of view. He also argued that opposition for sanitary and sentimental reasons ought to be waived for the period of the war. This would be the attitude of many others [illegible] gaged in the trade. The report alluded to states that the hot, damp atmosphere of the spinning rooms is probably injurious to very young girls, and in special cases to women, but it is doubtful whether it is more harmful to the ordinary adult woman than to young boys. Suitable dressing-rooms should be insisted [illegible] and a revision of working clothing for men and women would be necessary. Women's clothing would be too hot, and would be extremely dangerous for spinners and piecers among the spinning machinery, but it does not seem impossible that something suitable should be devised. An Oldham man declared that [illegible] of the spinners would allow their own daughters to take up the work.

A unanimous opinion could not be obtained on any of the points emphasised in the statement we have quoted. Men's clothing worn in the spinning rooms could hardly be improved, but it is quite true that the working garments of the women are not by any means satisfactory: they could be, however, improved if a serious attempt were made. In ordinary times, the conduct and language of some (one is glad not to say all) of the men have anything but a refining influence, and in some cases it might be hopeless to induce restraint, but a more sympathetic attitude might generally be cultivated on patriotic if on no other grounds, if the matter were properly taken in hand. With regard to [illegible], the women do not fare badly. The wages for the usual branches of girls' and women's duties in the cotton trade are quoted in the War Committee's report as being 18s. to 27s. [illegible] per [illegible] for weavers, ring spinners 18s. to 23s.; card-room hands 20s. to 26s.; under-reelers, doublers, and gassers 16s. to 22s. We believe that some of the women in the branches named obtain higher figures than those quoted.

Concerning the new women workers, the agreement in Oldham provides for the same pay as males in the case of big and little piecers; creelers and piecers on one pair of mules to be arranged between the minder and the firm, but not to exceed those of a big piecer's wage; learners to be paid (for two weeks) 7s. and 5s. by the firm, and 2s. by the operative spinner. Unfortunately, the women have not taken to the work in the spinning rooms quickly enough to fill the vacancies caused by the withdrawal of the men. It is hoped, however, there will not be the same need for them now that most of the piecers, and all operative spinners are placed in the "reserved occupations" list. Besides the spinning branch, women are now entering the dyeing, bleaching, and finishing processes. Several mills in Lancashire (especially in Manchester and Bolton) were largely staffed with female piecers long before the war commenced; they had been mostly employed on fine counts, and probably on shorter mules than those which have been erected during recent years.

Earlier found

Sheffield Daily Telegraph.
9 5 16

THE ARMY OF WOMEN.

A paragraph in yesterday's paper was devoted to an account of a Conference held on behalf of the interests of women workers, that mighty army of volunteers which has come forward in this hour of their country's need. Though the men of the fighting army are well paid, well clothed, and well fed, we hear ugly rumours of under-payment of women in this army of women workers.

In the present war the British Empire has stood before the world for justice and right dealing, and the war will not really finish until at home as well as abroad justice and right-dealing permeates every sphere of activity, economic, social, and political. Such a meeting as that of Saturday, held by the Sheffield and District Women Workers' Organising and Interests Committee, was a bugle call to action.

We can hardly pose as the champion of justice abroad and let the weaker go to the wall at home, and when it comes to a question of employment it is the woman always who is the weaker. Unless we do let fair play, justice, and mercy govern our dealings with the vast army of women workers, both now and after the war, we shall have given colour to the German accusation that the British claim to fair play is only after all a political trump card.

We know that it is not a political trump card. There is inherent in the British national character, as a priceless heritage from our forbears, a sense of justice and honesty, and a capacity for staunch adherence to a right idea once it is recognised as right. One feels convinced, therefore, that when it is realised that the women workers' cause is a cause needing the support of every upright man in the Empire every bit as much as the cause of the outraged country of Belgium, then there will be found no lack of volunteers to forward a bloodless victory for commercial justice and honour among employers of women labour.

The Sheffield Women Workers' Organising and Interests Committee is a committee the success of which every truly patriotic woman should have at heart. As the organising secretary, Miss Hilston, said to us, "By getting better conditions for working women we are preserving the future of the nation, and to do this we must prevent that underpay which results in bad housing and bad feeding." Mrs. H. A. L. Fisher presided at the Conference, at which about two hundred people were present, including representatives from the Co-operative Women's Guild, Women's Adult Schools, Women's Suffrage Societies, Motherhood League, National Union of Women Workers, and the Labour League, and as our readers will have observed a resolution was passed that "No woman should work in any trade at less than the recognised trade union or district rate of wages, when employed on work hitherto done by men." We should like, however, to hear of Mrs. Fisher or someone who has studied this question, speaking on it to a drawing-room meeting, and that women more fortunately placed have recognised their right to know the conditions under which the working women of our country are employed, and to do everything in their power to better these conditions.

Sheffield Daily Telegraph.
22.7.16.

WOMEN'S WAGES.

Sheffield Women's Interests Association,
30, Campo Lane (Room 8), July 21, 1916.

Sir,—The Sheffield and District Women's Interests Association have had under their consideration:—

The Statutory Rules and Orders No. 447, which have just been issued by the Minister of Munitions. These relate to the remuneration of women and girls on munition work of a class not recognised as men's work, and the rates are as follow:—

The time rates for piece workers and premium bonus workers shall be:

18 years and over	4d.	per hour.
17 years and under 18 ...	3½d.	per hour.
16 years and under 17 ...	3d.	per hour.
Under 16 years	2½d.	per hour.

The rates for such women and girls when customarily on time shall be:

18 years and over	4½d.	per hour.
17 years and under 18 ...	4d.	per hour.
16 years and under 17 ...	3½d.	per hour.
Under 16 years	3d.	per hour.

We wish to point out that the rate of 4d. per hour for women of 18 years of age and over is a sweated wage. When the Trades Board was set up previous to the war rates of 3d. and 2½d. an hour were fixed for trades in which sweating had prevailed. Many protests were made against these rates as being far too low, and when accepted they were regarded as giving a subsistence wage to a class of the community that had hitherto been in an absolutely hopeless condition.

The cost of living since the war has increased so rapidly that to-day 6d. is worth no more than 3½d. was previously, so that in fixing a wage of 4d. an hour for this class of munition workers, the Government is definitely registering munition making as a sweated industry for women. It is surely a very serious matter that any class of engineering work should be so degraded.

Clause 3 of this Order gives ½d. per hour extra to women and girls in the danger zone, or to those working on processes which are injurious to health. In our opinion this sum is too paltry to offer to women running such risks as they do in high explosive work and dope varnishing. Much of the work that is done by these women is of a harder character than that which is done by girls who come under the L 2 agreement. Their minimum time rate is fixed at £1. We are of opinion that no less a sum should have been fixed in this later schedule.—Yours faithfully,

MARY HILSTON (Secy.).

Yorkshire Telegraph Star.
22.7.16.

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MARY HILSTON (Secy.).

Sheffield Women's Interests Association,
30, Campo Lane (Room 8), July 21, 1916.

Sheffield Indep: 680c
17.10.16 680a/3

Woman and Labour.

To the Editor "Sheffield Independent."

Sir,—May I inquire what is the precise function of the "Sheffield and District Women's Interests Associations"? A formidable title truly, well calculated to gain or attract the confidence of the unthinking. As actions should be the test instead of titles I advance the above query. What is the status of the ladies who constitute the committee? Are any of them boiler-firing or slinging pig-iron about? or, are they middle-class ladies intent on steering for the vote through industrial channels with the women workers' unions as the vehicle? The whole of the letter of 9 October on "Women and Labour" is an attempt to justify as right and proper the pastime of handling heavy shells—for bonus, as per letter. It also states that there seems to be a lack of "skilful adjustment" between women on shell, bonus, and labourers employed to shove them about. The men labourers have not a patriotic bonus as a bait, therefore being only human they can hardly be expected to indulge in an apoplectic fit of anxiety over avaricious women baby neglecters' bonus. Another extract, "It is true output is diminished by abolition of Sunday work, especially in regard to women." Inference "keep them on Sundays." Now read the title again. Interests! forsooth; here's a choice extract: "The women are new to the industrial world with all it entails as to hours, discipline, physical strain, due to exercise of hitherto little used muscles and so on!" Get on the tramcars in a morning about 7 o'clock to the outer termini and look at potential mothers lying like dead sheep inside and outside the cars. Protect your wives and daughters is or was one of the slogans of this war. We are in a fair state of progress towards muscular women even if they are deteriorating into anæmic and flat-chested specimens. However, this immense reserve army of labour must be utilised not only now, but after to act as or replace the previous menacing army of unemployed men. Women workers must rely on themselves and their class. Now I wait apprehensively for the coming flaying onslaught.—Yours, etc.,

Evelyn Rayner.

5, Hackthorn road, Woodseats.

Sheffield Daily Telegraph
3.10.16

ADULT SUFFRAGE.

FORMATION OF A NATIONAL COUNCIL.

In view of the discussion which has arisen on the franchise question, a National Council has been formed for the purpose of securing the adhesion of societies and individuals supporting adult suffrage. A meeting for this purpose was recently held at the Central Hall, Westminster, when a resolution urging the necessity of the next Parliament being representative of all the men and women of the nation in order that the problems of reconstruction may be dealt with by representatives of the whole people, was passed, and the following were elected an Excutive Committee to conduct the necessary work:—Mr. H. W. Nevinson (chairman), Miss Margaret Bondfield, Mr. Fred Bramley, Miss K. D. Courtney, Miss Llewellyn Davies, Mr. A. G. Gardiner, Mr. George Lansbury, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Mary Longman, Miss Mary R. Macarthur, Miss Catherine Marshall, Mr. H. W. Massingham, Mr. J. S. Middleton, Miss A. M. Roydon, Miss Evelyn Sharp, Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, and Mr. Robert Smillie. Offices have been taken by the new Council, which will be known as the National Council for Adult Suffrage, at 27, Chancery Lane, London, E.C

Liverpool Post.
5.10.16

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR ADULT SUFFRAGE.

A National Council has been formed for the purpose of securing the adhesion of societies and individuals supporting adult suffrage. A meeting for this purpose was recently held in London, when a resolution urging the necessity of the next Parliament being representative of all the men and women of the nation in order that the problems of reconstruction may be dealt with by representatives of the whole people was passed, and the following were elected an Executive Committee to conduct the necessary work:—Mr. H. W. Nevinson (chairman), Miss Margaret Bondfield, Mr. Fred Bramley, Miss K. D. Courtney, Miss Llewelyn Davies, Mr. A. G. Gardiner, Mr. George Lansbury, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Mary Longman, Miss Mary R. MacArthur, Miss Catherine Marshall, Mr. H. W. Massingham, Mr. J. S. Middleton, Miss A. M. Roydon, Miss Evelyn Sharp, Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, and Mr. Robert Smillie. Offices have been taken by the new council, which will be known as the National Council for Adult Suffrage, at 27, Chancery-lane, London.

Morning Post.
2.10.16

It has been decided to form a National Council for Adult Suffrage, and steps are being taken to secure the adhesion of Societies and individuals. At a meeting recently held at the Central Hall, Westminster, the following were elected an Executive Committee: Mr. H. W. Nevinson (Chairman), Miss Margaret Bondfield, Mr. Fred Bramley, Miss K. D. Courtney, Miss Llewelyn Davies, Mr. A. G. Gardiner, Mr. George Lansbury, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Mary Longman, Miss Mary R. Macarthur, Miss Catherine Marshall, Mr. H. W. Massingham, Mr. J. S. Middleton, Miss A. M. Royden, Miss Evelyn Sharp, Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, and Mr. Robert Smillie. Offices in Chancery-lane have been taken by the new Council.

68

Labour Leader.
5.10.16

68 | 1

National Council for Adult Suffrage.

We gladly draw our readers' attention to the following notice. The subject is dealt with in the "Review of the Week."

In view of the important position which the franchise question is likely to occupy during the forthcoming months, a representative meeting for the purpose of forming a National Council for Adult Suffrage was recently held at the Central Hall, Westminster, when a resolution urging the necessity of the next Parliament being representative of all the men and women of the nation in order that the problems of reconstruction may be dealt with by representatives of the whole people was passed, and the following were elected an Executive Committee to conduct the necessary work: Mr. H. W. Nevinson (chairman), Miss Margaret Bondfield, Mr. Fred Bramley, Miss K. D. Courtney, Miss Llewelyn Davies, Mr. A. G. Gardiner, Mr. George Lansbury, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Mary Longman, Miss Mary R. Macarthur, Miss Catherine Marshall, Mr. H. W. Massingham, Mr. J. S. Middleton, Miss A. M. Roydon, Miss Evelyn Sharp, Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, and Mr. Robert Smillie.

Offices have been taken by the new Council, which will be known as the National Council for Adult Suffrage, at 27, Chancery Lane, London, E.C.

Daily Telegraph
3.10.16

A national council for adult suffrage has been formed to express the demand for a single franchise, and to secure the adhesion of societies and individuals supporting adult suffrage. The executive committee includes Mr. H. W. Nevinson (chairman), Mr. A. G. Gardiner, Mr. George Lansbury, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Mary R. Macarthur, Mr. H W. Massingham, and Mr. Robert Smillie. The office are at 27, Chancery-lane, E.C.

Islington Gazette
3.10.16

WOMEN AND MEN'S WORK.

Whatever attitude the advocates of [illegible]'s Suffrage may ultimately assume in the discussion on the new Registration Bill which the Government is now pledged to introduce, there is no denying the gradual encroachment of female labour on ground which has hitherto been regarded as the strict preserves of the "lords of creation." The war has, as we all know, brought women workers into nearly all departments of labour. The are side by side with highly-trained mechanics in our engineering works, as well as in other branches of munition-making. They are on the land, and if the recommendations which Lord Milner will probably submit to the miner's leaders are accepted, wil be found in increasing numbers at the pit heads. This will not be a "new thing," but a reversion to conditions which were quite common in the Victorian era.

We have had lady doctors for years, but that leading hospitals should group male and female students in the same classes for clinical practice is quite an innovation. But the most startling change is the appointment of women policemen on the same terms as men, under the control of the ordinary police committees, unless, indeed, this is put in the shade by the experiment which a well-known bank is making by putting women in charge of some of treir important branches. Some leading lawyers are wondering how long women can be kept out of the legal profession. But that is an innovation that can only be made practicable by new legislation. The law, as pronounced by the Court of Appeal in quite recent years, effectually "bars" women from the sacred preserves of the two branches of the legal profession.

Manchester Guardian
3/2/17

ELECTORAL REFORM.

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.

Sir,—We are glad to see by the Report of the Speaker's Conference that some measures of franchise reform are recommended, and in particular that the claim of women to the vote is conceded, and that the principle of a short residential qualification for men is adopted; the restriction of this principle to men only is, however, indefensible.

The present is a curious moment at which to put forward a measure which would have the effect of continuing the disfranchisement of hundreds of thousands of women, for no other reason than that the war has deprived them of the hope of ever having a home of their own. The women who will never marry because their possible husbands have been killed will be among the most selfless workers of the young generation, and to them we shall have to look for much of the thought and service necessary for the reconstruction of our country. The restriction of the women's vote to that of occupiers and wives of occupiers would be a perpetuation of a discredited form of franchise, and the further restriction, endowing the middle-aged only, is a deplorable suggestion. It is a sad and disastrous result of the war that this world will be proportionately older for a generation to come by the loss of so many young men's lives; it would be a wanton aggravation of this disaster to increase the disproportion of old to young by excluding the surviving young women from the political life of the nation.

The problem of a far-seeing Government should be not how many can we keep out of full citizenship in the difficult days to come, but how many can we bring in to work together for a better world. We look to the Prime Minister to embody this principle in a Government bill at the earliest opportunity.—Yours, &c.,

HENRY W. NEVINSON (Chairman).
H. M. SWANWICK.
MARY MACARTHUR.

National Council for Adult Suffrage,
27, Chancery Lane, London, E.C.
February 1.

The Times
7/2/17

A demonstration will be held in the Kingsway Hall, Kingsway, next Saturday, at 3 o'clock in favour of votes for all men and women. The speakers will include Sir John Simon, M.P., Mr. W. C. Anderson, M.P., and Miss Mary MacArthur.

Herald
10/2/17

Woman Suffrage.

THE conversion of the Press to Woman Suffrage is practically complete, and it follows the conversion of such of the public as was hostile. Two facts are now beyond dispute—that some general reform of electoral anomalies has been rendered inevitable by the war, and that no such reform can omit the satisfaction of women's claims. The question is no longer *whether*, but only *when*. There is a danger that the whole thing may be put off on the plea of "lack of Parliamentary time"—and that just after Parliament has enjoyed a six weeks' holiday! Every pressure must be brought to bear to effect the reform *now*. Women have waited till they are heart-sick. Even apart from that, they *must*—as Mr. Asquith himself has pointed out—be consulted on the problems of reconstruction after the war, and they must have immediate enfranchisement if they are to be in a position to be consulted, if there is to be any machinery by which they *can* be consulted, when the time comes. We again call our readers' attention to the important meeting to be held today (Saturday) at the Kingsway Hall, at three o'clock, when Sir John Simon, K.C., M.P., Miss Margaret Ashton, Miss Mary Macarthur, Mrs. Barton, and Mr. W. C. Anderson, M.P., will speak.

Challenge
26-1-17

A DEMONSTRATION IN SUPPORT OF THE extension of the franchise to all men and women will be held at the Kingsway Hall, on Saturday, February 10th, at 3 p.m., the chair being taken by the Bishop of Lincoln. Amongst the other speakers will be the Right Hon. Sir John Simon, M.P., Mr. W. C. Anderson, M.P., and Miss Mary Macarthur. For tickets (numbered and reserved, 2s. 6d.; reserved, 1s. and 6d.) our readers should apply to the Secretary, National Council for Adult Suffrage, 27, Chancery Lane, W.C.

Sunday Times
11. 2. 17.

VOTES FOR ALL.

KINGSWAY HALL DEMONSTRATION

Under the auspices of the National Council for Adult Suffrage, a demonstration to demand votes for all men and women, "so that soldiers, sailors and women shall not be excluded from the Parliamentary register," was held in the Kingsway Hall yesterday afternoon.

There was a large gathering, presided over by Councillor Margaret Ashton, of Manchester. The Bishop of Lincoln (Dr. Hicks), who was to have presided, wrote expressing regret at his absence through illness, and added :—

"Of course, we are thankful that the Speaker's Conference so clearly recommends an instalment of women's suffrage, and I cannot doubt that Parliament will enact it. But the proposal at the best is an unsatisfactory compromise. It betrays a fear of a numerical superiority of women on the register. But any man who objects to a lopsided register may be met with the retort that he might as well indict Nature herself, since Providence creates more women than men, and if there are more women citizens than men citizens it is only reasonable that they should have a numerically larger vote. The checks and counter-checks suggested are purely arbitrary, and must be swept away."

The Chairman said the report of the Speaker's Committee encouraged the hope that at last supporters and opponents of women's suffrage had agreed on the principle of the enfranchisement of women as part of the democratic movement. (Cheers.)

Sir John Simon said that adult suffragists must not make the mistake of doing anything to prevent the introduction of a measure dealing with women's suffrage on the widest terms the Government could be induced to accept. (Cheers.)

Miss Mary Macarthur moved a resolution calling for the inclusion of wage-earning women, including the wives of wage-earners, in any system of franchise reform.

Mrs. Barton seconded the resolution, which was supported by Mr. W. C. Anderson, M.P., and carried.

Resolutions urging the Government to introduce a simple and generous measure of franchise reform on the adult suffrage basis for men and women and urging the inclusion of the wives of wage-earners were carried.

Times. 12. 2. 17.

but urging the adult suffrage basis both for men and women; also expressing the conviction that as the problems of reconstruction would vitally affect the lives of all wage-earning women—including the wives of wage-earners—and could not be solved without their help, no franchise reform could be satisfactory which did not provide for their complete inclusion. Councillor Margaret Ashton was in the chair, and among those present were :—

Sir J. Simon, M.P., Mr. Percy Alden, M.P., Mr. W. H. Dickinson, M.P., Mr. R. Holt, M.P., Sir J. Walton, M.P., Sir W. Byles, M.P., and Lady Byles, Mr. G. J. Wardle, M.P., Mr. J. Bliss, M.P., Mr. W. C. Anderson, M.P., Muriel Countess de la Warr, Archdeacon Escreet, Mr. W. Archer, Mr. H. W. Nevinson, Miss Mary Macarthur, Mr. H. W. Appleton, Mrs. Olive Schreiner, and Miss Elizabeth Robins.

The Bishop of Lincoln, who was prevented from taking the chair by ill-health, wrote that he was more than ever convinced that the resolutions to be submitted to the meeting offered the only possible solution of the suffrage problem. Mr. J. L. Garvin sent a message, in which he announced that he was a complete convert to the view that henceforth the State must depend on men and women alike.

SIR J. SIMON, who was the principal speaker, said that as regarded the resolutions carried unanimously at the Speaker's Conference—34 out of 37—there was agreement among members of the Conference that if the Government introduced a Bill containing those recommendations they would not seek to pull one recommendation to pieces at the expense of another, but would support them *en bloc*. That stipulation, however, did not exist as regarded the proposals for woman suffrage. Therefore he and other members of the Conference were perfectly free when a Bill was introduced to urge other and better proposals. Now was the moment for those who held by a simpler and broader faith to say so. He was at one with them in urging adult suffrage without qualification. But he hoped they would not enable people who were looking for some excuse to avoid introducing a Bill to say that the Suffragists were all at sixes and sevens. He was convinced that once the principle was accepted it would be applied within generous and democratic limits. Let them cooperate with all who wished the change to secure a Bill which should confirm in as generous measure as the Government could be induced to introduce it, the principle of woman suffrage.

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11. 2. 17

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A letter in the form of a brief speech of support of the principle of adult suffrage was also read, by Mr. H. W. Nevinson, from Mr. J. L. Garvin. "Before the war," Mr. Garvin wrote, "I opposed the claim of women unwillingly, on the sole ground that when Armageddon came only men could maintain the State. Now I know that men alone never could have maintained it, and that henceforth the modern State must be dependent on men and women alike for the progressive strength and vitality of its whole organisation. If a convert on the point, I am a glad convert, and a complete convert."

"This war," he added, "would have been fought in vain or to a blind purpose unless it resulted in a fuller and nobler realisation of democracy throughout the world. Those who had been good enough to do, in fact, the vital duties of citizenship in war were good enough to enjoy the equal rights of citizenship in peace. What we wanted was a franchise settlement good enough to last a generation. We could not afford, in view of the immense social and industrial problems ahead, to spend years upon new controversies about mending and tinkering the political machine. He had not the faintest misgiving that the utmost extension of our freedom could ever again endanger our defence."

Miss Margaret Ashton, in moving the main resolution, said the need for women to be enfranchised is really more urgent than that of extending the franchise to more men, "because working women now will be left without those homes and families of their own to which, a few years ago, they would have supposed themselves to be entitled, and many more are driven out to be self-supporting and will need the protection of the vote to help them to secure better conditions of industry and payment to enable them to put by sufficient for the years of old age, when single women, left single without any fault of their own, will have no children growing up to take more of the burden of life from them."

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Percy Alden.

SIR JOHN SIMON'S VIEW.

The principal speaker, Sir John Simon, addressed the meeting after the resolution had been carried. He began by explaining one or two important matters contained in the report of the Speaker's Conference, and said it was confidently expected that the Government would introduce a Bill embodying its resolutions. "I am convinced," he said, "that no such Bill can be introdced by the Government unless it contains provision for women's suffrage. That is an immense advance."

With Miss Ashton, he agreed that the present is the moment to urge a more generous view of women's claims. As a compromise, the proposals contained in the report was full of shortcomings. But the real truth was, as Mr. Garvin had said in his letter, that when you enter upon a new course of this kind you must do it with a bold hand and in broad outline.

Personally he was perfectly free, he said, when the Bill was introduced, to urge better proposals. The recommendation which was contained in the majority report might be very good, but it was not his. The question was, what was the wise course for them to take since they, above all things, desired not to lose the opportunity which offers itself to secure the introduction of the principle of women's suffrage? He thought that now was the moment for those who held a simpler, plainer, broader faith to say so, but let them be careful in saying it to make it plain that they desired the barrier against women to be removed by Parliament. "For, believe me," he declared, "once you remove that barrier nothing in the world can prevent water from finding its own level."

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Whilst urging them to point out how very unsatisfactory is the proposed compromise, he asked them to show how their own resolution is a resolution to make the wishes of the community felt in orderly and constitutional ways. But do not let them lose the chance of getting the principle of women's suffrage introduced by the Government into a Government Bill. Once this principle was accepted by our State the limits within which it was to be effected would be, he believed, generous and democratic limits.

WAGE-EARNING WOMEN.

A second resolution expressed the conviction that no franchise reform can be satisfactory which does not provide for the complete inclusion of wage-earning women, including the wives of wage earners. It was moved by Miss May Macarthur, seconded by Mrs. Barton, of the Women's Co-operative Guild, and supported by Mr. W. C. Anderson, M.P.

Miss Macarthur said the argument that women had earned the vote as a reward did not appeal to her. She was rather surprised to find how heartily the meeting agreed with this view. Women, she pointed out, had rendered wonderful service before the war. She had never doubted their capacity for work and service. One of the needs for enfranchising them was to redress such grievances as that of a girl, whose case she quoted, who was being paid in a munition factory only 8s. 6d. a week, and whose wages, even when the Minister called attention to them, were raised to no more than 11s.

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Sunday Times
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VOTES FOR ALL.

SIR J. SIMON'S ADVICE TO WOMAN SUFFRAGISTS.

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Christian Commonwealth.
14-2-17

Votes for All, or Some?

The National Suffrage Council and the Speaker's Conference.

Compromise, a word of ominous sound, was frequently on the lips of the speakers at the important meeting organised by the National Council for Adult Suffrage, held in the Kingsway Hall last Saturday afternoon. In view of the report of the Speaker's Conference on Electoral Reform the gathering had great significance, which was heightened by the number of influential people that the National Council had brought together in support of the demand for a genuinely national franchise, instead of the truncated and unequal franchise recommended in the report.

But although the meeting abated no jot of the demand for a full and fair measure of franchise reform, the spirit of compromise pervaded the hall. It was a meeting of suffragists in a practical mood, and the policy of intransigeance found no voice. It was quite unlike the enthusiastic suffrage demonstrations of pre-war days. The speeches were in the nature of an appeal to reason—but not so much to the reason of those people who were unwilling, or unable, to see the justice of women's claim to the full rights of citizenship, as to the reason and good sense of the suffragists themselves. Enthusiasm there was, but it was tempered by anxiety to adopt the carefully considered right policy of dealing with the actual situation. It was much more like a conference than a demonstration. There were moments when one felt that the audience was ruefully contemplating a disagreeable necessity, and the sudden silences that fell upon the crowded hall proved that while the policy advocated by the platform was acknowledged to be wise, it was not popular.

Half-a-Loaf or No Bread.

The issue placed before the meeting, which represented practically the whole suffrage movement, including some notable new converts, was the familiar but unwelcome choice between half a loaf and no bread. The limited recommendation of the Speaker's conference upon the woman suffrage question has placed the suffragists in this dilemma; by accepting the limited franchise proposed they establish the principle, while leaving a vast number of women unenfranchised; but by insisting upon their full claim to the vote on the same terms as it is granted to men, they may provoke such opposition on the part of those who have been unwillingly converted so far as to tolerate a limited and partial application of the principle, that the whole question may again be indefinitely postponed. It was recognised that it would be a considerable gain to have even the illogical and timorous recommendation of the Speaker's Conference embodied in a Government Bill, as it would be, inasmuch as it has the support of practically all sections, and is not openly opposed by any. But it was also recognised that if the Government is prepared to go so far, it might not be willing to go farther, and would not even go so far if the flood-gates of controversy were once re-opened. In present, on both sides, the limited scheme proposed may be embodied in a Government Bill, and would probably become law. But if Suffragists prove intransigeant and insist upon the full formula of votes for all men and all women on equal terms, claiming equal as may be to awakened, and the whole question would once more become a matter of controversy that the [illegible] on Saturday, and it was one that obviously weighed heavily with the audience. The main resolution read by Miss Ashton and carried unanimously did not, however, make any reference to a compromise on the larger suffrage issue. It welcomed the resolutions of the Speaker's Conference as "a step on the way to a national franchise," but urged the Government in bringing in its Bill to make it "a simple and generous measure of franchise reform on the adult suffrage basis, both for men and women."

Nature's Lopsidedness.

Notwithstanding the manifest desire of the gathering to face realities, there was necessarily a strong feeling that the compromise proposed by the Speaker's Conference was extremely unsatisfactory. Councillor Margaret Ashton, who presided—the Bishop of Lincoln, who was to have taken the chair, having been forbidden by his doctors to resume public work—made this clear in her address, in which some of the main objections to the compromise were plainly stated. The Bishop of Lincoln, too, in a letter read by Mr. H. Nevinson, described the proposal as an unsatisfactory compromise. "It betrays a fear of the numerical superiority of women on the register," wrote Dr. Lee Hicks; "but any man who objects to a lopsided register may be met with the retort that he might as well indict Nature herself, since Providence creates more women than men; and if there are more women citizens than men citizens, it is only reasonable that they should have a numerically larger vote." In a good-humoured parenthesis, Mr. Nevinson questioned, not the Bishop's theology, but his biology, pointing out that actually there are more boys born than girls, but that girls have a more tenacious hold on life. He also read an eloquent and characteristic letter from Mr. J. L. Garvin, one of the most distinguished of recent converts to the suffrage cause, in which the famous journalist declared himself a willing and whole-hearted supporter of the cause he had previously opposed. The main case against the recommendation of the Speaker's Conference was stated at the very outset by Miss Ashton. The basis of the franchise, as recommended, she said, is not the same for women as for men, because it is proposed that women shall not be entitled to vote until they have reached the age of thirty or thirty-five. To give the vote on the Local Government franchise is also a retrograde proposal, as being a property and not a residential qualification. The recommendation to continue the disqualification of joint occupation of premises by a man and his wife Miss Ashton disposed of by pointing out that any other woman might occupy jointly with a man without disqualification—his grandmother, his mother, his sister, or his daughter—and it is absurd to impose this disability upon his wife.

Wonderful Unanimity.

Mr. Percy Alden, M.P., gave the first hint of the placable mood of the suffrage movement by declaring that they did not want to see a compromise on the full claim, but they did want to see something done. "We are going to fight for the ideal," he said, "but if we cannot get the ideal we will fight for the next best thing." To the argument that if all women are enfranchised the Register long? It is time we redressed the balance!" But the most persuasive speech was certainly that delivered by Sir John Simon. His was the sort of speech that does convince waverers and confirm those who are already convinced. It is right, he said, that serious men and women should examine the recommendations of the Speaker's Conference with care and deep concern; they have a right to be critical. He pointed out, however, that the report was in itself a remarkably satisfactory document. Of the thirty-seven resolutions it contained, covering the whole field of electoral reform, no less than thirty-four were carried unanimously; and the subject-matter of these resolutions has been the cause of acute political controversy for generations. He made the interesting disclosure that there is an agreement among the members of the conference, that if the Government introduces a Bill containing these agreed resolutions, they will all stand together in support of that measure. That means, he declared, that we now have a better opportunity of carrying a measure of electoral reform than we have had for many years. There is, he added, the strongest ground for believing that the Government would introduce such a Bill, and he was confident that no such Bill could be introduced unless it contained a provision giving votes to women. That is an immense advance.

Two Fundamental Fallacies.

The recommendation about the woman's vote is, of course, a compromise; it is the proposal of a majority. Sir John Simon made it perfectly clear that he, as one of the majority, felt himself to be free to get this recommendation widened when the Bill is introduced; and all the others composing the majority are likewise free. They are not pledged to take the half loaf if they can get the whole. The question is, he said, what is the best course to take? We can say to the Government: Now is the time to establish a simpler, plainer, broader franchise, and give reasons for our views. But we must recognise that there are some who feel that, although they must now admit some measure of women's suffrage, they want as little of it as possible. Undoubtedly if all women are enfranchised there will be more women voters than men voters. Sir John said he had never been able to understand the grievance of those who deplore that fact. Those who think it dangerous labour under two fundamental fallacies; the first fallacy is that no woman in any conceivable circumstances ever agrees with the men, and the second fallacy is that in no conceivable circumstances does any woman ever disagree with another woman! If either were true, or is likely to be true, we shall indeed enter upon a new world. He pointed out also that the report gives some men a second vote in virtue of their occupation of business premises, and to that extent the numerical superiority of women voters is reduced. Suffragists can make the most of these arguments: they can point out how very unsatisfactory the proposed compromise is. "But don't let us lose the chance," said Sir John, impressively, "of getting the principle of woman suffrage embodied in a Government Bill, and thereby at least remove the artificial distinction between men and women as voters." He attached great importance to having the principle recognised; and he urged again that suffragists should do nothing to prevent the Government bringing in a Bill containing the principle on the widest possible basis the Government can be induced to adopt.

The Case for the Workers.

Strong arguments for a truly democratic and equal measure of franchise reform were put forward by Miss Mary Macarthur, Mrs. Barton, and Mr. W. C. Anderson, speaking from the point of view of the organised working-class movement. Miss Macarthur moved a resolution expressing the conviction that no franchise reform can be satisfactory which does not include working women, among them the wives of wage-earners. She evoked a startling cheer by saying the argument that women have earned the vote by the work they have done since the war began is one that does not appeal to her: the case for the extension of the franchise was so strong before the war that she would hesitate to base new justifications for it on what they have done since war began. It may be said that the work women are now doing is difficult, dangerous, and dirty; but so was the work they did before the war. Miss Macarthur added that she had always held that the industrial organisation of women was important, but she was bound to admit that the better industrial organisation of men did not wholly explain why their wages were higher than those paid to women; political organisation of men accounted for some part of it. Mr. W. C. Anderson made the important statement, from the Labour point of view, that he agreed heartily with the line taken by Sir John Simon. Suffragists, he said, must take care not to play into the hands of those who wished to wreck everything and keep everything back. He wanted every man to have a vote because he is a man, and every woman to have it because she is a woman, and only on that straightforward and honest basis is it possible to meet the claims put forward for the enfranchisement of this or that section of the community. It was a fitting thing that a meeting of this kind should end on a truly noble note of democratic feeling, and that the last arguments should be those put forward by labour speakers on behalf of the great mass of wage-earning women, who will not be en-

Compromise, a word of ominous sound, was frequently on the lips of the speakers at the important meeting organised by the National Council for Adult Suffrage, held in the Kingsway Hall last Saturday afternoon. In view of the report of the Speaker's Conference on Electoral Reform the gathering had great significance, which was heightened by the number of influential people that the National Council had brought together in support of the demand for a genuinely national franchise, instead of the truncated and unequal franchise recommended in the report.

But although the meeting abated no jot of the demand for a full and fair measure of franchise reform, the spirit of compromise pervaded the hall. It was a meeting of suffragists in a practical mood, and the policy of intransigeance found no voice. It was quite unlike the enthusiastic suffrage demonstrations of pre-war days. The speeches were in the nature of an appeal to reason—but not so much to the reason of those people who were unwilling, or unable, to see the justice of women's claim to the full rights of citizenship, as to the reason and good sense of the suffragists themselves. Enthusiasm there was, but it was tempered by anxiety to adopt the carefully considered right policy of dealing with the actual situation. It was much more like a conference than a demonstration. There were moments when one felt that the audience was ruefully contemplating a disagreeable necessity, and the sudden silences that fell upon the crowded hall proved that while the policy advocated by the platform was acknowledged to be wise, it was not popular.

Half-a-Loaf or No Bread.

The issue placed before the meeting, which represented practically the whole suffrage movement, including some notable new converts, was the familiar but unwelcome choice between half a loaf and no bread. The limited recommendation of the Speaker's conference upon the woman suffrage question has placed the suffragists in this dilemma; by accepting the limited franchise proposed they establish the principle, while leaving a vast number of women unenfranchised; but by insisting upon their full claim to the vote on the same terms as it is granted to men, they may provoke such opposition on the part of those who have been unwillingly converted so far as to tolerate a limited and partial application of the principle, that the whole question may again be indefinitely postponed. It was recognised that it would be a considerable gain to have even the illogical and timorous recommendation of the Speaker's Conference embodied in a Government Bill, as it would be, inasmuch as it has the support of practically all sections, and is not openly opposed by any. But it was also recognised that if the Government is prepared to go so far, it might not be willing to go farther, and would not even go so far if the flood-gates of controversy were once re-opened. By consent, on both sides, the limited scheme proposed may be embodied in a Government Bill, and would probably become law. But if Suffragists prove intransigeant and insist upon the full formula of votes for all men and all women on equal terms, slumbering prejudices may be re-awakened, and the whole question would once more become a matter of controversy that the Government could not be persuaded to handle immediately. This is the drift of the argument that found expression at the meeting on Saturday, and it was one that obviously weighed heavily with the audience. The main resolution read by Miss Ashton and carried unanimously did not, however, make any reference to a compromise on the larger suffrage issue. It welcomed the resolutions of the Speaker's Conference as "a step on the way to a national franchise," but urged the Government in bringing in its Bill to make it "a simple and generous measure of franchise reform on the adult suffrage basis, both for men and women."

Nature's Lopsidedness.

Notwithstanding the manifest desire of the gathering to face realities, there was necessarily a strong feeling that the compromise proposed by the Speaker's Conference was extremely unsatisfactory. Councillor Margaret Ashton, who presided—the Bishop of Lincoln, who was to have taken the chair, having been forbidden by his doctors to resume public work—made this clear in her address, in which some of the main objections to the compromise were plainly stated. The Bishop of Lincoln, too, in a letter read by Mr. H. Nevinson, described the proposal as an unsatisfactory compromise. "It betrays a fear of the numerical superiority of women on the register," wrote Dr. Lee Hicks: "but any man who objects to a lopsided register may be met with the retort that he might as well indict Nature herself, since Providence creates more women than men: and if there are more women citizens than men citizens, it is only reasonable that they should have a numerically larger vote." In a good-humoured parenthesis, Mr. Nevinson questioned, not the Bishop's theology, but his biology, pointing out that actually there are more boys born than girls, but that girls have a more tenacious hold on life. He also read an eloquent and characteristic letter from Mr. J. L. Garvin, one of the most distinguished of recent converts to the suffrage cause, in which the famous journalist declared himself a willing and whole-hearted supporter of the cause he had previously opposed. The main case against the recommendation of the Speaker's Conference was stated at the very outset by Miss Ashton. The basis of the franchise, as recommended, she said, is not the same for women as for men, because it is proposed that women shall not be entitled to vote until they have reached the age of thirty or thirty-five. To give the vote on the Local Government franchise is also a retrograde proposal, as being a property and not a residential qualification. The recommendation to continue the disqualification of joint occupation of premises by a man and his wife Miss Ashton disposed of by pointing out that any other woman might occupy jointly with a man without disqualification—his grandmother, his mother, his sister, or his daughter—and it is absurd to impose this disability upon his wife.

Wonderful Unanimity.

Mr. Percy Alden, M.P., gave the first hint of the placable mood of the suffrage movement by declaring that they did not want to see a compromise on the full claim, but they did want to see something done. "We are going to fight for the ideal," he said, "but if we cannot get the ideal we will fight for the next best thing." To the argument that if all women are enfranchised the Register will be lopsided, Mr. Alden made an immediately effective reply: "Why, good heavens! has not the franchise been lop-sided too a simpler, plainer, broader franchise, and [illegible] reasons for our views. But we must recognise that there are some who feel that although they must now admit some measure of women's suffrage, they want as little of it as possible. Undoubtedly if all women are enfranchised there will be more women voters than men voters. Sir John said he had never been able to understand the grievance of those who deplore that fact. Those who think it dangerous labour under two fundamental fallacies; the first fallacy is that no woman in any conceivable circumstances ever agrees with the men, and the second fallacy is that in no conceivable circumstances does any woman ever disagree with another woman! If either were true, or is likely to be true, we shall indeed enter upon a new world. He pointed out also that the report gives some men a second vote in virtue of their occupation of business premises, and to that extent the numerical superiority of women voters is reduced. Suffragists can make the most of these arguments: they can point out how very unsatisfactory the proposed compromise is. "But don't let us lose the chance," said Sir John, impressively, "of getting the principle of woman suffrage embodied in a Government Bill, and thereby at least remove the artificial distinction between men and women as voters." He attached great importance to having the principle recognised: and he urged again that suffragists should do nothing to prevent the Government bringing in a Bill containing the principle on the widest possible basis the Government can be induced to adopt.

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Challenge
16-2-17

Adult Suffrage.

THE National Council for Adult Suffrage held a demonstration in the Kingsway Hall on Saturday, February 10th, when Sir John Simon made his first public utterance upon the findings of the Speaker's Conference on Electoral Reform, of which he was a prominent member. In the absence of the Bishop of Lincoln (owing to illness) Councillor Margaret Ashton took the chair, and the other speakers were Mr. W. C. Anderson, M.P., Miss Mary Macarthur, Mrs. Barton, etc.

Sir John Simon pointed out that the recommendations in regard to Woman Suffrage were a compromise, based on no intelligible principle, and could not be acceptable to adult suffragists like himself, but *the principle of Woman Suffrage had been conceded*, and must be welcomed as a real advance. He asked that Suffragists of all kinds should pull together in their demand for the removal of the sex barrier, and that Adult Suffragists should now urge the House of Commons to bring in a measure of Franchise Reform—simple, generous, and inclusive of all adult men and women.

Fear because of the woman's vote preponderating, appeared to him to be based on a double fallacy—viz., "that no woman in any circumstances ever agrees with a man, and that in no conceivable circumstances does one woman ever disagree with another woman," but, to those who had these fears, he pointed out that the "occupier" vote would redress the balance, occupiers, in the large majority of cases, being men.

Mr. J. L. Garvin, who was prevented by an accident from being present, wrote in support of the principle of adult suffrage as follows: "Before the war I opposed the claim of women unwillingly, on the sole ground that when Armageddon came only men could maintain the State. Now I know that men alone could never have maintained it, and that henceforth the modern State must be dependent on men and women alike for the progressive strength and vitality of its whole organisation. If a convert on the point, I am a glad convert, and a complete convert." Miss Mary Macarthur, and Mrs. Barton (Women's Co-operative Guild) urged the right of all wage-earning women to the franchise, and showed how vitally their interests would be affected by the problems of reconstruction which the next Parliament will be called upon to solve.

E. M. MACNAGHTEN.

Leeds Mercury
16. 2. 17

Women, Shells, and votes.

Over 95 per cent. of the members of the Federation of Women Workers are at present engaged in one or another form of labour of National importance, a large percentage of them being employed in controlled establishments. On behalf of the Federation, Miss Mary MacArthur, the hon. general secretary—who is the wife of Mr. W. C. Anderson, M.P. for the Attercliffe Division of Sheffield—has asked the Prime Minister to receive a deputation on the question of electoral reform. Whilst not basing their claims to enfranchisement on the services they are so willingly rendering at this period of crisis, Miss MacArthur says the women do view with apprehension the position that will be created after the war, and they urge their claim to a voice in the reconstruction conditions which must vitally affect the course of their lives and the future of their children.

Daily Telegraph
21. 3. 17.

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ELECTORAL REFORM.

LABOUR APPROVAL.

Although several attempts were made to drag in adult suffrage and other questions, the report of the Speaker's Conference on Electoral Reform received the approval of a Labour conference, over which Mr. John Hill, M.P. (chairman of the Trades Union Congress), presided, at the Central Hall, Westminster, yesterday. The conference was representative of the Trades Union Congress, National Labour party, Parliamentary Labour party, and women's industrial organisations. There were 426 delegates.

The CHAIRMAN said they had not assembled to formulate their scheme of electoral reform, and they were not met to sacrifice any of their principles on this question. They were there to consider a question of immediate practical politics, and to take a step forward. In comparison with the decision of Russia to adopt universal suffrage, the proposal of the Speaker's Conference might appear weak—(hear, hear)—but Russia required a revolution for these reforms, and when they (Labour) were ready for a revolution they might also have universal suffrage. Meanwhile they favoured another constitutional effort. The present Parliament came to an end next month, and they wanted the machinery for electing a new one. The measure before them was a compromise, and was a step in that direction.

Mr. F. W. GOLDSTONE, M.P., Mr. G. J. WARDLE, M.P., and Mr. STEPHEN WALSH, M.P., members of the Speaker's Conference, made their reports as to the work and report of that body, explaining the proposals at some length.

Mr. WARDLE, in the course of his report, referred to the women's suffrage question as the most difficult problem considered. It was one of the most acutely controversial questions, but the Speaker's Conference had made an immense stride forward so far as the political world was concerned.

RESOLUTION OF SUPPORT.

Mr. J. R. CLYNES, M.P., moved the following resolution:

That this conference, representing the industrial and political organisations of the working-class, both men and women, while adhering to its repeated demands for complete adult suffrage, and such other reforms in registration and constituencies as will make elections more clearly representative of the popular will, welcomes the efforts made by the Speaker's Conference to arrive at an agreement upon these questions; it is of opinion that the Parliamentary Labour party should support, as a minimum, the resolutions of the Speaker's Conference, provided that the enfranchisement of women, including women wage-earners and widows, is agreed to, and calls for immediate legislation on the general lines of the report, so that a decision of a truly national character may be given at the forthcoming General Election. This conference further requests the Parliamentary Labour party to endeavour to secure the inclusion of women on the broadest possible basis, and especially to ensure that the bulk of the wage-earning women are not excluded from any franchise measure.

He asked that it should be considered how far the report would go to relieve the situation of franchise grievances of men and women. The country had its mind on the war, not on the franchise. An exceptional franchise which would increase voting about 20 per cent. was offered. He did not put forward the proposals as satisfactory, but, after comparison, he came to the conclusion that it was far better for Labour to take this further instalment of franchise reform than refuse anything until they got complete franchise reform. (Hear, hear.) Women had proved their right to the vote by their national services during the war. (Cheers.)

Mr. HARRY GOSLING seconded, urging that the proposals of the Speaker's Conference should be accepted. Those proposals would put them in a better position to get to the next reform.

Miss MARY MACARTHUR stated that so far as women were concerned they were satisfied that the report marked a step forward. They did not ask for the vote as a reward for services, because they were always as ready as men to render service, and wanted to do still more.

A long debate followed, several amendments being brought forward. One in the name of the Cardiff Trades and Labour Council, asking for "complete adult suffrage," was defeated by 2,262,000 to 88,000 votes. The next amendment was one by the Miners' Federation to make the resolution read "provided that the enfranchisement of women on the same basis as men is agreed to." This was lost by 1,562,000 to 931,000. Other amendments, dealing primarily with the question of adult suffrage were not discussed, and the resolution was then put and carried without dissent, and the three Labour representatives on the Speaker's Conference were authorised to wait upon the Prime Minister and inform him of their decision.

The Common Cause
16. 2. 17.

681
6S/1/6

The Prospects of a Government Measure.

SIR JOHN SIMON ADVISES ACCEPTANCE OF AN INSTALMENT.

The meeting of the National Council for Adult Suffrage at the Kingsway Hall, on February 10th, was mainly concerned with the recommendations of the Speaker's Conference with regard to Women's Suffrage. Sir John Simon was the chief speaker, and the meeting listened to him with earnest attention, as he urged counsels of moderation. "Suffragists generally," says *The Manchester Guardian*, "will be grateful to Sir John Simon for advice which even those who do not agree with it must recognise to be based on exceptional knowledge, and dictated by a desire as strong and sincere as that of any of them to promote the cause they have at heart." It is a case of making a beginning, and no one supposes that, once the bar of sex disqualifications is broken, other limitations will endure for ever."

The most vital matter is to get the principle acknowledged. "Those who have felt most strongly the indignity imposed on a whole sex by the refusal to permit any woman, simply because she is a woman, to take any part in the direction of national affairs, though she may be infinitely better qualified than nine-tenths of the men who are voters, have never laid the chief stress in their demand for the franchise on the number of women to be enfranchised, but rather on the question of disability. For them it mattered far more that some women should be enfranchised than that they should be enfranchised on this qualification, rather than on that, and in larger or in smaller numbers."

WE MUST NOT JEOPARDISE THE CHANCE OF A GOVERNMENT BILL.

MISS MARGARET ASHTON, who presided at the meeting, said that the Report of the Speaker's Conference showed that at last the Suffragists and anti-Suffragists in the House of Commons had come to an agreement on the principle that Women's Suffrage was part of the democratic movement. "We do not wish to criticise the Report," she said. "This is not the moment for criticism. We want to see how far our adult suffrage principles can apply to it, and how far we can get improvements on it when Parliament introduces a Bill, as we firmly hope and believe it will." Miss Ashton welcomed the resolutions of the Conference as a step on the way to national franchise. "We have to see to it that no action of ours shall jeopardise the chance of a Government Bill," she said; "but when a Bill is introduced into the House, we must approach our friends, and endeavour to persuade them to put forward our point of view."

AN IMMENSE AND SIGNIFICANT ADVANCE.

SIR JOHN SIMON said that at this time there could be no justification for undertaking great political changes unless the changes were intimately connected with the salvation of our society. He believed that the reconstruction of the basis of the State on the lines of a wider franchise was essential to the future safety of the community. There was a better chance of carrying a great electoral reform measure now than ever before. "We have the strongest ground for expecting the Government to introduce such a Bill, and it has a better prospect of passing into law than any previous Bill. I am confident that no such Bill could be introduced by the Government unless it contained proposals for Women's Suffrage. That is an immense and significant advance."

A WARNING.

He urged Suffragists, while pointing out the unsatisfactory nature of the compromise—one based on no intelligible principle—and demanding a wider basis, not to lose the chance of getting the principle of Women's Suffrage introduced by the Government into a Government Bill in the House, where it would be liable to discussion and change. He warned them against doing anything which would allow people who were anxious to prevent the introduction of any kind of suffrage measure, to say that the Suffragists were hopelessly divided. "Do not let us give the people who would like to keep the door shut the excuse for doing so that no Suffragist can find the key.

"Once the principle is accepted by the State, the limits within which it is to be applied will be generous and democratic limits. This is why I attach more importance than some of you to getting the principle recognised." He implored them to co-operate with all Suffragists to secure the introduction in a Government Bill of Women's Suffrage, on as generous a basis as the Government could be induced to consent to, and begged adult Suffragists not to make the mistake of supposing that their cause would be helped by any action which prevented the Government from bringing in a Bill. When justice triumphed, and the principles of freedom were restored, could we refuse to invite to the work of construction the women who had sacrificed themselves to help the nation through this terrible war?

MR. PERCY ALDEN said that the recommendations with regard to Women's Suffrage had been carried by a very considerable majority of the Conference, and that there ought, therefore, to be a still larger majority in the House of Commons.

MISS MARY MACARTHUR, MRS. BARTON (of the Women's Co-operative Guild), and MR. W. C. ANDERSON, M.P., urged the right of all wage-earning women to the franchise, on the ground that their lives will be vitally affected by the problems of reconstruction. "The War Work that women had done," said Mrs. Barton, "was not a reason, from their point of view, for asking for the vote," but, she added, "from the point of view of the people who are calling on the women to come out and do the nation's work—it is a reason."

Miss Macarthur said that even the better industrial organisation of men was not sufficient to account entirely for the difference in their industrial conditions. Their status as voters helped them very materially.

Mr. Anderson also urged moderation and wisdom on the meeting. The report of the Speaker's Conference marked an immense step forward. "Those of us," he said, "who believe in the principle of adult suffrage for men and women, must do our very best to make that principle a reality; but at the same time we must avoid joining hands with those who are determined to wreck the Woman Suffrage proposals altogether."

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN sent a letter regretting that ill-health prevented him from presiding at the meeting. While regarding the proposals of the Conference as an unsatisfactory compromise, he expressed thankfulness that an instalment of Women's Suffrage had been so clearly recommended.

MR. J. L. GARVIN also wrote regretting the thwarting of his original intention of being present at the meeting. "I wish," he wrote, "I could have been with you to testify by presence and voice—whatever they may be worth—that this war will have been fought in vain, or to blind purpose, unless it is to result in a fuller and nobler realisation of democracy throughout the world. . . . The basis of the old order has been destroyed by the facts themselves. Never could the Empire have been saved by those to whom the franchise has been hitherto confined. The Empire has been saved by calling up the full fighting and working power of the non-voters; and who now shall say that those who have saved all that is meant by citizenship shall be themselves excluded from it? Those who have been good enough to do, in fact, the vital duties of citizenship in war are good enough to enjoy the equal rights of citizenship in peace."

Referring to "the political and social necessity of redressing once for all the gigantic inequality which now debars women from the vote," Mr. Garvin continued:—"Before the war I opposed their claim unwillingly, on the sole ground that when Armageddon came, only men could maintain the State. Now I know that men alone never could have maintained it, and that henceforth the modern State must be dependent on men and women alike for the progressive strength and vitality of its whole organisation. If a convert on this point, I am a glad convert. After Armageddon nothing can be the same again. The world has entered on a new political epoch. For all the better purposes of that epoch a wide enfranchisement of women holds the key.

"In my personal view it would be well worth while to have something like the recommendations of the Speaker's Conference carried by consent rather than that an immense, and, indeed, an unprecedented reform should be indefinitely postponed or vitally endangered."

The Common Cause
16·2·17.

There are innumerable indications that the time has come for legislation on the question of the Franchise; and it is an urgent necessity that a Bill, and a Government Bill, should be introduced without delay, if we are to avoid the scandalous alternative of a General Election in war-time upon an antideluvian register.

Politically speaking, we are very much in the position of a householder who, from various causes, has put off repairs until they cannot be neglected any longer—even in war-time, when labour is scarce and materials hardly to be got. Things being thus, we know what is bound to happen. Experts are called in. Roof, woodwork, and plumbing are all defective; the builder and the householder agree to do nothing at present but the very minimum of what is necessary. Alterations can only be carried out to save still greater expense, or downright dilapidation; and if another room is to be built on, it is "run up" and roughly finished on the lines of a War Office "annexe." Reconstruction on a large and broad basis must wait until after the war. In the meantime something ought to be done, and there is only a certain amount of energy and money to spare. The paint "must do," but the roof cannot wait, and the plumbing is provisional. Of course, it all ought to have been attended to long ago, but then—it wasn't.

The Electoral Reform Conference Recommendations are a sort of architect's estimate; they refer to the most obvious and indispensable reforms; but even so, there is no certainty that they will be accepted. When a house falls into too great disrepair it may be abandoned altogether; and there are people who are not certain that repairs are worth undertaking at all. Certainly if the tenants begin to dispute as to the colour of the paint and the system of drainage, the landlord is not encouraged to proceed; and in this instance no such excuse must be offered. The Speaker's Conference Recommendations have been a compromise, or rather, a series of delicately balanced compromises. All the recommendations have been weighed one against another, till each one represents the utmost limit to which some section of the Committee was prepared to go, in consideration of a compromise upon some other clause. It is therefore *with a whole* that Parliament is to be asked to deal, by passing a provisional measure of reform. Naturally, the first anxiety of Suffragists will be that the Suffrage resolution shall be incorporated without fail as an essential part of the whole when the Bill is drafted.

If no Women's Suffrage clause is included, the Bill will not get far. It is a plain fact that no legislation on electoral reform is now possible without the inclusion of women, and it is a fact that is universally recognised. Without some form of Women's Suffrage the Bill will not proceed; but it remains to be decided with what form it can proceed securely. The actual proposals of the Speaker's Conference are far from satisfactory, and logically they are indefensible. Anybody can see the absurdity of giving the vote to lads of twenty-one, while women-workers and women of education are excluded from the franchise for another ten years, and supposed not to reach mental and political maturity before the age of thirty or thirty-five. Everybody, again, can recognise the inconsistency of deferring the franchise to those who have "deserved well of the State," the young munition-workers who were appealed to to save the nation, and responded to the call. It is easy to point out weaknesses and defects, but a compromise is not, like a castle-wall, no stronger than its weakest point. It is the strong points which count. And the strong points of the suggested measure would be very strong indeed. We may take it that the decision arrived at by a Conference representative of opinion in the House, may to some extent foreshadow the decisions likely to be reached by the House itself, and so to have a good chance of being adopted. That is point number one. The acceptance of the principle of Women's Suffrage with the prospect of immediate adoption, marking, as Sir John Simon says, "an immense advance," are gains too great to be hazarded for the chance of getting more.

There are other things in our favour. At this moment there are strong forces at work impelling all men and women to sink differences and to unite for constructive work. The rising tide of a great national effort is sweeping away the cross-currents which used to neutralise and paralyse all attempts at forward movement. Not least among all these forces is the desire of men of all parties to clear the way for reform and to waste no time in haggling over details. There is, we know, a strong feeling in the country in favour of Women's Suffrage. It rests with us to take advantage of the tide.

Daily Telegraph 681
24-2-17.

WOMEN AND THE LAW

LORD BUCKMASTER'S BILL.

The introduction by Lord Buckmaster in the House of Lords this week of a bill providing that women shall no longer be disqualified from acting as solicitors is hailed with joy by professional women generally as the climax to a movement which has for some years past been growing in volume. The text of the bill, which was issued on Thursday, provides that "a woman shall not be disqualified by sex or marriage from being admitted as a solicitor or from acting or practising as a solicitor under the Solicitors Act, 1843, and the Acts amending the same, and the other enactments for the time being in force relating to solicitors." The bill does not extend to Scotland or Ireland. The measure is identical with that introduced in March, 1914, by a member of the Council of the Law Society, which was not, however, in any way submitted to the council.

Much has been done in support of the claims of women to enter the profession since October, 1913, when the conference of the National Union of Women Workers, at Hull, unanimously passed a resolution "urging Parliament to pass a measure to open the legal profession to women." A couple of months later, on Dec. 10, the interesting case of Bebb v. the Law Society came before the Court of Appeal, in which Miss Gwyneth Marjorie Bebb, who had matriculated at London University and taken a first-class in jurisprudence at Oxford, and three other young women claimed that they were entitled to be admitted to the preliminary examination of the Law Society, with a view to entering the profession of solicitor. Lord—then Mr.—Buckmaster had appeared for Miss Bebb at the hearing of the case before the High Court the previous July. The Court of Appeal decided that women were barred from the profession by the common law until the Legislature expressly conferred the right upon them.

For several years past a resolution has been proposed at annual meetings of the Law Society in favour of the admission of women as solicitors, but it has always been rejected by a very large majority. At the annual and special meeting of the society held at the end of last month, the agenda contained such a resolution. A strong appeal was made by the president, and endorsed by the meeting generally, to the effect that the time was very inappropriate to discuss the matter, seeing that such a large number of solicitors—particularly young members of the profession—were at the front. The question was therefore postponed, on the ground that the views of these gentlemen should first be ascertained. It may be pointed out that at the last meeting of the Bar, about a week before the solicitors came to the above decision, a similar resolution, asking the council to consider the desirability of altering their rule which now excludes women, was considered. On the suggestion of the Attorney-General, who was in the chair, the barristers also decided to postpone the question, for the same reason as the solicitors. One of the points that would no doubt be raised if the question were discussed seriously by the higher branch of the profession is that the Bench is recruited exclusively from the Bar, and the admission of women to the Bar would thus make them eligible for the Bench.

That, however, is not a matter for present consideration. The capability of many women for legal work has been proved beyond question. In this country, though they cannot yet practise as solicitors, they have taken the place of solicitors' clerks called to the Army in numerous instances with satisfactory results. In the famous vivisection case, at the High Court, a few years ago, Miss Lind-af-Hageby, who was one of the parties, conducted her case in person, and her ability was frequently commended by the judge. In the Indian courts Miss Cornelia Sorabji has a kind of tacit right to practise in the Indian courts, in the interests of purdah women. Women figure as lawyers in Ontario, South Australia, Tasmania, New Brunswick, and in several States in America, where in some cases husband and wife are partners. Other countries where they are recognised in a legal capacity are France, the Netherlands, Norway, Denmark, and Switzerland.

Textile Mercury
20-1-17

Lace Manufacturers and National Service

The decision of the Federation of Nottingham Lace Manufacturers and Employers' Associations to approach Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the Director-General of National Service, with a request that he should hear a deputation desiring to urge reasons against the lace industry being treated as of a dispensable character, is a sign of the importance which textile manufacturers in the Nottingham district attach to early concerted action to secure consideration for an important industry. It is no part of our duty to advance reasons for the retention of as much labour as possible in the lace-making trade—the Nottingham manufacturers will be able to make out their own case without outside assistance, and may be relied upon to present their points strongly and succinctly—but it may be interesting to touch lightly on the attitude of many people to an industry which is popularly regarded as a "luxury" trade needing no consideration, or only the slightest, in war-time. Some considerable time ago a Lancashire man interested in the textile industry generally was discussing labour prospects in 1917 with a manufacturer of certain articles of clothing needed by the Army and Navy. This manufacturer declared his firm conviction that we were rapidly approaching the time when we should be faced with conscription of labour and with conscription of wealth. He prophesied many months ago that before the war was ended we should see steps taken to direct all labour into the most useful channels, viewed from the standpoint of national interest and national welfare, and he spoke with a touch of annoyance about the employment of women in certain "luxury" industries—that was how he described them—instead of in essential industries. He referred specifically to the lace industry as one from which he thought workers might be diverted into other trades—his own trade, for example, which needed more women workers, and could not get them. The view of this manufacturer has been shared by others, and it would be an excellent thing if Mr. Neville Chamberlain could see his way to receive the statement of the Nottingham Lace Manufacturers' Association, and if that statement—or the gist of it—could be made public. In all probability the result of that would be a much sounder appreciation on the part of the general public of the importance of the Nottingham lace industry, and particularly of the need there is for strengthening and consolidating the industry for the future.

During the present week there has been rather strong pressure from a certain influential quarter of a claim that in our conduct of the war thus far there has been over-emphasis of the importance of industry and commerce. In the opinion of thousands of sober-minded men of business in this country—men, moreover, who survey the matter calmly and without selfishness, and who have contributed generously alike of their sons and of their money to the prosecution of the war—it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of commerce to our cause at this time. There is everywhere a full regard to the importance of fighting men—of the strongest fighting forces we can possibly muster—but the importance and the significance of maintaining our commerce at a high level cannot be ignored. To those who would seek to ignore this aspect of the case, and to those who are suggesting, in effect, that we must concentrate on getting more men and still more men, without regard for the effect a short-sighted, labour-draining policy would have, the question so often put may again be addressed: "How long could we maintain efficiently our fighting forces, how long could we continue our fight, if we neglected our commerce?"

Daily Express 682
27-1-17

Daily Express

LONDON, SATURDAY, JAN. 27, 1917.

WHY NOT WOMEN IN THE MAN-POWER SCHEME?

The man-power scheme, the details of which we print this morning, is another attempt at compromise, despite the fact that compromises have already proved sufficiently costly. It is necessary for all the labour of the nation to be employed in the most effective manner for the common good. To arrive at this end it is proposed to take a voluntary census of men between eighteen and sixty, and to ask them to enrol for service. There is no suggestion that the indifferent will be disturbed. It is the old business of voluntary enlistment over again, with the almost inevitable consequence that the men we should not spare will be taken and the men we could well spare left behind. Before any scheme for industrial mobilisation can be put into operation there must be a definite scheduling of essential industries. There are certain industries that are obviously of supreme national importance. Agriculture, transport, shipbuilding, and the iron and steel factories must be maintained if the nation is to exist. There are other trades of considerable if of less vital social value. There is a third class that might well be abandoned until the end of the war. If confusion is to be avoided and the industrial life of the country is not to be hampered, there should be a statement of the trades from which the Government invites its industrial recruits. This is no time for pious opinion. There are, by common consent, certain industries that could be temporarily suspended without any national loss. Let compulsion be applied to them. The banning of luxury trades would release an army of workers of both sexes who could at once be drafted into genuine national service. The result of this beginning would be a reliable indication of the further measures that are demanded by the country's needs.

The omission of women from the proposed register of workers is a serious blunder. Women have completely demonstrated their value in industry. While there are few men without employment there are still thousands of women without the economic necessity of earning a living who could render effective service. They should be called to the labour colours. To enrol men of sixty and to ignore healthy women of thirty is to show a curious Victorian belief in the physical superiority of men. The situation calls for the Strafford policy of "thorough." The Government should decide how many men and women are required, for what they are required, and from what sources they can best be drawn. Then it should see that it gets them without delay.

Daily Mail 682
17-1-17

NATIONAL SERVICE.

VOLUNTEERS WANTED FOR WAR WORK.

Within the next few days Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the Director-General of National Service, will publish his scheme and make his appeal to the country. It is essential that the response to it should be immediate and satisfactory.

Germany has already gained nearly three months' start on us. She set to work in November, and by December 1 her "mass levy" had actually begun. She has applied compulsion unflinchingly and is taking women as well as men. It is important that this should be known because it shows the need for strenuous effort on our part.

Mr. Chamberlain's first call will be for "men only" between the ages of 18 and 60. They are to volunteer for war work. They will be paid not the wages of the soldier, but the rate usual in their districts for the kind of work in which they are to be employed. Great pains are to be taken to ascertain exactly what they are capable of doing, and each volunteer will as far as possible be employed on his own job and near his own home. Wherever this is impracticable he will receive a subsistence allowance in addition to his pay.

It is hoped that without compulsory powers being taken men who are accustomed to work in the open air will be set free from flower gardening for the growing of food. No labour should be wasted at such a time as this in growing flowers. The Government looks to employers of gardeners and others to show the same patriotism as was displayed at the outbreak of the war, when men who left situations to enlist were paid allowances to bring their soldiers' pay up to their old earnings and had their situations kept open for them.

The Government does not intend at present to appeal for women, though we are bound to say that we do not understand the reason for this decision. Apparently the task of organising woman's labour is too great to be tackled as yet. We hope that when it is undertaken the unpopularity of the Labour Exchanges will be borne in mind. Women cannot be induced to go to these establishments. Largely because of muddling in the past a very insufficient and unsatisfactory use has hitherto been made of women's willingness to aid There are tens and hundreds of thousands of women up and down the country who are only asking to be allowed to "do their bit," and to be told how to do it. No scheme can be satisfactory which does not utilise these admirable volunteers. They have shown in Serbia and France a spirit, energy, and endurance of which men might be proud. Let Mr. Neville Chamberlain keep them in constant view.

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27-1-17

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NO PEACE TILL THE ALLIES TRIUMPH.

Labour Party's Emphatic Voice.

STORMY SCENES AT THE CONFERENCE.

The opening day (Tuesday) of the sixteenth annual conference of the Labour party was almost wholly occupied in making clear and emphatic the attitude of the workers on the war. About 700 delegates assembled in the Albert Hall, Peter-street. They were nearly all middle-aged or elderly men, eminently respectable and respect-worthy looking for the most part. The day of the picturesque soft shirt and collar and flaming necktie seems to have gone out of fashion in the Labour movement. Here and there was a youngish delegate, and there were a few young men among the mass of elderly ones in the public gallery, but they were in khaki. Those on the platform included no fewer than five members of the Government, Messrs. Arthur Henderson, John Hodge, George Barnes, W. Brace, and G. H. Roberts, who were all present as trade union delegates.

The vocal battle of the day—furiously waged at times—centred round that part of the Executive Committee's report explaining the circumstances under which Labour members decided to join Mr. Lloyd George's Coalition Government. First, however, there was the address of the chairman, Mr. George J. Wardle, M.P. He defended the attitude of the executive in bargaining for political power in the Government. Independence, he argued, was a means and not an end, and as the trade unionist had to enter into relations with employers to make bargains, so the Labour party had to act in the recent crisis.

Greater Tragedy than War.

While he hated war and desired peace, "I am," he said, "convinced to-day, as I was at the outset, that there could only have been one greater tragedy than the war, and that would have been for Britain to have kept out of it." Amid the cheers which greeted this sentence there was a cry of "Shame." While they were at war they were compelled to set aside some of the things for which in ordinary time they cared most. "Liberty is restricted in order that we may win the greater freedom; we cauterise the wound that it may the more quickly heal." At this there arose cheers and counter-cheers. When Mr. Wardle alluded to President Wilson a small section of the conference cheered excitedly the American President's name. The Allies, observed Mr. Wardle, had disclosed their terms, but so far no response had come from Germany. He believed the Allies' terms would do much to rebuild Europe on a fairer basis and to preserve peace in the future. But Germany had not renounced her war aims, and until she did no peace was possible. Loud cheers punctuated this point.

Turning to the problems which the war had brought in the sphere of domestic affairs, the chairman declared that they nearly all proceeded from the tenderness with which the evil of profiteering had been treated. However, he found satisfaction in the extent to which the principles of national control had made progress during the war, his only criticism being that the Government had been too slow in adopting and so partial in applying the principle of organising national resources on national lines. Looking to the future, Mr. Wardle said: "Our political and industrial influence should be thrown into the scale against oppression of all kinds. We should endeavour to secure justice to every returned soldier and sailor; to provide adequate pensions for every widow and a full education for every child; employment at good wages for every man and woman who requires it; an equal share in the government of the country for all adults; a fair and just basis of taxation for all; a larger share in the control of their own destiny for all who live by labour."

LABOUR AND THE COALITION.

The adoption of the portion of the Executive's report mentioned was moved by Mr. Henderson. He reminded the delegates that the Conference of last year approved by an overwhelming majority the action of the Executive in co-operating with the first Coalition Government and sanctioning the continuance of the Labour Ministers in office. When the second invitation came, from Mr. Lloyd George, they kept in mind the charges that had been made that they had "sold" the Labour movement for nothing, and although he believed that in a national crisis they should think more of what they gave than what they were likely to get, he determined to ascertain from the Prime Minister how far he was prepared to meet them, both with regard to national policy and the allotment of positions in the Government. The majority of those present at the interview with the Prime Minister were favourably impressed by his statement in regard to both matters. Replying to a suggestion that by joining the Government they endorsed the methods by which the old Coalition was terminated, Mr. Henderson said, amid much cheering, "I am not concerned with that. What I am concerned with is the most expeditious way of winning the war." It was a member of the British Socialist Party, Mr. E. C. Fairchild, who moved the rejection of the Executive's report. He argued that the rank and file of the party should have been consulted before they joined the Government, and held that the real function of the Labour movement was to respond to the demand for peace. After other speakers, Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., arose and was received with prolonged cheering and hooting. During the

One delegate exclaimed: "If Kirkwood does not go back to his family, this conference should say that Henderson, Hodge, and the others should for very shame go out of the Government."

Mr. Henderson's Defence.

"Henderson! Henderson!" called other delegates, and Mr. Henderson accepted the challenge. He gave his version of the case, relating how he induced Mr. Lloyd George, then Minister of Munitions, to face the Clyde workers. The Clyde Workers' Committee was met, and members of that body made a request, not that the trade unions should be recognised—a thing which had never been in doubt—but told Mr. Lloyd George in the most cool and calculating manner "You will only get your munitions when you hand these works over to our control." "I notice," remarked Mr. Henderson in alluding to some cheers which greeted this revelation, "that very few had the audacity to applaud that." Mr. Henderson also told how Mr. Kirkwood had repudiated him and the chairman of the A.S.E. (Mr. Brownlie), and explained that he was not consulted in any way before the decision to deport men was made. Finally, he suggested that the conference should appoint a special committee to investigate and report on the whole question. After more "scenes" the suggestion was adopted. During the debate someone shouted to Mr. Henderson: "Why don't you resign?" He retorted, "I should be resigning every day to please some of you. I am not sure that I could not resign every day if I wanted to please myself. But I am not there to please myself or you, but to see this war through." The discussion, which continued into the afternoon, did not end until strong resolutions had been carried. Feeling that no man should be deported without a trial, which apparently can be done under the Defence of the Realm Act, one resolution declared that the deportations of workmen from the Clyde district without trial on any specific charge was an invasion of civil rights, and "savours of that Prussianism which we seek to destroy." Therefore, the Parliamentary party was instructed to make an emphatic demand for the unconditional return of the Clyde deportees. The conference further decided to send a telegram to the Prime Minister demanding the immediate withdrawal of the deportation orders.

THE PACIFISTS BEATEN.

The "pacifists," as they have become popularly, or, rather, unpopularly, known, made renewed attempts on Thursday to secure a vote in favour of their attitude, but they were badly beaten. Mr. J. Bruce Glasier, for the I.L.P., led the way with a resolution urging that an International Socialist Congress should be held simultaneously with the Peace Congress. The latter evidently referred to some as yet intangible assembly of ambassadors. An amendment, moved by Mr. Will Thorne, was to the effect that instead of an "international" a meeting of the trade unionists and Socialists of the Allied countries be held, and further, that "this conference agrees that the fight should continue until victory is achieved." The I.L.P. resolution was defeated by 1,498,000 to 696,000 votes, and the amendment was carried 1,036,000 to 464,000 votes. Next, on behalf of the British Socialist party, a resolution was proposed demanding that the Government should declare its readiness to enter into immediate negotiations for peace. This was rejected by 1,697,000 votes to 302,000. The debates were marked by some strong speeches on both sides, and attended with excitement. Later the conference listened to speeches from representatives of French and Belgian Socialist and Labour parties.

French and Belgian Views.

The French delegates included Deputy Jean Longuet, the editor of "L'Humanite." He stated that the Socialist representatives of Belfort and a great majority of the representatives of the department of the Marne were in favour of running international Socialist relations. That showed that it was possible, even in the greatest sufferings of the war, not to be carried away by hate. Cheers welcomed this statement, but louder cheers marked a passage in which he said: "We do not want the triumph of German militarism. Nobody hates it more than we do, but we think that German militarism must be destroyed by the German people. We believe that militarism must be destroyed, not only in Germany but in all countries, and it can only be destroyed by one force—the international force of the working classes. Moving appeals were made by the Belgian delegates, one of whom, M. Louis de Bronckere, pointed out in regard to the treatment of Belgians by Germans, that for the first time in modern history the old pagan law had been revived, and the whole nation claimed as the chattels of the victors. The Belgians appealed to Great Britain to see that justice was done. They had no feeling of vengeance against the German working classes. They desired liberty for all peoples, but until the German people had destroyed German militarism it would not be possible for the workers of all nations to meet again in a reconstituted International.

would be a strike if such labour was introduced. The Conference was asked by Mr. Henderson to be careful about putting an irremovable veto upon a man being employed under certain conditions, merely because of the colour of his skin. Cries of "No, no! That is not the bar. He is cheap," came from delegates. Mr. Henderson explained that one of the Government departments had broached the question to him, but on his representations, and after conferences with the building trade unions, the matter was entirely dropped. The resolution, which was carried, further called upon the Government, in the best interests of the nation, to prevent the taking of more skilled men from vital industries and to provide for the retention of sufficient unskilled labour to enable the work of skilled men to be fully utilised. Mr. Snowden moved, and Mr. Ogden (Weavers' Amalgamation) seconded a resolution denouncing an after-war economic struggle, and demanding "policy of Free Trade for every country, with safeguards for the maintenance of international labour conditions fixed by international trade union agreement." The resolution was adopted.

In response to inquiries, Mr. Henderson stated that no reply had been received to the telegram sent to the Prime Minister demanding the unconditional return of the Clyde deportees. The ballot for the special committee which is to investigate the Clyde trouble resulted in the election of Mr. R. Smillie (Miners), Mr. A. Bellamy (Railwaymen), Mr. T. Shaw (Weavers), Mr. J. Hill (Boilermakers), and Mr. A. G. Walkden (Railway Clerks). Mr. F. W. Purdy, Ship Constructors' and Shipwrights' Association, was elected chairman of the Labour Party Executive, and Mr. J. M'Gurk, of Bury (Miners), vice-chairman. Mr. Henderson and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald were re-elected secretary and treasurer respectively without opposition.

WOMEN WORKERS' DEMANDS.

Woman's position in regard to labour and other modern problems was discussed by the National Women's Labour League, which held its annual conference on Monday, at the Caxton Hall, Salford. Mrs. Lewis Donaldson, of Leicester, who presided, in a reference to the war described it as a disgrace to the family of humanity, whatever the causes that led immediately to it. If women had their share in the management of affairs in our own and other countries such a mess could not have come about. Speaking of women's employment and conditions after the war, she asked: "Is the woman going back like Joan of Arc to her plough and rough menial work after delivering her country and laying down her armour? Is she going to leave the arena of commerce, to lay down her uniform, as tram-conductor, postman, and the rest, and go back to her pots and kettles, to unpaid and unconsidered labour, or to the lower alleys of factory work and other industry which she has hitherto traversed?" (Cries of "No, No!") Mrs. Donaldson added that an organisation to combine women in certain trades recently sent out a series of questions, one asking women if, after the war, they wished to return to their former work or to stay in their present occupations. Out of 3,000 who replied 2,500 wished to stay in the work they are doing now.

Miss Mary M'Arthur, offering greetings from the Women's Trade Union League, said that while some improvement in wages had been secured for women munition workers, there were still thousands of women tied to their employers by the leaving certificate clause of Munitions Act who were receiving wages which, if translated into the pre-war value of money, were less than the wages formerly paid to the whites slaves of Cradley Heath. Touching upon the change which the war had brought about in man's conception of women, Miss M'Arthur remarked that before the war women were only the mothers of men. Now they had risen to the dizzy heights of being makers of machine guns. Although votes were denied to mothers of men, it was extremely likely the Government would concede them to the makers of machine guns.

Numerous resolutions were passed by the conference. One expressed an earnest hope for peace, welcomed the Note of President Wilson, and urged the Allies to close no door which would lead in the direction of peace. Another strongly protested against the increasing cost of living, urged complete control by the Government of all food supplies with a view to their equitable distribution, more energetic measures for cultivating food in this country, and protested against the taking of further skilled men from the land. Mrs. Gosling (Paddington) stated that sugar was not the only article that could not be obtained without buying a certain quantity of other goods. In the working-class district she represented people could not buy suet without buying meat, and could not buy potatoes without buying greens. Educational reforms, adult suffrage, a national housing scheme, and the equal pay to women as for men for equal work were asked for in other resolutions.

TAXATION AND PENSIONS.

cheering, "I am not concerned with that. What I am concerned with is the most expeditious way of winning the war." It was a member of the British Socialist Party, Mr. E. C. Fairchild, who moved the rejection of the Executive's report. He argued that the rank and file of the party should have been consulted before they joined the Government, and held that the real function of the Labour movement was to respond to the demand for peace. After other speakers, Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., arose and was received with mingled cheering and hooting. Seeing the hopelessness of convincing the vast majority of the delegates to his way of thinking, he gibed at the Labour Ministers, waxed sarcastic over "Russia, which through all the ages has been the champion of small nations and the defender of civil liberties," and indulged in sneers and in irritating remarks. He declared that under the Coalition Government we had had legislation inimical to labour and social interests in a degree unparalleled in the history of this country. He spoke for three-quarters of an hour, and was frequently interrupted, often angrily. Once he observed that now "they," meaning Labour men, were in the Government they would, he supposed, be dumb dogs, whereupon Mr. Will Thorne roared, "If we are dumb dogs we are not dirty dogs." Another delegate shouted "Get back to Blackburn," to which a further one called "He daren't!"

The subsequent speakers included Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., who remarked that Mr. Snowden seemed to think that there was nothing to be done while the war was on except to attack those who were taking part in it. Office, he said, was the medium through which Labour must wield its power. The "audacity of elected persons" appeared to be the theme of another delegate, Mr. Tom Shaw, who vigorously trounced the attitude of the pacifists. "I am not," he said, "one of those who are for my country right or wrong, but I am not of those who say that my country is always wrong. It is not the Snowdens, the Macdonalds who are the Labour party. It is the workers—the miners, those in the factory and the workshop. We are only secondary persons, whether we add M.P. to our names or not." Towards five o'clock the conference got tired of speeches, and when any delegate essayed to speak he was met with cries of "Vote." Interpreting this spirit, the Chairman put the question—"Those in favour of the party having taken part in the Coalition." For this there were given 1,849,000 votes, and against 307,000.

THE GLASGOW DEPORTATIONS.

When the conference resumed on Wednesday morning a telegram was read from the Prime Minister to Mr. Henderson, stating: "Congratulations to your colleagues on decision of Labour to take its share of the burden of responsibility for directing the affairs of the Empire during this great struggle for freedom and international right." This reference to the previous day's vote was received with some cheers, but also with derisive laughter and cries. The morning had not advanced far when there arose one of the most tumultuous scenes which have marked even Labour conferences. A resolution having been moved (and subsequently carried) calling for the restoration of trade union rights after the war, Mr. David Kirkwood, one of the nine Clyde workers deported from Glasgow early last year during the labour troubles there, got up to speak. His rising was the signal for a volley of cheers. As he told his story of the events which led to the deportations the excitement increased. He said that after keeping him in banishment for nine months—during which time his wife and children had received only £5 from the Government, and would have starved but for the help of fellow trade unionists—the Government now proposed to let him return to Glasgow if he would sign an undertaking to work regularly and loyally, and behave obediently to his trade union, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. Claiming that he had done these things all his life, he refused to sign the humiliating and degrading pledge, which was only meant to whitewash his persecutors. "When I leave this conference," he added, "I won't return to deportation. I go home to Glasgow or I go to prison." This declaration, defiantly uttered, roused the conference to fever heat, and there was wild cheering, interrupted with passionate shouts. pagan law had been revived, and the whole nation claimed as the chattels of the victor. The Belgians appealed to Great Britain to see that justice was done. They had no feeling of vengeance against the German working classes. They desired liberty for all peoples, but until the German people had destroyed German militarism it would not be possible for the workers of all nations to meet again in a reconstituted International.

TAXATION AND PENSIONS.

Before disposing of the peace proposals the conference discussed a number of other resolutions and adopted them. The first, moved by Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald, had been drafted by the Executive Committee. It concerned war finance and taxation, and demanded an equitable system of conscription of accumulated wealth, and an income tax of fifteen shillings in the pound on unearned income, and a system of land taxation which would give to the nation the land which was now being defended by the lives and sufferings of the people. Another demand in the resolution was for the nationalisation of the banking system. A further resolution called for adult suffrage, including women; for a short qualifying period and continuous registration; for special arrangements for taking the votes of soldiers and munition workers; and for redistribution. On the subject of pensions the Parliamentary Labour party was urged to press the Government for a more adequate scale of pensions for soldiers and sailors and their dependents. Bitter complaints were made of the way in which pensions had been dealt with in many instances, Mr. J. E. Sutton describing the treatment in some cases as disgusting. He believed, however, that the blame lay not so much with the Cabinet as with the Chelsea Commissioners, who needed a little "ginger" put into them. He thought Mr. Barnes would do this, and the members of the conference should back him up. During the debate a tribute was paid to the work of Mr. J. M. Hogge, in the matter of pensions.

A Domestic Affair.

Yesterday the conference held its last session. A resolution was adopted that at the end of the war the British delegation of plenipotentiaries to the conference to negotiate terms of peace should contain an adequate number of Parliamentary representatives of organised Labour; also that all the British representatives should work for the formation of an International League to enforce the maintenance of peace on the plan advocated by President Wilson. The educational system next claimed notice, and changes advocated included the abolition of all fees; the raising of the school leaving age to sixteen years; compulsory part-time school attendance for all boys and girls under eighteen; increased pay for teachers; and improved hygienic conditions in elementary schools. The constitution and methods of election of the Executive Committee of the party provoked considerable discussion. One significant alteration proposed, and adopted by a small majority, was that no affiliated organisation may nominate more than one candidate unless its membership exceeded 500,000, in which case it may nominate two candidates. The effect of this resolution is that the I.L.P. will be limited to one nomination as compared with the four seats held at present. After this attention to its own domestic affairs, the conference passed a resolution protesting against "the abuse of the wide powers conferred on the authorities under the Defence of the Realm Act," complaining that the Military Service Act had been administered inequitably, and viewing with alarm and hostility proposals in the direction of a system of industrial conscription. The resolution was moved by Mr. R. C. Wallhead (Manchester), on behalf of the I.L.P. The deportation of Belgian subjects was denounced in another resolution, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald vigorously supporting it, and remarking that the German Socialists should show that their protest against the deportations did not mean words merely.

Coloured Labour: Free Trade.

Hostility to the introduction of cheap coloured labour into this country was expressed in one resolution. It afforded Mr. Brownlie an opportunity of absolutely denying that he had supported the introduction of black labour, as had been stated in a newspaper. Mr. A. D. Cameron (Carpenters and Joiners) declared that there

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NATIONAL SERVICE.

BACK AGAIN TO "WAIT AND SEE."

After examining Mr. Neville Chamberlain's National Service scheme, as it is interpreted to-day, we must believe that certain vital details have been omitted; and, on this assumption, we think it was a bad mistake to allow premature publication of what can only be a first and incomplete draft. Either this or the scheme is thoroughly bad and unsatisfying.

As a matter of fact, we understand that much more detail is to come—that the Cabinet now has before it the question of employing women and that particulars will be issued later. There has been delay, it appears, because of the difficulties of housing the women, and the counsel of about 200 organisations has been taken to enable the Director of National Service to approach the matter with knowledge.

This being so, it is evident that to-day's statement conveys a false impression to the public.

Here we have one more proof of the extraordinary failure of official departments to understand the psychology of publicity and the first essential in all publicity—that you should make up your own mind what to do and then tell the public all about it in clear and unmistakable language.

How unfortunate the error has been is indicated in the opinion of the Mayor of Holborn, who, without the reservation that would have marked all criticism had it been made plain that this was only a slice and not the whole loaf, regards the Service proposals as "rubbish." The authorities must not blame public men but their own lack of judgment if such uncompromising expressions are used.

If we thought the Director who has to reply to Hindenburg's great mass levy, now in full force, meant us to understand, "These are my complete plans," we should have to tell him very firmly that they leave every serious man and woman in this country astonished, disappointed, and chilled.

Swift action and decisive orders are absolutely imperative if we are to play the winning hand in the critical year of the war, and, as explained so far, the scheme fumbles where it should grip, and is roundabout and loose—very loose—where every stroke for victory should be as straight as a shot.

There is no use answering Hindenburg's all-comprehensive mass levy with a scheme that would inevitably suffer semi-strangulation from its own red tape. As it stands the proposals are frankly a throw-back to "Wait and See" in its most perilous condition of lassitude.

Hindenburg's mass levy has two months' start of us in actual work—not merely in card index—and that start will shortly be translated into fighting instruments against our heroic troops. What strikes us about the scheme as far as it now goes is the futile refrain, "*It is hoped*," that runs through it. "'*Hoping*" for volunteers, sending letter-cards on tours among officials, "*hoping*" to find men jobs in suitable places, "*hoping*" that employers will assist—all these are defects, or will be defects unless Mr. Chamberlain's final scheme improves upon them.

When men of 45 and 50 are offering their lives in the trenches it is not enough in the industrial service scheme to resort to a mere extension of the column in the National Register which simply *asked* people *if* they would do war work. What fit men and women are waiting for is to be *told* what they *must* do.

Food we must have. "Hoping" will not grow it. Voluntarism and the agency of inefficient and lordly managers of labour exchanges cannot meet a situation of stern and instant needs, either in food or munitions.

As for the women, who are so unaccountably neglected in the instalment published to-day, their capacity for helping to victory is immeasurable. No proposals that did not include them would be worth twopence to the nation and the Army.

Half a million of them are on munition work; 140,000 have been registered for the land, and in October 80,000 had given whole time and 66,000 part time to agriculture; and 2,000 are cooking for the Army. It is magnificent, and we, "hoping" in our turn, wish to see them recruited in huge numbers for the proud task of smashing the Huns.

But Mr. Chamberlain must be careful not to turn them, with their sensitiveness and their quick enthusiasm, over to the dull minds and slow but not sure methods of minor British officialdom.

WOMEN WORKERS MUDDLE.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S OPPORTUNITY.

By RAY STRACHEY.

Mrs. Ray Strachey is hon. assistant secretary of the National Union of Woman's Suffrage Societies, an organisation which has placed some thousands of women volunteer workers.

The rapid calling to the Colours of large numbers of the men hitherto labelled indispensable is making the problem of the organisation of women's labour a very urgent one. Since the beginning of the war this problem has been increasing in complexity, and the difficulties of the situation have been invariably increased by the spasmodic efforts made from time to time by the various Government offices. At one time and another most Departments have had their fingers in the pie, and the situation to-day resembles nothing so much as a kaleidoscope. If it were not so serious a matter it would be a cause for laughter; but it concerns the credit and the very future of the country, as well as the individual livelihood and welfare of thousands upon thousands of women, and it is more than time that it should be seriously considered.

The situation to-day almost passes belief. On the one hand the papers are filled with great appeals to the women of the country to come forward and work. Many thousands are wanted for the land, thousands more for the munition factories, and more thousands still for offices and shops and counting-houses; hundreds here and there for this trade and that, and all the while the home fires to be kept burning—one would think the women of the country had enough to do!

On the one hand there are the women, eager and anxious to work, turning hopefully from employer to employer, answering appeals, hoping and waiting, and utterly unable to get a job. Again and again they are registered, and find their way from waiting rooms to waiting lists; again and again they come forward and try to do their bit, and all they accomplish is to add one more item to the general muddle. National registers and national appeals, local registers and local appeals, all lead to the same chaos, and the women of our country are growing profoundly discouraged.

OUTWORN CONVENTIONS.

The reason for it all is not difficult to find; it lies in the fact that our rulers have grown up with two conventions, the one being that women's concerns are best left alone, and the other that they don't greatly matter. As a consequence of this we find nobody bothering to train women properly, to pay women properly, to engage, to select or to control women properly, and the chaos that ensues is not to be wondered at. How, for example, can you expect contentment from girls who earn 25s. a week in one shed, while similar girls doing munition work in the next shed get 35s.? What sort of control do you expect one young man to exercise over a room full of 60 girls? And how can you hope that an army officer can select 100 cooks? What is the use of asking women with small children to work on the land for 15s. a week, and why is a University degree necessary for the job of under office girl? How can you hope that a laundry hand can know how to plough, or a housemaid to set a machine? Things as stupid and stupider than this happen daily, and yet nothing is done to put it right. Considering all these things women are to be congratulated on the magnificent volume of work they have been able to do.

WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT WANTED

Curiously enough, it is as easy to see how this matter might be remedied as it is to see how it has gone wrong, and now that the Director of National Service has been appointed we can hope that it may be begun. A woman's department, staffed and controlled entirely by women and working under Mr. Neville Chamberlain could do marvels if it were given the opportunity. The diverse conditions of private employment could not, of course, be easily unified, but those of Government servants ought

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If a woman's department were set up, and were entrusted to women of experience, who alone know the difficulties and the needs of women, and if it had power to turn the Government itself into a model employer of women, a great change in the situation would immediately result. This department could then ensure that women were properly recruited and selected by women, who alone can really judge of their suitability for their job. It could ensure that they were officered and controlled, inspected and cared for by women, fed and housed with due attention to their needs. And, above all, it could enforce the fair and honest principle that they should be paid an equal wage for their equal work.

The task of the department would be a heavy one; its problems would not be simple and its enemies would not be few; but the woman power of the nation is worth using, and it is worth using well.

Daily Express
29-1-17

COMING CALL TO WOMEN.

SCHEME TO FOLLOW THAT FOR MEN.

CLAIM THAT WOMEN SHALL MANAGE IT.

The National Service Department authorises the statement that a general scheme for the utilisation of the woman power of the country will be made public in the near future by Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the Director-General.

"This scheme," it is added, "will not be on the same scale as that for men between the ages of sixteen and sixty. Mr. Neville Chamberlain is fully alive to the invaluable help which women have already rendered during the war, and will doubtless afford them more scope for co-operating in the national effort to win the war."

A "Daily Express" representative was told at the office of the National Service Department on Saturday that an organisation for dealing with woman power is already under formation, but that Mr. Chamberlain is in the first place concentrating his efforts on the completion of the scheme for dealing with man power. As soon as the machinery for utilising man power has been set up, the question of woman power will immediately be dealt with. It is also stated that Mr. Chamberlain anticipates that two or three million women will volunteer for work, and that a scheme for placing them in work of national importance has been submitted to the Cabinet.

WOMEN'S DUTY.

Meanwhile leading women workers are urging the desirability of putting the organisation of women's work in the hands not of men organisers, but of women. Representatives of many women's organisations have laid their views before the Director of National Service, but so far he is said not to have committed himself to the expression of any opinion on this point.

Mrs. Oliver Strachey, of the London Society for Women's Suffrage, told a "Daily Express" representative on Saturday that many women's organisations have offered Mr. Chamberlain their services for the purpose of organising women's labour.

"We are strongly of opinion," said Mrs. Strachey, "that the whole work of organising the woman power of the nation should be entrusted to those who best understand its difficulties—that is, to women. The women's side of the National Service Department should be managed by women, under the control of Mr. Chamberlain.

"In the first place, the collection of women should be undertaken by women. We think it is of great importance that there should be women collecting officers to enrol and draft the women who volunteer for service. This work should be placed in the hands of boards of women in the various districts.

"WELFARE."

"Then the inspectors who must be employed to visit the women and see that they are properly housed and looked after should also be women. The whole of the 'welfare' work which must be instituted should be carried out by women, for the simple and sufficient reason that women workers will speak more freely to women about their difficulties and the conditions of their work than they will to men.

"Indeed, the more one considers every phase of the employment of large numbers of women, the more important it seems that the whole question should be handled by women, who understand its complexities more clearly than men can possibly do, and would be able to bring their knowledge and experience to bear on the problems involved.

"On one point we think it is desirable to utter a word of warning. It would be most unwise to issue a general call for women until it is known how many women can be placed in work and where they are to go. How many women will volunteer for work no one can tell beforehand—it is mere guesswork—but there are very many thousands who are eager for the chance of doing something, if work can be found for them. That is the first necessity. To make a general call and enlist large numbers of women volunteers, and then be unable to place them in work, would be a first-class blunder."

Daily Mail
29-1-17

THE MAN AND WOMAN MUDDLE.

While every available German in civil life is now making guns and shells, we in this country are still only making plans—and unsatisfactory plans—for the use of our man and woman power.

In Germany the authorities obtained compulsory powers and then called for volunteers under Hindenburg's scheme. In Great Britain Mr. Neville Chamberlain has not obtained compulsory powers, which would be a certain stimulus to recruiting, but is merely calling for volunteers with vague assurances to the effect that, if they do not come forward, compulsion may be applied.

The country fears that it is to have inflicted upon it another great advertising and speech-making campaign, like that for the recruiting of the Army which broke down so lamentably in 1915. That means the spending of money unnecessarily and great waste of time. It is the old "wait and see" in the same old form. The statement that compulsion will be applied if volunteers do not come forward will lead many to hang back till the State can make up its mind to *tell them plainly what to do*, and it will involve intolerable delay. The repeated trial of the voluntary system in 1915 wasted six months, and this was one of the causes why the campaign of 1916 did not bring peace. Germany is to-day making an unparalleled effort, and to meet her *we must have the labour now, or the campaign of* 1917 *will prove indecisive.*

A very great defect in Mr. Neville Chamberlain's scheme is that it does not provide for the immediate enrolment of women. They have come forward in their thousands time after time, only to be told, when anyone vouchsafed to give them any answer at all, that they would be informed when they were wanted. They are now told to wait till "the machinery for the enrolment of men" is "in full working order"—which means indefinitely. It is a depressing muddle and the successive "explanations" of the scheme only make it worse.

Utter chaos prevails owing to the want of system and energy in the past. While the Government offices are packed with young shirkers—so that in a single Department, the Ministry of Munitions, there are reported to be 800 men of military age—the owners of single-man businesses are being taken for the front in conditions which mean their ruin. While in one part of England clerks and shopwalkers are being dragged off to the farms as substitutes for agricultural labourers, in another part the farms are overstaffed with young, able-bodied men. Why not take the men from the overstaffed farms in such counties as Cornwall, where 995 have too many young men, and avoid the "general post" of labourers, clerks, and shopwalkers elsewhere? Again, there are very many Civil Servants, of from 45 to 65, retired from work in India or at home, who can do good work, have great experience, and are anxious to render aid, but who are at present left unemployed. This contention should be

Financial Times
29-1-17

682/4

NATIONAL SERVICE.

WOMEN TO BE INCLUDED.

Exception is taken by Mr. Neville Chamberlain to the attitude of a section of the Press in their criticism of the scheme for the utilisation of the nation's resources, and particularly to that part having reference to women in National Service. Seen by a Press representative on Saturday, an official of the National Service Department said that Mr. Chamberlain's intention with regard to employing the services of women had been misunderstood. A scheme for utilising women's aid was actually in course of preparation, he continued, and the work, which was making good progress, was being dealt with by the staff. In the scheme submitted to the Cabinet there was a clause providing that the enrolment of women should be part of the scheme, which would be put into operation as soon as they had the machinery for the enrolment of men in full working order. "The Prime Minister," he added, "has given a pledge that a voluntary scheme should be tried, and if that fails then Parliament must be consulted for further powers. To those who are out for industrial compulsion at once, no doubt any voluntary effort, whether perfect or imperfect, is unsatisfactory. The National Service Department is making every endeavour to secure success by a voluntary scheme, and it will be all the better for the nation and everybody if voluntaryism can carry the day, especially as the time in which to secure volunteers is of the utmost importance." It was also pointed out by the official that the dealing with the scheme for men must take precedence, but it was wrong to assert that women had been ignored or were to be excluded from service.

The National Voluntary Service scheme applies for the moment to men of between 18 and 60 years of age, who will be asked to inform the Director-General by means of letter cards, which will be supplied, the kind of work they are engaged upon and the kind of work they are prepared to undertake in the national interest, munitions and agriculture being the principal work for which labour is urgently required. Each man will be paid the trade union rate of wages of the district in which he is employed, and if he should be ordered to a district other than that in which he resides he will receive a subsistence allowance of 17s 6d per week if the removal involve the upkeep of two households. A man of military age may volunteer and so soon as he is called up he will be released to join the Colours. National service will not excuse military service.

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Jle James
9-10-17

682/5

WOMEN'S WAR SERVICE.

DEMAND FOR EQUAL TERMS.

MR. N. CHAMBERLAIN'S DRAFT SCHEME.

The draft of Mr. Neville Chamberlain's scheme of National Civilian Service, with the announcement that there is not to be a simultaneous appeal to men and women, and that only men will be appealed to at present, has aroused feelings of surprise and in some cases consternation among women who were awaiting a definite and clear statement of how they could best serve their country.

The statement that women may be called on later, if required, and that a Department will be set up in a few days to deal with women volunteers is apparently intended to allay such feelings, but it is tempered with the announcement that women will not be enrolled on the same terms as men. An attempt to differentiate between the sexes at a time when much of the work of substitution in the Civil Service and the civilian side of the Army, as well as the industrial and agricultural life of the community, must obviously be undertaken by women if man-power is to be freed to any considerable extent, is felt to be impolitic and uneconomic. It is not improbable that the War Office has a definite scheme of its own for a very striking use of woman-power in unexpected quarters, but this is only a small part of the need for a scheme by which woman-power shall be easily available.

Women of all classes who have been eager and ready to go where they would be most useful are chagrined at this first draft of Mr. Chamberlain's scheme, and further delays are likely to be bitterly resented. Offers of cooperation have been made to Mr. Chamberlain by the various women's societies and, we understand, very courteously acknowledged, but as yet these fine reserves of capable women who have during the past two and a half years served the country so well—often in spite of official hindrances—and have broken down every old theory of the weakness, the incompetence, and the "proper place" of women, have not been called upon.

A COMMITTEE OF WOMEN.

It has been suggested that in making use of women's services, a committee of women who have proved themselves by service during the war, as well as some of the tested women officials already in the Government service, should be appointed, with power of co-option, to enrol and draft women in non-essential employment into companies of workers where they could exercise their training, their education, and their natural abilities to the greatest economic advantage of the country. This work can only be organized by a picked committee of women with a knowledge of labour problems, who would have no axe to grind, and would be appointed solely on their own merits, not because they were related or known to persons in high positions. How easily such a committee could be collected is apparent from the most hurried survey of women's work since the war. If it were not invidious it would be a simple matter to give the names of a few such women.

In none of the channels approached for views on Mr. Chamberlain's proposals was there the slightest attempt at the glorification of women for what they have done since the war. It was taken as a matter of course; but it was apparent that women felt that vested interests and prejudice should not interfere to prevent them from serving their country to the best of their ability in the near future.

Lady Frances Balfour said that any scheme which separated the sexes, as the preliminary draft of Mr. Neville Chamberlain's scheme apparently did, was bound to break down. "You cannot separate civilians into sexes when calling upon them for national service," she said, "and it was quite unnecessary, as no difference was made in the original census. This introduction of sex makes an artificial difference which is bound to render the scheme inefficient. The ideal scheme would include the whole people at once on the same basis. That would answer to me the only way to enrol workers for national service."

"GRAVE DIFFICULTIES."

Miss Christobel Ellis, the commandant of the motor-transport section of the Women's Legion (of which Lady Londonderry is president), which has supplied women as chauffeurs in considerable numbers to the War Office, and has also sent many women as camp cooks and to replace men in khaki doing purely civilian work, criticized the new scheme as follows:—"It does not strike me as a scheme which is likely to help the military authorities to any great extent, or to please an energetic man like Lord Derby. Private women's organizations like ours have done a great deal to help substitution, but these proposals seem likely to put grave difficulties in our way.

"From the first draft of the scheme it looks as if employers would be able to force men over military age to take places which might be filled by young energetic women. The experience of employers since the war has been that old men and boys are less efficient than women, while women (in new employments) are less efficient than the men they replace. How the stimulation of the substitution of men for men is going to help the military authorities is not apparent. It will place a premium on antediluvian methods, and give no inducement to energetic young women to go on doing their best to replace men in the quality and pace of their work.

"A good plan for using women's labour to the best advantage would seem to be to ask all women doing non-essential work to place themselves at the disposal of a committee of women of proved capacity for the purposes of substitution or of urgently needed industrial and agricultural work. Something much more satisfactory than this suggested scheme is needed, and at once."

Miss Mary Macarthur, secretary of the Federation of Women Workers, said it was indeed a strange thing to draft a preliminary substitution scheme omitting all mention of women. "It would be," she said, "a splendid thing for women if, when a scheme is formulated, they too should have at least a minimum living wage, and 17s. 6d. a week extra when away from home, as Mr. Chamberlain promises his civilian men. It would mean a revolution in women's wages."

WORK OF CLASSIFICATION.

Miss Philippa Strachey, at "Women's Service," 58, Victoria-street, the voluntary organization which has placed 22,000 women, many of them in substitution posts, since the beginning of the war, and to which the Government Departments have appealed for their carefully selected women time after time, said that to leave out women in any preliminary announcement seemed a very great omission. "The reason probably is," she said, "that it is much easier to make a preliminary classification of men than of women: they can tell you what they were doing last. Women do not fall into natural classifications in the same way, and consequently have to be carefully dealt with.

"It is absolutely vital, in whatever scheme may be devised, to have women in the high administrative positions, so that they may select and enrol the women who will be needed. There is far too great an effort being made to suggest educated women for drudgery of every kind—for digging and filling shells, for instance—when they could do better work as substitutes for men in the higher branches of the civil service. There are many obvious names of women who have done splendid work since the beginning of the war who could be called upon to serve on such a committee of women."

Miss Susan Lawrence, L.C.C., was doubtful, speaking from the Labour point of view, as to the advisability of any new enrolment of women at all. "As far as I know," she said, "there is no demand that cannot be satisfied by ordinary industrial channels where decent wages are given. The whole question of women workers is the wages question. Given a decent living wage, which takes into consideration the great rise in prices, women will appear in sufficient numbers to satisfy any industrial demand."

PLAIN ENGLISH.

We are glad that Mr. Neville Chamberlain has lost no time in explaining that his National Service scheme has been misunderstood. It was, of course, realised that no attempt to effect an industrial mobilisation could succeed unless women were included. It must, however, be remembered that the machinery at Mr. Neville Chamberlain's disposal is necessarily limited and elementary, and that at present he has no means of dealing with the enormous rush that would certainly follow a call for women volunteers. Time is, none the less, of paramount importance. The nation must put forth its full strength at once, and to ensure the immediate organisation of woman labour expert women organisers should be employed. There are numbers of such women who would be proud to lend their aid, and there are existing societies that might be adapted to form part of the national machinery. In an interview in another column Mrs. Strachey summarises the advantages of women organisers for women, and, incidentally, she repeats the warning against calling for volunteers before it is approximately known how many workers are wanted and where they are wanted. We realise that voluntarism has some advantages, but we are convinced that compulsion will have to come, and we fear the waste of time that is threatened by hesitation to use the only rational method of solving the labour problem. The great point about compulsion is that it is just. Even if the amount of labour required could be obtained without it, it is clear that industries that should, in the nation's interest, be left alone would be hampered, while others of far less importance would continue to flourish. Voluntarism is necessarily haphazard, and the successful war equipment of the nation must follow a calculated plan.

The best way is the only way. Unhappily, there is still a tendency to adhere to old methods and manners even in the newest Government departments. The success of the Government's policy depends on the hearty co-operation of the people, and this co-operation is rendered impossible when official instructions are issued in involved language that no plain man can hope to understand. Lord Devonport's latest milk order, of which we print an example this morning resembles a trust deed in its turgid legal phraseology. Why not state the price of milk clearly, instead of commanding that it shall not exceed "by more than the amount hereinafter named the price of the article at the date hereinafter specified"? In these great human days our rulers should put on humanity. Precedent and tradition should be discarded. Blunt common sense both in speech and action is necessary for victory. We wonder if Lord Devonport ever saw the thing that was sent to the Press for publication to-day.

Birmingham Daily Post 29-1-17

Daily Mail 31-1-17

National Service.

The scheme for which Mr. Neville Chamberlain is responsible will be before the public probably within the next few days. Meanwhile, the outline of the scheme which newspaper readers have already had presented to them has produced a certain amount of criticism that is perhaps no more accurate or well founded than premature criticism usually is. Some of Mr. Neville Chamberlain's critics fastened on the fact that the announcements made on Saturday morning concerned only the male population. They seriously misconceived the statement that there was not to be a simultaneous appeal to men and women to volunteer for national service, and straightway declared that the scheme was defective because women were not included. That this was an extraordinary misconception was made plain later in the day by the National Service Department. It was officially stated that a scheme for making use of the services of women was actually in course of preparation and its details would shortly be made known. Obviously there can be no complete scheme for utilising the national resources that does not take account of the labour power which the large numbers of capable unemployed women can bring to bear. Obviously, too, no national scheme for utilising women's labour can be devised and put into operation as speedily as a scheme for dealing with male labour. The creation of a national army of women workers suggests special problems of accommodation, supervision, and welfare that cannot satisfactorily be dealt with in haste. Meanwhile the main and most pressing need in the scheme of National Service is the provision of adequate male labour in the great industries essential for the vigorous prosecution of the war and the feeding of the people. And it is to the methods by which that labour is proposed to be provided that criticism to be useful should at present be directed. The principle of Mr. Chamberlain's scheme, as outlined, is that enrolment for service is to be voluntary. That may or may not be satisfactory; we hope that it will yield all that is expected from it, and that volunteers will come forward in the numbers necessary to meet all the demands which will be made on the munition works, the coal mines, the shipyards, transport, and agriculture. If the required amount of labour is not thus made available Parliament, in accordance with the Prime Minister's pledge, will be asked to give the Government other powers to secure all the labour necessary. Resort to compulsion may be avoided if a clear explanation is forthcoming in regard to difficulties which must arise immediately the voluntary scheme begins to be operative. Already, from what is known of it, there emerge points about which employers and employed alike may reasonably desire further information. It is not yet clear, for instance, whether men now engaged in work of national importance are to be asked to volunteer. One of the unofficial versions of the Department's proposals states that "men engaged in trades of national importance who volunteer will not at present be transferred to other occupations. If, however, it is shown that there is an excess of skilled labour in a particular factory such a man will be transferred to another factory in the same district." Until the position of persons occupied in trades of national importance is made clear they, as well as those engaged in non-essential industries, must experience some natural uneasiness as to the probable outcome of the new upheaval. Employers whose workers are called up for transfer to some other factory or occupation are to be given a right of appeal to the local Commissioners to be appointed. But if this means that they are again to go through all the procedure experienced under the Military Service Tribunals they will hardly find the outlook encouraging. Nor do we think it likely that a great many employers will be enamoured of the idea that not only should they encourage their workmen to place their services at the disposal of the State, but also should undertake to make up deficiencies in the wages of transferred men. There are other points in the scheme which require elucidation, and it is to be hoped that the publication of the full details will be accompanied by an explanation as complete as possible in regard to matters which at present

THE MAN AND WOMAN MUDDLE.

FROM LADY FRANCES BALFOUR.

To the Editor of *The Daily Mail*.

Sir,—Mr. Neville Chamberlain's draft scheme for national civilian service does not include civilian women.

We hear of another department "to be set up in a few days to deal with 'women volunteers.'" If anything serious is intended by this draft scheme, and on paper it has the appearance of being neither practical nor intended for use, what possible reason can there be for yet another department, lodged this time in all probability in the largest county asylum which can be commandeered?

If women are to replace men, and elderly men and women of all ages to be called upon to release the fighting men, how can the work of the two sexes be bound up separately in red-tape departments? We want to know how many women are available for the defence of the home life in the same proportion as we want to know what military service can still be rendered by men. Women were trained or have trained themselves for every trade and industry which must be maintained if the State "stuff" is to be replenished.

To consider this "service" apart from men's service is merely to duplicate departments and to overlap and muddle within them. Mr. Neville Chamberlain assures the public he has not overlooked the services women have already rendered. That is very gracious and it is a new departure, for the name of Chamberlain has stood for two generations for all that is against the recognition of women's service or women's rights. Women want not compliments, however oily. They want to see their services accepted and used economically, and not be subjected to the muddle and waste caused by an individual's prejudices.

FRANCES BALFOUR.

NATIONAL SERVICE

WOMEN TO BE INCLUDED.

Exception is taken by Mr. Neville Chamberlain to the attitude of a section of the Press in their criticism of the scheme for the utilisation of the nation's resources, and particularly to that part having reference to women in National Service. Seen by a Press representative on Saturday, an official of the National Service Department said that Mr. Chamberlain's intention with regard to employing the services of women had been misunderstood. A scheme for utilising women's aid was actually in course of preparation, he continued, and the work, which was making good progress, was being dealt with by the staff. In the scheme submitted to the Cabinet there was a clause providing that the enrolment of women should be part of the scheme, which would be put into operation as soon as they had the machinery for the enrolment of men in full working order. "The Prime Minister," he added, "has given a pledge that a voluntary scheme should be tried, and if that fails then Parliament must be consulted for further powers. To those who are out for industrial compulsion at once, no doubt any voluntary effort, whether perfect or imperfect, is unsatisfactory. The National Service Department is making every endeavour to secure success by a voluntary scheme, and it will be all the better for the nation and everybody if voluntaryism can carry the day, especially as the time in which to secure volunteers is of the utmost importance." It was also pointed out by the official that the dealing with the scheme for men must take precedence, but it was wrong to assert that women had been ignored or were to be excluded from service.

The National Voluntary Service scheme applies for the moment to men of between 18 and 60 years of age, who will be asked to inform the Director-General by means of letter cards, which will be supplied, the kind of work they are engaged upon and the kind of work they are prepared to undertake in the national interest, munitions and agriculture being the principal work for which labour is urgently required. Each man will be paid the trade union rate of wages of the district in which he is employed, and if he should be ordered to a district other than that in which he resides he will receive a subsistence allowance of 17s. 6d. per week if the removal involve the upkeep of two households. A man of military age may volunteer and so soon as he is called up he will be released to join the Colours. National Service will not excuse military service.

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Daily Mail
30-1-17

Daily Chronicle 30 1 17

682/7

MAN & WOMAN POWER.

MR. N. CHAMBERLAIN'S PLANS.

AUTHORITY TO STOP TRADES.

20,000 WOMEN WANTED.

By OUR POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT.

The facts contained in the following article have been obtained from a responsible authority, and may be regarded as the official reply to some of the criticisms of Mr. Neville Chamberlain's scheme of National Service, an outline of which was published in all the newspapers on Saturday.

The criticisms have been directed mainly against the delay that must elapse before the scheme can be proved a success or otherwise on a voluntary basis, and the non-inclusion of women. In the statement below the possibility of an indirect form of compulsion, through the stoppage of certain trades, is foreshadowed.

When Mr. Neville Chamberlain accepted the position of Director-General of National Service he was bound by the statement made by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons to the effect that a voluntary scheme must be tried before any system of compulsion can be adopted.

There is good reason to believe that Mr. Lloyd George had made a promise to this effect to the Labour leaders before they joined the new Government, and that any attempt to vary it might place the Labour Ministers in a very awkward position. Whoever demands a compulsory scheme now must, according to the responsible authority, remember the official Labour attitude, and consider the possible results. On the other hand, this attitude imposes on Labour leaders and organisers everywhere an additional obligation to work for the success of the voluntary scheme.

APPEAL TO EMPLOYERS.

It is impossible at present to fix any definite total of men required to ensure success for the scheme or to declare any date by which a certain number must be obtained. That all depends on the duration of the war. The Director-General of National Service must have from the military authorities a statement of the number of recruits they require each month. He must then consider from what industries they are to be obtained and provide substitutes for them.

If the war is prolonged beyond a certain length it is obvious that the response to the appeal made under the voluntary system, after all the useless volunteers have been rejected, may be insufficient to supply the demanded total of substitutes, and in that case Mr. Chamberlain will not hesitate to ask the Prime Minister for compulsory powers. But he hopes that with general good will the response may be sufficient for the present.

The most important point is to secure the good will of employers so that they will make it easy for their men to volunteer. Every volunteer will receive seven days' notice before being called on for work, and in that time his employer may, if he chooses, appeal to the Local Director of National Service for permission to retain the man on the ground that he is

NATIONAL SCHEME ON WRONG LINES.

VOLUNTARY BASIS ONLY FOR THE MAN-POWER REGISTER.

WHY NOT COMPULSORY?

POWER OF WOMEN ABSOLUTELY IGNORED.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the Director-General of National Service, has now completed his plans for the mobilisation of a new industrial army.

The "Daily Express" understands that Mr. Chamberlain intends to call on all men from eighteen to sixty to offer their services voluntarily to the nation. The scheme will embrace the whole of England, Wales, and Scotland, but not Ireland. It contains two grave flaws:—

It is left to every man to decide for himself whether he is to report the nature of his present work.

The enormous woman-power of the nation is absolutely ignored.

Women's services in the war have proved invaluable. Despite this, women, it is believed, will be excluded from the operation of the scheme. All that will be done is to set up a special department to arrange for their enrolment **if the necessity should arise!**

Official details of the scheme will be published almost immediately.

ENROLMENT BY LETTER CARD.

PLEDGE THAT WILL BE REQUIRED.

We understand that for the purpose of compiling the register of workers it has been decided to divide Great Britain into seven areas, of which Wales and Scotland will each be one, while five will be established in England. A commissioner will be appointed to direct the work in each area. Rather than set up an entirely new organisation it has been decided to make use of the existing machinery of the labour exchanges, and also to seek the co-operation of the local and municipal authorities.

Mr. Chamberlain, it is believed, has decided that the enrolment of volunteers shall not take place at local centres, such as town halls or other public buildings. This method might lead to a repetition of the unfortunate scenes which attended the voluntary attestation of recruits for the Army, when long queues were kept waiting in the streets often in pouring rain. Instead, a special form of letter-card has been printed, which will be obtainable at any post office, and will also be sent to all public bodies for broadcast distribution.

In this letter-card volunteers will be asked to state their name, employer, trade, and other details regarding the special form of employment for which they consider they are suited. It will also contain a form of undertaking, which they will be asked to sign, placing their services unreservedly at the disposal of the nation.

VOLUNTEERS.

All letter-cards will be returnable to the Director-General's office in London, where they will be classified and redistributed to the areas to which they relate. Each of the seven district commissioners will be assisted by deputies, whose work it will be to organise local committees.

Volunteers will then be invited to appear before the committee to state exactly what they think they are capable of doing. Every effort will be made to provide work in the district in which the applicant resides, but no

dustries in which the rate of pay is not so high as the men are now receiving they will undertake to grant them some monetary assistance, and also to keep their places open for them in order that they may return when the war is over.

Men of military age who hold exemption certificates on the ground of indispensability will be asked to enrol in the same way as men over military age. If, after inquiry by the district commissioner, substitutes can be found for them, they will be released for service in the Army. It is hoped that many desirable recruits may be obtained in this way.

"SHELTERING" FIT MEN.

THE SCANDAL OF YOUNG CIVIL SERVANTS.

The Hammersmith Tribunal has followed the example of the Westminster City Council in demanding that all fit men of military age in Government departments should be compelled to appear before tribunals. At yesterday's meeting of the tribunal Mr. H. Harris proposed the following resolution, which was carried unanimously:—

"The Hammersmith Military Tribunal unanimously records its endorsement of the action of the Westminster City Council in calling on the Government to consider the question of at once terminating the scandal of Government employees being accorded preferential treatment over the general public in respect of appearance before their local tribunals under the Military Service Act and other regulations, as this unjust method of sheltering employees in Government offices is not only unfair to private employers of labour and workers, but also a menace to the national interest."

It was decided to send copies of the resolution to the Premier, the Secretary of State for War, and the President of the Board of Trade.

"COMBING OUT" THE MINERS.

The new "comb-out" of miners began in the South Wales coalfield yesterday. A travelling medical board visited Pontypridd, and examined nearly a hundred men who had entered the Maritime Colliery since August 1913. It was stated that a large percentage of the men were passed for general service. Later in the day the medical board visited Kingstown and examined about 150 eligibles.

Mr. William Straker, secretary of the Northumberland Miners, stated in an interview yesterday that the calling up of miners for military service would have a tremendous effect on the output of coal.

The most important point is to secure the good will of employers so that they will make it easy for their men to volunteer. Every volunteer will receive seven days' notice before being called on for work, and in that time his employer may, if he choose, appeal to the Local Director of National Service for permission to retain the man on the ground that he is engaged on work of national importance.

SORTING OUT INDUSTRIES.

A classification of industries into varying degrees of national importance is being rapidly completed. It is a difficult task, because even different branches of one industry are of varying importance.

It is probable that in connection with this there will be a very considerable extension of the priority system in force at the Ministry of Munitions. Under this system the Ministry classifies each job of work at a controlled establishment according to its relative importance to the nation. Thus a Class A job must be done before a Class B, a Class B before a Class C, and so on. This scheme the Director of National Service proposes to apply to other industries, deciding what work shall have priority, and even ordering that certain classes of work shall not be done at all.

One or two examples will best illustrate what is contemplated. A firm of printers, for instance, engaged on work for the Government and work for private individuals may be ordered to give priority to the Government work and not to do any private work till it is completed. A firm partly engaged on Government contracts and employing a number of badged and a number of unbadged men over military age may be ordered to devote their men entirely to Government work. In this way the elder men will provide substitutes for the badged men, who will be released for the Army.

As an example of an even more drastic method, the Director might forbid any employer to employ men in domestic service or similarly unnecessary occupations after a certain period.

Powers sufficient for all these schemes are already in existence under the Defence of the Realm Act, under which the Director can declare that the continuance of a particular trade is not in the public interest. It must not be understood that

tributed to the areas to which they relate. Each of the seven district commissioners will be assisted by deputies, whose work it will be to organise local committees

Volunteers will then be invited to appear before the committee to state exactly what they think they are capable of doing. Every effort will be made to provide work in the district in which the applicant resides, but no guarantee will be given in this respect.

As regards pay, it will be found that Mr. Chamberlain has decided that volunteers shall be paid the standard rate of wage in the industry in which they are employed. A minimum wage is, however, to be established, and in the event of a man having to be sent to some other district than that in which he resides he will be granted a subsistence allowance of 17s. 6d. a week.

Only volunteers who can give their whole time are asked for. **Part-time employment cannot be entertained** at the present owing to the vast amount of extra organisation which this would entail. Seven days' notice will be given to every volunteer before he is called on to undertake new work During this period his employer will be entitled to appeal to the local commissioner, who will finally decide whether the volunteer's work is of national importance.

RECRUITING.

As soon as the scheme is officially announced a great recruiting campaign will be undertaken throughout the country. Public meetings will be held in every city, town, and country district to urge every one who is not at present engaged in essential industries—such as shipbuilding, coal mining, agriculture, munition-making, and transport—to place his name on the register.

Mr. Chamberlain's task, as he stated in his speech at Birmingham last week, is to find a man for every job.

"My volunteers," he then said, "will not better their position. On the contrary, I am going to ask them to put up with hardship and sacrifice. Who is there who thinks of the hardships and the sacrifices that are being endured by our brave comrades in the trenches who will not be anxious to make the very much smaller sacrifice for which I am going to ask?"

Employers will be called on to make sacrifices no less than their men. It is hoped that when they are asked to surrender employees for more essential in-

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YOUTHS OF 18.

The posters calling up youths of eighteen will be circulated in London and throughout the country on Tuesday.

"FAIRY TALES."

The Wareham (Dorset) Borough Tribunal has adjourned for three months all cases of married and business men "as a protest against a recent decision of the county appeal tribunal."

The opinion was expressed that it was a great hardship that married men who spoke the truth before the tribunal should be sent into the Army, while single men who "had fairy tales told for them" at the county tribunal obtained exemptions.

"It is a case of the bigger the liar the better the luck," said a member.

The Times
30-1-17

CIVILIANS FOR WAR WORK.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S PLANS.

WOMAN'S PLACE.

(FROM OUR PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.)

It is understood that Mr. Neville Chamberlain hopes to launch his scheme of national civilian service at a great meeting in London in a few days' time.

The classification of industries as essential and non-essential is nearing completion. It is probable that Mr. Chamberlain will adopt the "priority" system used by the Ministry of Munitions. Under this system the Director of National Service will give priority to certain work and order that some categories of work should not be proceeded with. Firms might be ordered to give priority to Government work over private work, or even to do nothing but Government work.

The Defence of the Realm Act gives Mr. Chamberlain the necessary powers for this drastic action. Under the terms of the Act he could declare that the continuance of particular trades during the war was not in the public interest. These powers will no doubt be exercised if the appeal for volunteers should not provide the required number of substitutes. The moment, too, such a contingency arises, it is understood that Mr. Chamberlain would ask the Prime Minister to give him compulsory powers for the enforcement of national civilian service on individuals. The success of the voluntary effort is held to depend chiefly upon the duration of the war.

Mr. Chamberlain expects to be in a position to give details of his scheme for women volunteers in the course of this week. The women's problem is complicated by the recruiting activities of other Departments. Yesterday the Ministry of Munitions made an urgent appeal for 8,000 women for shell-filling factories. It was explained that no special training or skill was required; that the age limits were between 18 and 40; that the hours were from 54 to 65 a week; and that the average wages were from 27s. to 30s. a week. Another appeal will be made to-day on the same terms for 20,000 women, and applications can be made through any employment exchange.

The Board of Agriculture, on the other hand, decided yesterday to ask Mr. Chamberlain in future to supply them with women workers for the land. The Board have hitherto recruited and trained their own labour.

Half a million letter-cards for the enrolment of male volunteers are to be sent immediately to post-offices throughout Great Britain for distribution.

SERVICE FOR WOMEN.

STATEMENT BY MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

Mr. Chamberlain discussed with a representative of *The Times* yesterday the reasons for the omission of women from the first draft of his scheme—an omission which caused widespread disappointment and sharp criticism.

Mr. Chamberlain said:—

The schemes for using women for national service are not yet so forward that they can be published, but it is quite a mistake to imagine that for a moment there was ever any idea of excluding them. From the first I have always contemplated that their services should be used, and I have only decided to deal with men first because the unsatisfied demand for men is greater than that for women, and the problem of using their services is much simpler.

Any one who knows what has already been done is aware of the large number of agreements made between employers and workpeople dealing with the substitution of women for men in many industries. It is not possible to introduce women into industries where they are not already employed without making very careful preparation beforehand. At the beginning of last year the Board of Trade issued a general appeal to women to volunteer for war service. This appeal was eagerly responded to, but it was found possible to place only a small proportion of those who came forward, and much disappointment and irritation ensued. I am anxious that there should be no repetition of this occurrence, and I intend to deal with the utilization of women's service strictly in relation to specific demands for it.

There is, however, one special direction in which probably the service of women can be used without delay in connexion with the Army both at home and abroad. In this it is necessary for me to work in close cooperation with the War Office, and I hope before many days I may be able to make known my proposals for this purpose.

TOO LATE A BEGINNING.

In reply to questions, Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said he intended to set up a committee of representative women, and the selection of the women to be utilized in national service would be made by women. In his opinion nothing could be done on any other lines. He added:—

"I think several committees of women will have to be set up to deal with many sides of the labour problem. On these committees every woman's society which has authority to speak for women will be represented. I have not as yet talked with any representatives of women's societies as such, though I have seen some representative women who belong to women's societies. I intend to consult the women's labour organizations—there is no one more firmly convinced of the importance of their point of view. I have a big job in dealing with the complex and differing problems of women's service, and I don't want to make mistakes through too great haste."

Asked whether the same rates of pay given to men would be offered to women, Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said his women's committees would report to him their views on this matter. Everything would be done by women and through women, and it was very likely that decentralized committees of women would be set up in different districts, who would have the power of dealing with the problems of their districts. He added:—"A great deal depends on our getting the right women for the administrative side of the scheme. It is not unlikely that we may have to have a lower age-limit for women than for men. At present our plans are rough and ready; we have not had any time to begin. We have begun too late with everything."

"Is your idea to invite women to come from non-essential trades and offer themselves for service in essential ones?"

"At present," answered Mr. Chamberlain, "I am engaged in going through the various trades and in separating the less essential from the more essential. We may be able to put pressure on the less essential, but we must keep in view the fact that the products of certain apparently non-essential manufactures play their part in export in keeping up the exchanges."

Daily Mail
2-2-17

ALL WOMEN MUST SERVE.

To the Editor of *The Daily Mail*.

Sir,—The news that women are to be mobilised will, I feel certain, be warmly welcomed by thousands of women who are struggling not merely to do war work but to earn a decent living.

While wages in the lower grades of work have, since the war, risen enormously to meet the increased demand for such work, it is my experience that posts paid at a minimum, say, of 50s. a week are far fewer now than in pre-war days. This view was confirmed some little time ago in conversation with one of the chief officials of the Unemployment Department of the Board of Trade. "Semi-skilled or quite unskilled woman's labour is in enormous demand, but the highly educated, trained, and experienced women are almost a drug in the market as far as the chance of a living wage is concerned," I was told.

It is these trained and experienced women who will welcome the news that they are to be mobilised in the near future. Mobilisation, one imagines, will mean that the Government finds board, lodging, uniform, and a small wage in return for labour; and I maintain that sufficient food (I emphasise the word "sufficient"), decent lodgings, suitable clothing, and fares cannot to-day be had for £2 a week—the normal wage offered to an educated woman by both the Government and private employers on the calm assumption that some one else is providing their employees with food and lodging.

R. LE CLERC PHILLIPS.

21, Porchester-gardens, W.

FROM SIR RICHARD BURBIDGE.

To the Editor of *The Daily Mail*.

Sir,—Lest, arising out of what is doubtless an excusable delay, any sort of question should arise as to the potential value of womenfolk in the prosecution of the war, may I venture to call wider attention to the remarkable series of photographs being exhibited at Harrods now and until Saturday under the auspices of the Ministry of Munitions? These photographs show, with unforgettable impressiveness, what womenfolk are *already* doing, and, unless I am much mistaken, they make an almost irresistible appeal to every patriotic woman who sees them to hasten "and do likewise."

RICH. BURBIDGE,
Managing Director, Harrods, Ltd.

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WAR SERVICE FOR WOMEN.

MRS. TENNANT'S NEW POST.

As is officially announced on another page, Mr. Neville Chamberlain has appointed Mrs. H. J. Tennant Director of the Women's Department of National Service and Miss Violet Markham Assistant-Director. Both have been actively engaged on Government schemes concerned with the activities of women since the beginning of the war, and were energetic members of the Queen's Work for Women Fund.

To-day Mrs. Tennant and Miss Markham will be accommodated with offices and secretaries at St. Ermin's Hotel, the headquarters of the National Service Department, and will begin their task of getting together effective machinery for securing women of the right kind for substitution work and of using woman-power of every kind in the most profitable way. They are keenly alive to the importance of their task, and yesterday expressed to a representative of *The Times* their hope that a certain amount of forbearance would be extended to them until they get their plans under way. They consider it quite possible that the winning of the war may depend on the response of the women and the way their services are used, and they deprecate any demand for an immediate statement of a ready-made scheme, urging that a few days must be given them to call together the women who can give them the best administrative help. The committees foreshadowed by Mr. Chamberlain in a recent statement published in these columns have not yet been formed, but their constitution will be announced at the earliest possible moment.

Mrs. Tennant is anxious that because women who know their help will be of use are not appealed to within 24 hours they should not imagine that they are left out of the plans of the Department. She said :— "We have to take our part in securing the release of a large number of men needed immediately for the Army. The further substitution of women throughout the country in many industries means in most cases a change of process, and there are great difficulties to be overcome which makes an early statement of what we may do extremely unwise. We do not know ourselves, as yet."

The Young Woman's Day.

In reply to a question as to the kind of women most needed, Mrs. Tennant gave as an instance the strong young woman who had not as yet done any real work, but had contented herself with spending a short time at voluntary work each week. "We want new workers, rather than a further vast displacement. We shall offer a great chance to the young women to prove themselves, but we shall only call them up as they are wanted. We shall need the help of every phase of the women's movement, and we regard the cooperation of the great women's labour organizations as of the utmost importance. We cannot do our best unless we have the unselfish help of a vast number of women, and we are asking for this cooperation on the most generous and patriotic scale, leaving aside all the differences of policy which existed before the war.

As proof of the great reserve of women still available, Miss Markham pointed to the recent Board of Trade figures, which show that less than a million women have come newly into industry since the beginning of the war. "What has been going on," she said, "has been mainly a displacement from the typical women's trades of the less well-paid kinds, into the newer and better-paid work of munition-making and substitution jobs in men's trades. There must be a vast number of young women who have not yet treated the war seriously. We shall want the young part-time woman to become a whole-time worker, and we shall want young, vigorous women, doing easy voluntary work, to leave that to others and come out and do what elderly women cannot do. But we want to avoid calling for any numbers until we know more as to where they are wanted and for what kind of work. Substitution and dilution are not done by calling up vast numbers of new women at a time. We have no intention of disappointing women by calling for them before we have the work to offer them."

It is not unlikely that the voluntary aid detachments, which have done excellent work during the last two years and a half, may be drawn into the women's side of National Service. Already they are losing many of their members at the call of paid war work. There are 50,000 beds in auxiliary and V.A.D. hospitals staffed by unpaid women, many of them trained nurses who have returned to their profession since the war began. In Wiltshire recently the members of voluntary aid detachments were leaving them for farm work and in the batch of women carpenters who have just gone to France were three London V.A.D. members. There are 80,000 women on the register at Devonshire House, and it is felt that if they were brought under the National Service scheme, many of the part-time women would find it possible to become "whole-timers." A proportion of voluntary workers, not suitable for very hard work, may be drafted into State service as members of care-committees or helpers in infant welfare schemes.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain has stated that at the present moment he sees no reason for the conscription of women for industrial purposes, and does not propose to call them up till the necessity arrives. *The Daily Mail*, however, is very angry at what seems to us to be an entirely reasonable decision and is screaming in headlines for the immediate mobilization of all women not employed in the making of munitions or trades of national importance. At the present moment, according to parliamentary statements, the Board of Trade and Chamber of Commerce Returns, some 1,500,000 women have been recruited for industrial and commercial work since the opening of the campaign. Of this number it is estimated some 400,000 are engaged in the making of munitions, the remaining million being employed in clerical work, in restaurants, agriculture and as teachers and nurses. The majority of these, it is suggested by Harmsworth, should be taken from their situations and pitchforked into the making of armaments or the raising of food. This means that the commerce of England, already heavily handicapped by the inevitable drain of men, would be brought almost to a standstill. Furthermore, it would of necessity follow that the number of married women with young children who, at present, work out of their homes, would be largely increased with the very gravest results to the well-being of their families. A further result of such conscription would be that women who are at present earning decent wages would be taken from their employment outside munition factories, and set to work which would bring them in a much lower rate of pay. It is announced in the Press that some 80,000 women are required immediately, 20,000 being wanted for munition work. The latter must be between the ages of sixteen and forty and their wages will average from 27s. to 30s. for a week of fifty-four to sixty-five working hours. Now it is obvious that conscription would not apply to people in possession of incomes, and that the majority of the 80,000 women now demanded would be taken from those already employed andpresumably earning wages in excess of those offered by the Government. It seems to us unlikely that on this occasion the Ministry will be stampeded by the Harmsworth Press. If, however, Mr. George carries out Lord Northcliffe's order, the present difficult industrial condition will become more complicated and the gravest injustice perpetrated on th eworking woman.

Common Cause
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National Service for Men (and Women).

The announcement of the proposals of the Director of National Service for organising the man-power of the nation were greeted with very severe criticism by the Press. The criticisms were largely based upon the fact that while calling upon men between the ages of eighteen and sixty to volunteer for national service, he announced that women were not wanted yet, but might be dealt with later. The tone of his announcement is much to be deplored, but, nevertheless, in spite of much justice in the attacks levelled against him, we cannot but think that Mr. Chamberlain was wise not to issue a general appeal to women to come forward for national service before he had prepared the machinery with which to deal with the mob of volunteers that would ensue, or the plans upon which they are to be enrolled and placed at work. Too often in the past women have been disheartened by appeals that were mere empty words.

It is, nevertheless, most extraordinary that a man proposing to tackle the infinitely complex problem of the organisation of the working power of the nation should think it possible that he can do so in sections, and that he should not carry on the organisation of women simultaneously with that of men. In answer to his critics, he has said that the task of the department is stupendous, and that schemes for the women's side of the work are now being prepared; but that answer is not very convincing. Why have not these schemes been prepared simultaneously with those for men? Mr. Chamberlain may say, and with justice, that one man cannot do everything. But one man ought not to do everything, and it is difficult to see why, during the last few weeks, women should not have been working for him. A women's department, to deal with a woman's problem, with advice and help from women of experience and proved ability, might have saved the Director of National Service much needless trouble and annoyance: it might still save his scheme from ruin and his office from confusion, and we earnestly hope that he is calling it into existence.

Meanwhile, of course, the lesson is obvious. If even in such a task as this a Government Department finds it impossible to remember that women exist, and are important; and if, even in the face of the most violent pressure and the most urgent public clamour they hesitate to entrust anything of magnitude to women, surely the time has come for something drastic to be done. If women cannot be remembered in a State constituted as is Great Britain, clearly it must quickly be constituted differently. Let us try whether votes for women will not help Ministers and Directors to remember that women are part of the people.

The Queen - 3-2-17.

THE WEEK-END AND AFTER.

THE PLACE OF WOMEN in the coming scheme of National Service has been one of the principal topics of the week. There was some chagrin aroused by the non-inclusion of women in the first drafting of Mr Neville Chamberlain's scheme, and still more, perhaps, by the statement that women might be called on later, "if required." It was felt, not unnaturally, that after all the work women have done, and done capably during the war, there was a lack of tactfulness in this half-suggestion that a national scheme could be proposed which did not require them. Women could fairly say and, in fact, did say that in the many months which have passed since the war broke out the substitution of women for men in the Civil Service, in professions and industries, and even in the more civilian departments of military administration has advanced so far and worked so smoothly that this perpetuation of differentiation between the two sexes was, to say the least, impolitic. On a higher ground it was condemned as uneconomic, a waste both of time and of organising energy, since two systems would be put in operation, with two spheres of work, two staffs at headquarters, and so on, when one would suffice if the position women have earned for themselves had been recognised at once. Everything calls now for a singleness of effort and a contraction rather than an increase of the channels of organisation. It looked rather like a deliberate throwing-away of one advantage gained by the experiences of war-time to miss the chance of making a single whole of the National Service scheme, and including men and women at one stroke.

On the whole the criticisms in this sense were made without bitterness, and without any tendency to magnify the work of women or overestimate its effect upon the public mind. To some extent, no doubt, the criticism was the more ready to be offered because of the irritation left in the minds of women in general by the way in which the registration of women some time ago, after all the large prospects it offered, collapsed into a very diminutive actual use of the women who came forward to work. There was even at that time more than a little belief that the official world had still not learned to take women seriously. The registration was suspected of being a kind of sop to keep women quiet who felt that more use might be made of their sex. The suspicion was not, in our view, justified. Whatever may have gone wrong in the result, the intention, we are sure, was quite straightforward; and the comparatively small outcome of the registration, in the way of making use of women's services, was partly due to the difficulties of substitution of labour, partly to the fact that women workers are as a class less mobile than men, and partly to a certain haste in ordering the registration while the industrial situation was not very clear. But it cannot be denied that the failure of that system caused much disappointment and vexation among women, which must have had an echo in the criticisms of the present moment.

To do Mr Chamberlain justice, it is to some extent in order to avoid any such failures now that he has, according to his own statement, decided to deal separately with men and women. Much as has already been done, in the way of agreements in the labour world, to facilitate the substitution of women for men, no one could maintain that the conditions are such that no difference need be made in the national scheme between the sexes. They would have to be separately dealt with in many directions. Moreover (though this Mr Chamberlain did not say), it is not possible to move women here and there as easily as men can be moved. The question of their lodging and the factory provisions made for them is wholly different, and much more difficult. Again, there is the matter of wages. It would be a mistake to base the National Service proposals on certain wage arrangements which would afterwards have to be reconstructed. All those considerations arise in addition to the statement very clearly made that the unsatisfied demand of industry is at the moment more for men than for women. If more time had been available it is certain that Mr Chamberlain would have kept back the whole scheme until that part of his system which is to deal with women had been quite ready, and have launched the whole together. As it is, women may, we think, fairly remind themselves that the machinery of industry for tackling the practical questions of wages, hours of work, conditions, and so on is of longer establishment in the case of men, so that far less precaution has to be taken in setting men to work. In more leisurely circumstances time would have been taken to set the women's side, by means of committees of women, on a level with the men's side before starting the scheme. As it is, however, the need for haste has put one before the other in point of time. But that is the only differentiation.

And even that is hardly real. For instance, at the very time when these criticisms of the scheme were being made, appeals were going out for something like 30,000 women for munition factories, and it was intimated that the War Office had a new avenue opening for women's service of a striking kind. So that in a sense women's work was actually ahead of the schemes for men, which, publicly at any rate, have reached no such point. The truth is that the volunteering of women has been so admirable that they may easily yet be ahead of the men in the actual operation of the National Service scheme, instead of being behind them.

This week sees the close in one sense of a chapter of women's war service which has been extraordinarily successful. We refer to the munition makers' canteens, organised by Lady Lawrence, a portrait of whom forms our frontispiece to-day. Early in 1915, when the first great call to women for munition work in any numbers was made, when thousands of men and women were employed where only hundreds

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Norfolk News
3-2-17

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MAN AND WOMAN POWER

THE NATIONAL SERVICE CALL.

100,000 WOMEN LAND WORKERS WANTED.

We are officially informed that the Prime Minister has consented to attend and address a public meeting to be held in the Central Hall, Westminster, on Tuesday afternoon next, at 2.30. The Director-General of National Service, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, will make a statement as to his proposals, and in addition to the Prime Minister, Mr. John Hodge, M.P., Minister of Labour, will address the meeting. The chair will be taken by Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P. Tickets may be obtained by application on and after Saturday next to Mr. Arthur Peters, 1, Victoria Street, London, S.W.; Mr. F. C. Rivers, 41, Parliament Street, London; Mr. W. K. Waterson, 2, Bridge Street, London, S.W.

Many offers of individual service from women have been received by the National Service Department. The policy of the department will be to organise the National Service of Women strictly in relation to the ascertained demand, and it would greatly facilitate the work if offers of service could be held over till the plans of the Director-General are more fully developed. Arrangements to this end will be set on foot with all possible expedition, but in the meantime volunteers cannot be enrolled or drafted, and Mrs. Tennant particularly hopes no woman already occupied will leave her existing work.

A strong Government appeal is about to be made to women to help as land workers to secure the necessary food production. The terms, including free training, which will be offered to each woman, are now under the joint consideration of the President of the Board of Agriculture, the Director-General of National Service, and the Ministry of Labour. At least 100,000 land workers will be wanted. Arrangements are being made, with the assistance of County Agricultural Committees, for the proper housing of volunteers.

Mr. Prothero, President of the Board of Agriculture, addressing Kent farmers at Maidstone said the next three months would afford the one opportunity which farmers would have of adding to the food supply of the country. He appealed to them to do their best, with depleted labour and other drawbacks, to get the greatest possible food out of the land. To reinforce the Army and produce the greatest amount of food was the plain and necessary duty of farmers, and they would, by accepting the substituted labour and machinery and appliances the Government were offering, do their share in terminating the war at the earliest possible date.

We are informed by the Minister of Labour that his attention has been drawn to a statement appearing in the Press to the general effect that as the result of a conference between the Director-General of National Service and the chief officers of the Employment Exchanges Department, and of a divergence of views between them, that the position is a deadlock. The Minister of Labour desires to state explicitly that so far as the arrangements between the Director-General of National Service and his own department are concerned, complete agreement has been arrived at, and so far from there being a deadlock, instructions for carrying out the scheme agreed between the two departments are in process of issue.

Daily Sketch
5-2-17

DON'T GIVE UP YOUR JOB YET.

Hundreds of women have volunteered their services in the national cause since it became known that the sex was to be included in the great National Service scheme.

Women's work will be organised, however, strictly in relation to an ascertained demand. No woman already doing either paid or voluntary work should give it up at present, as volunteers cannot yet be enrolled or drafted.

Individual offers of service, except in connection with the clerical staff of the Women's Department, should be held over until a definite announcement of the department's intentions is made.

Liverpool Daily Post
5-2-17

LONDON, Saturday.

There can be no dissatisfaction among the reasonable of the sex over the appointment of Mrs. Harold John Tennant as Director of the Women's Department of National Service, and of Miss Violet Markham as Assistant-Director. Two more capable women would be hard to find in the length and breadth of the country, and because of their very real experience we have confidence in them. Neither is fanatic nor faddist; even Miss Markham, I believe, has modified her views against woman's suffrage since the beginning of the war, which is sensible of her, since she herself, at least, is capable of registering a vote with intelligence. The ladies and their staff are lodged at the St. Ermin's Hotel, not, as Lady Frances Balfour suggested the department doubtless would be, at the largest lunatic asylum that could be commandeered. That, however, was written before Lady Frances knew who were to be appointed, and because she felt annoyed that it had been thought necessary to establish a separate department for women. She knows what Mrs. Tennant is capable of, inasmuch as Mrs. Asquith's sister-in-law was the woman who, with her, represented women on the Divorce Law Commission of some few years ago.

An Interesting Personality.

Mrs. Tennant has been a public worker since girlhood. As Miss May Abraham, a brilliant and attractive young Irishwoman, Mr. Asquith, in his Home Secretary days, made her superintending inspector of factories, a quite new post. Three years later his youngest brother-in-law, a widower, of thirty-one, married her, and for a time she continued her work. But domestic claims soon proved stronger, although Mrs. Tennant always has contrived to get in her duties as wife, mother, mistress of several large households, and hostess, with a good deal of earnest endeavour on behalf of the poor and the oppressed. She has never forgotten the lessons learned when she was private secretary to Lady Dilke, and the formation of the Women's Trade Union League is due largely to her. Her family consists of four sons and a daughter, and it may be remembered that the eldest boy, Henry, who is twenty this year, was badly damaged in a flying accident last May, his condition for some time causing the keenest anxiety.

The Wife of Major Carruthers.

Miss Violet Markham, like Miss Mary M'Arthur, prefers to work for social progress and in war causes under her maiden name. In private life she is Mrs. James Carruthers, and her marriage with Major Carruthers, D.S.O., took place since the outbreak of war. A sister of the late Sir Arthur Markham, she has that courage of her opinions that was so characteristic of him, and few women (or men either, for the matter of that) equal her as a speaker; while she has travelled widely and written pleasing books about things seen and heard. Both Mrs. Tennant and Mrs. Carruthers hold strongly to the belief that women will never achieve great results by working against men, whereas the two in combination can perform wonders. I think we can trust the ladies of St. Ermin's to do nothing foolish.

Daily Express
7-2-17

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ALL TOGETHER.

There will be no quarrel with the statement in Mr. Neville Chamberlain's speech on National Service that "the most important thing at this juncture is to act quickly." Mr. Chamberlain's scheme is the only detailed suggestion before the country. It may, of course, be criticised, but there is no time for criticism, and there is an obvious duty to give Mr. Chamberlain full and loyal support so that the maximum result may be obtained from his plan of campaign. The nation must save itself from the misery of another war winter. More men are still wanted, and urgently wanted, in the Army. The strain of modern war can only be successfully endured by the young and vigorous. If these men are to be released from industry, others must fill their places. The Government is faced with the problem of vastly increasing output in the essential industries while there is no unemployment and the supplies of labour are depleted. Mr. Neville Chamberlain calls for volunteers. He wants to know who is ready to work for his country with the same disregard for personal advantage as was shown by the hundreds of thousands of volunteers who enlisted in the Army at the beginning of the war. This call is the great test of patriotism for the middle-aged. Their sons have thrown up good positions for a shilling a day and the chance of mutilation and death. Will they make the infinitely smaller sacrifice for which they are asked? At present the Man-Power Ministry wants to have a register of willing workers. It will be shameful not to be included on that rota. We are glad to have the repeated assurance that the organisation of woman labour is to be hurried on. The enemy's new submarine war accents the necessity for Great Britain to flood her workshops, her shipyards, her fields, and her mines with enthusiastic labour.

Mr. Arthur Henderson declares that the needs of the time will only be met when "every man and woman not in the Army and Navy is employed on some work of national importance." This desirable end would, in our opinion, be most effectively attained by compulsion. There are, however, as the Prime Minister points out, difficulties in extending conscription to civil life which it would take time to overcome, and we cannot afford to waste time. Unfortunately, it seems clear from Mr. Chamberlain's statement that his plan necessitates the creation of another army of officials. He certainly proposes to use existing machinery, but the heavy work of enrolment and sifting, and the many decisions that must be made by his commissioners and sub-commissioners, mean more bureaucracy and large additions to the present staffs. The making of "cushy" jobs in these days of labour famine is an evident evil, and we trust that Mr. Chamberlain will contrive to reduce these jobs to a minimum, and to reserve them exclusively for men who have been invalided out of the Army.

The Morning Post
7-2-17

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PRIME MINISTER ON NATIONAL SERVICE.

MR. NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN EXPLAINS HIS SCHEME.

VOLUNTARY AT FIRST.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Director-General of National Service, unfolded yesterday, at a large and representative meeting held in the Central Hall, Westminster, his scheme of National Service, which received the cordial approval and commendation of the Prime Minister. Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., presided, and among others present on the platform were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Mayor of London, the Duke of Portland, the Earl of Denbigh, Lord Elphinstone, Mr. John Hodge (Labour Minister), Mr. W. Astor, M.P., Mr. Neil Primrose, M.P., Mr. Cecil Beck, M.P., Mr. Bridgeman, M.P., Mr. Bowerman, M.P., Mr. Boyton, M.P., Mr. Burdett-Coutts, M.P., Major Sir Edward Coates, M.P., Mr. Clynes, M.P., Mr. Dickinson, M.P., Sir Arthur Du Cros, M.P., Major Raymond Greene, M.P., Mr. Gulland, M.P., Major Hamilton, M.P., Sir Charles Henry, M.P., Mr. Hewins, M.P., Lieutenant-Colonel Jessel, M.P., Mr. Herbert Lewis, M.P., Mr. Lough, M.P., Sir Philip Magnus, M.P., Mr. O'Grady, M.P., Mr. Pratt, M.P., Mr. Richardson, M.P., Mr. G. H. Roberts, M.P., Mr. James Rowlands, M.P., Sir Harry Samuel, M.P., Sir Albert Spicer, M.P., Mr. E. A. Strauss, M.P., Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., Mr. W. Thorne, M.P., Mr. Wardle, M.P., Mr. Wilkie, M.P., Sir George Younger, M.P., Sir John Boraston, the Mayors of the Metropolitan Boroughs, Brighton, and Hove, Sir Cecil Brett, the Rev. Canon Carnegie, Sir Howard Frank; Mr. D. C. McGrath and Mr. A. Ozanne (members of the Australian Federal Parliament), Lieutenant-Colonel D. J. Reid (Agent-General for Ontario), Sir R. A. Robinson, Mr. Robert Smillie (President of the Miners' Union), Mr. C. J. Stewart (Public Trustee), Judge Tobin, Sir Joseph Ward, Sir J. Prescott Hewett, and Mr. W. A. Appleton.

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.

Mr. Henderson, in opening the proceedings, said this was no ordinary public meeting. It was a great gathering of citizens seriously interested in the successful prosecution of the war, including leading representatives of associations of employers and workpeople. They had come together to take part in the inauguration of what he hoped would prove to be a successful scheme for securing universal National Service. The case for National Service had been strong throughout the whole period of the war. That case had been strengthened and its urgency had been intensified by the latest display of Hun frightfulness and brutal military despotism. (Cheers.) We needed to make a swift answer to Germany's latest outrage. (Cheers.) It was therefore of essential importance that the country should at once realise that an increased number of men must be made immediately available for the Navy and Army, and women as well as men for other work of national importance. We required to organise our whole working population irrespective of class or sex—(cheers)—so as to secure that the requisite and proper supplies were made available for those services. The extent to which final success in this great war depended on the speedy and efficient mobilisation of all our resources could not be overestimated. The problem of organising our labour supplies was difficult and complicated, and could only be solved and solved in time by the whole nation giving to Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the Director-General of National Service, its wholehearted co-operation and support. (Cheers.) There were those who considered that the problem of the labour supply could be dealt with by releasing men from the Colours. So far as this applied to men of the highest skill and training this might be the case. The Government agreed that the skill of the workmen must be used either in the Navy or Army or in the workshops in the best interests of the nation as a whole. With this reservation he could not urge too strongly that the chief importance of the problem was that our armies in the field should be maintained and increased, and that for this purpose the necessary drafts, properly trained and equipped, should be supplied with unfailing regularity. We must also increase the output of munitions. Furthermore, we must expedite the construction of ships required by the Navy for dealing with the submarine menace, and also of ships for the Mercantile Marine to replace those sunk by the enemy. Lastly, and not least important, agriculture must be so organised that the production of home-grown food should be considerably increased. (Cheers.) The organisation of our sources of labour supply would be satisfactory only when every man not in the Navy or Army and every women physically fit and available was employed in work of national importance. This was the work which the Government had entrusted to Mr. Neville Chamberlain, who, with splendid chivalry and patriotism, had entered on the execution of his difficult and thankless task. (Cheers.)

DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL SERVICE.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain, who was received with cheers, said: The recent action of Germany has been [illegible] and I think rightly interpreted as a

As for the doctors, I have been in touch with the General Medical Council, and although my plans are not yet completed, I hope it will be possible to arrange something with them on analogous lines. We have to see that the doctors are so mobilised that the needs of both the civilian and the military population may be met, and that specialists can do the work for which they have taken pains to qualify themselves. With these exceptions, I am going to appeal to the general male population between eighteen and sixty-one. I am glad to say that in this great national work Ireland will have the opportunity of taking her full share with the rest of the country. (Cheers.) If I have been obliged to postpone for a little while my invitation to Irishmen it is only because the circumstances of Ireland make some modifications necessary, and I have not yet had time to complete the drafts. There will be many men among our volunteers already engaged in work of national importance, and I want to make it clear that our only reason for wanting them to enrol is because we may want them to do the same or similar work in different parts of the country. It would be disastrous if men engaged in agriculture, mines, or munitions were to leave their work without instructions, and if anybody were to do so in the hope of bettering his conditions I take this opportunity of warning him he is doing his country an injury, and he may very likely find he has exchanged the bone for the shadow. We are going to ask our national volunteers to make sacrifices, not to better themselves; and although the conditions will be found fair, and even liberal, they are not intended, and they are not needed, to act as a bribe to men to do their duty.

War Munition and National Service Volunteers.

I should like to say a word on the position of the war munition volunteers. We do not intend to touch them. They will not be disturbed. If there are any not so enrolled who are entitled to do so, they will be given the opportunity of enrolling as war munition volunteers instead of as national volunteers if they so desire. Before I come to the conditions of service I want to give you a short description of the organisation we propose to employ for the enrolment and for controlling the distribution of labour when it is enrolled. It would be entirely contrary to the spirit of National Service to go and duplicate labour or to set up new machinery to do what there was already machinery in existence to do, and accordingly we propose to utilise to the utmost, first, the local authorities, secondly, the Employment Exchanges under the Minister of Labour, and we are going to supplement these where necessary by our own offices. The first thing to do is to start a great publicity and recruiting campaign, and for this we hope to have the assistance of the Press, which is always ready to help in any great patriotic movement, and which has done so much to help the wonderful success of the new War Loan. Then we are going to bring in the local authorities. It would be absolutely impossible to organise so vast an operation as this from one centre. I do not think it is always realised in London how great is the power and influence that the local authorities can wield. We are going, through the good offices of Lord Rhondda and the Local Government Boards of Scotland and Ireland, to appeal to the local authorities, who helped so much in the earlier stages of recruiting for the Army, to come to our assistance and set up local recruiting committees, which, by meetings and canvassing, will leave no stone unturned to make this thing a success. For the purposes of enrolment we are going to make use of the staff of the Employment Exchanges, which have a unique experience in the classifying of labour according to trades. They will form the nucleus of our organisation for sorting our volunteers. They also will supply the machinery for ascertaining the demands for labour and allotting it where it is most required. All this will have to be regulated from headquarters. National volunteers will only be allotted to firms or industries designated by my Department in consultation with other Departments, and the local officers of the exchanges will have precise instructions as to what classes of labour they can place without reference to headquarters, and what must be referred to the national clearing house.

General Principles.

There are, however, two general principles which we shall bear in mind. One is that volunteers should be allotted to that particular occupation for which their past history best fits them, and the other is that men shall not be brought into a district to do work for which there are already men in the district equally capable. In addition to the local authorities and the employment exchanges there will be our own National Service Commissioners and sub-Commissioners. There will be two sets of these—for agriculture and industry. Their districts, which will not necessarily coincide, will be so arranged that they are all in divisions or sub-divisions into which the country has been mapped for employment exchanges. The sub-Commissioners will be appointed by the Commissioners in every important centre in their district. Their duties will be to keep the National Service Department fully informed about everything which it ought to know concerning the demand, supply, and distribution of labour in the district, and they will also act as referees or arbitrators on questions which may arise as to terms of service, being assisted in any dispute by assessors representative of employers and employed. The first thing a volunteer has to do is to obtain a form from any post-office or from any recruiting committee. He will fill in the necessary particulars, and will be asked to specify the occupation for which he considers himself to be specially qualified. On one side there will be a list of occupations for which men are particularly wanted at the time, and on the back there will be the terms and conditions of service. If the volunteer is satisfied with these he will sign the form and post it. He need not put a stamp on it, and it will be delivered to me in London. In London the forms will be classified according to the districts, and will be sent down to the exchanges in the districts, to be sorted there again according to occupations. If the volunteer is already engaged in work of national importance nothing further will be done with him unless it is desired to move him. But if he is engaged in any other occupation he will be summoned to appear in order that a trained staff may check his own statement as to what he is able to do.

All Sorts and Conditions of Men.

But this examination will not necessarily take place at the exchange building. We shall have to deal with all sorts and conditions of men. Some of them are not accustomed to go to Labour Exchanges. They might even lose their way in trying to find them. (Laughter.) Therefore we are going to give them the [illegible] public buildings. After

therefore, provided that if our volunteer, after having been called up to serve, is thrown out of work temporarily, he may apply to our Special Commissioner, who, if he is satisfied of the justice of his claim, shall pay him 3s. 6d. a day, including Sundays, for a period not exceeding four weeks. That ought to be sufficient to tide him over the period of unemployment, but we shall make every effort to find him work as soon as possible. We shall make it a condition with employers that they shall give us at least one week's notice before they dismiss a man in order that we may look round and find him another job.

Rationing Industries.

I think I have finished outlining the principal points of my scheme, but the question arises. Where are these volunteers to come from? Practically, to-day there are no men unemployed, and therefore the problem of organising the nation for war resolves itself into the transference of labour from non-essential to essential trades. That process will, of course, be automatically brought about as we call up these volunteers, but I think it may be possible to hasten it by certain methods of persuasion. It has been suggested that the trades of the country should be scheduled, separating the essential from the non-essential. A good deal of my correspondence consists of letters from people who write to assure me that their particular trade is one upon which the existence of the country depends. (Laughter.) It might seem simple to pick out certain trades and say that they shall be shut down, but it is not so simple as it seems. Any sudden destruction of capital is bound to disturb credit, and the probability is that it would injure a very much wider circle of trade than we should desire to touch. Even those trades which seem most non-essential are frequently concerned with exports. They serve to pile up those foreign credits which enable us to pay for the munitions, the food, and other things we import, and, moreover, we must not lose sight of the fact that after the war we shall want to build up our industries as soon as possible in order to recover from its effects, and that would not be possible if there were no nucleus of the old trades left. We have no intention of suppressing any trade if we can help it. But when there are not enough materials or not enough labour to go all round, then I think it is necessary to ration labour and materials and see that as much as possible is given to essential trades. I have had for some time a section of my Department working at this problem, and they are about to make recommendations to me as to the best methods of working out that process of rationing. I do not intend to-day to give you any indication of the lines on which we intend to proceed, but I do think it desirable to warn those people engaged in the less essential occupations that they must in the very near future expect some restriction upon their industry, because I think that they themselves can do a great deal to make things easier for themselves if they will try to organise their trades as a whole. There are many trades in which a pooling of resources, machinery, plant, and labour will not only set free for us a number of substitutes for to-day, but will put these trades in a better position to maintain their prosperity after the war than they were before. I am relying on the Prime Minister's eloquence to drive home to you the necessity of making this scheme an overwhelming success. Let nobody suppose that because Count Bernstorff has been given his passports there is nothing for us to do. Germany means to starve us out before she is starved herself. There is only one answer this country can make to a threat of that kind, and that is a blow straight between the eyes—(cheers)—which will beat her down and bring her to her senses. National Service can deliver that blow. It is for the country to see that it is dealt. (Loud cheers.)

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S SPEECH.

The Prime Minister, who rose amid hearty cheers, said: The statement which we have just listened to, given with such admirable lucidity—may I say with hereditary lucidity—(cheers)—renders my task very easy. The scheme of national service is before you. All I have to do is to enforce the appeal just made on its behalf. I am very glad that Mr. Neville Chamberlain's appeal has been placed before not merely such a large but such a representative gathering. The mere fact that the men and women before me have come from their avocations, and many of them from great distances, in order to attend this inaugural meeting is an admirable omen for the success of the appeal. (Hear, hear.) There can be no doubt about the need for it. We have millions of men serving in the Army abroad, all taken from work of some kind, and while the supply of labour in this country is less the need for it is greater. (Hear, hear.) The nation wants more food raised at home because of the difficulty of getting it from abroad. It wants more raw material, because of the great demand for the purposes of armaments and munitions, and it requires more skilled labour in order to convert materials into the equipments of war. What better argument can there be of the overwhelming need of something in the nature of national organisation in order to make the best of the labour which is available?

Britain's Share in the Fight.

It might be said, Why did you send so many men to the Army? It was essential. (Hear, hear.) But we have sent fewer men to the Navy and Army in proportion to population than any of the Great Powers of the West. France has drafted something like a sixth of her population to the Army. (Cheers.) The last child in the family has been summoned. The blood of her *bluets* is crimsoning the field of sacrifice. When we talk about our sacrifices let us look across the flood and see what France is doing. In proportion to population our contribution is not comparable to that of the Great Powers of the West, either friend or foe. It is not that we are shirking our contribution; it is that we are making a larger contribution in other respects. (Hear, hear.) Our Navy is keeping the seas—(cheers)—not merely for ourselves—not merely for our Allies—it is keeping the seas free for the commerce of all flags. (Cheers.) That is an enormous strain on our man-power. It is not merely the number of sailors and fighting men in the field. It is that you also require a considerable number of men to keep your Navy going—to build, to repair, [illegible] to make greater

and France, and now the latest development, the sinking of harmless merchant ships with their sailors plying a peaceful trade. What makes the German action dangerous is this: it is organised savagery. It is taught in their schools and inculcated by their philosophers. It is studied savagery. (Hear, hear.) The most dangerous form of barbarism that we have ever been up against. (Hear, hear.) Education, the instrument of civilisation, has been perverted to become the agent of savagery, and unless the Allies put an end in this war to the possibility of the triumph of such a system we shall be back in the barbarism of twenty centuries ago. (Hear, hear.) Is it not a case in which every man and every woman in a civilised country like ours should put forth the whole of their strength and array themselves in the army of civilisation? (Cheers.) That is the appeal which Mr. Neville Chamberlain is making to you to-day. I am not going to dwell any more on that phase of the question, and I have only done it to show you the importance of the nation's giving an answer now to the threat of Germany. (Cheers.) She threatens the sinking of every merchantman and passenger ship at sight and the drowning of our sailors—the gallant messengers of plenty in this land. What is our duty? It is to build ships, to protect them. (Cheers.) It is to develop the resources of this country in food, raw material, and men so as to demonstrate to Germany the futility of murder on the high seas. It is the only thing she understands, and we can do it. (Cheers.) You must organise civilisation to meet an organised barbarism. (Cheers.)

Many Ways of Helping.

There are many ways of helping the country. Some men are fighting; some are helping us on the seas; some are helping in the great munition factories; some are building ships; some are producing food on the land. Look at the list of what is required! See what you can do! I will give you an illustration of what is wanted. We are short of iron ore. I need not tell you how important it is not only in the conduct of the war but in providing ships to carry raw material and food that we have mines in this country. If only we could get more labour we should turn out an extra 140,000 or 150,000 tons of iron ore. Then a great deal of building work has to be done. We want labour for that, and we want labour for the land. We are short of labour also to load and unload ships, and in some cases wagons. Let each man do what he can. If each does what he can in his sphere we can help the country greatly. It is useless to say, "I am prepared to do this, and I will do nothing else." That does not help the country. Place your services frankly at the disposal of the State.

No Right to be Mere Onlookers.

I think the country is entitled to that. No man or woman has a right to look on while others are struggling for what is equally important to them. (Cheers.) Every man and woman should do what lies in their power to help. The mere exhibition of readiness will help. If we have in this country a great demonstration of eagerness by every man and woman to place their services at the disposal of the State you can have no idea of what the moral effect will be throughout the world. (Hear, hear.) It tells even in war. Don't let our patriotism be less than that of the Germans. (Cheers.) In Germany they made an appeal for workers, and plenty of volunteers placed their services at the disposal of the State. Are Britons less patriotic than Germans? (Cries of "No.") Do they love their country less or is it a country less worthy of love? ("No.") It is a great country. It is a country with a good many national advantages. That it is an island is not a matter to be despised. If you read what happens in Belgium and the German-occupied territories of France and Russia you will realise that we have a good deal to be thankful for in the fact that there is a fine old moat round this castle. (Laughter and cheers.) Don't take advantage of that to do nothing. (Hear, hear.) Work all the harder out of gratitude that you have got it. Work all the harder to preserve it. The Germans are trying to bridge it. They are trying to make it impossible for you to use it. Defend your island and the moat which surrounds it. (Cheers.) It is a rich island—rich in its soil, rich in the deposits under the soil, rich in its people, rich in its past, rich in its present, and God knows what riches it may have in the future. That depends on its people to-day. (Hear, hear.) It is a great land. It has a great past. The struggles of its peoples for freedom have nurtured in it traditions of liberty, ennobled its institutions, and dignified its people. It is an inheritance worthy to fight for. (Cheers.) No man or woman who shares that inheritance has a right to pass its defence on to his neighbour or his neighbour's son. (Hear, hear.) He should stand for it himself just as much as they. It is his just as much as theirs. When this struggle is over we can each feel that not merely have we held Britain immune from the greatest terror that ever menaced liberty, but that this land stood foremost among the nations of the earth to organise the defence of the flag of civilisation. (Loud cheers.)

THE LABOUR MINISTER.

Mr. Hodge, M.P., said it was a big task for a little popgun, such as he, to follow a —. (Cheers and laughter.) As they appreciated his point he would not finish the sentence. (Laughter.) With regard to what Mr. Chamberlain had said about the difficulty of getting employment through the Labour Exchanges if he survived the vicissitudes of Parliamentary life long enough that would be remedied, and he had already indicated to the Prime Minister that he would want his aid to fight the Treasury. (Laughter and cheers.) The failure was not altogether the fault of the Exchanges and their staffs—a good number of his Trade Union friends who had been biassed and prejudiced against the Exchanges were to blame, and many of the employers of labour, some of whom were present in the hall, were likewise sinful. (Laughter.) During the whole history of the Exchanges neither the Presidents nor the Parliamentary Secretaries of the Board of Trade had ever entered the offices. How, then, could it be a matter of wonder that there was lack of enthusiasm on the part of the staffs? It was like putting them in a refrigerating chamber. (Laughter.) He had been there himself—(laughter)—finding out the conditions. They must all be filled with boundless enthusiasm and sympathy getting ready for the lads when they came back. (Cheers.) Everything that could be done to make Mr. Chamberlain's scheme a success would be done, because it was in the national interest and for the reason that they were looking ahead, not content with the present, but desirous that when this great catastrophe came to an end we might begin the building up process. In the meantime everyone had his duty to perform. A [illegible] would be a great

organised that the production of home-grown food should be considerably increased. (Cheers.) The organisation of our sources of labour supply would be satisfactory only when every man not in the Navy or Army and every women physically fit and available was employed in work of national importance. This was the work which the Government had entrusted to Mr. Neville Chamberlain, who, with splendid chivalry and patriotism, had entered on the execution of his difficult and thankless task. (Cheers.)

DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL SERVICE.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain, who was received with cheers, said: The recent action of Germany has been very generally, and I think rightly, interpreted as a sign that she finds herself in a desperate situation. But do not let us make any mistake. We can weaken our enemy by our blockade, we can batter his trenches to pieces with our guns, we cannot drive him back into his own territory except by the strong arms of our soldiers; and if we are to secure victory and to save ourselves the misery of another war winter it is necessary that we should supply our Army with those drafts of young and physically-fit men who alone can stand the terrific strain of modern trench warfare. These young men are only to be found in considerable numbers in industries and occupations which are essential to the life of the nation; and whether they are taken from munitions, from mines, from shipbuilding, or from Whitehall—(laughter and hear, hear)—I only wish there were more in Whitehall, because they are the easiest to get—wherever they come from, we must not allow those industries to languish. We have got to find substitutes for those who go to the war, and we have got to find them quickly. Substitutes exist, both men and women, but they are either unoccupied, or occupied in industries less essential, less vital to the nation than those I have mentioned. It is for these substitutes that I am going to appeal. It would be impossible to construct a scheme of enrolment which could not be criticised, but to any who feel disposed to criticise I want to say two words. The most important thing at this juncture is to act quickly. We cannot afford to wait; we must have the volunteers at once. The task of preparing this scheme has been entrusted by the Prime Minister, not to the public, not even to the Press—(laughter)—but to me. (Cheers.) I have undertaken the task not joyfully, but as I would have answered any call to National Service, in the spirit which exists universally throughout this country, the very spirit to which I want to appeal. There will be many who will think they could have made a better scheme, though I am bound to say I have not yet found anybody who wants to change places with me. (Laughter.) This I want to say to my critics. This is the scheme; there is no other. Let us not waste time in criticism; let us resolve to make it work, and it will work. (Cheers.)

Drink and Women.

I have noticed that there are two subjects over which almost every public man in the course of his career gets into trouble, whether he touches them or whether he tries to leave them alone. One is drink—(laughter)—and the other is women. (Loud laughter.) When I was Lord Mayor of Birmingham I got into trouble about drink, and I had hardly been above a few weeks in my present position than I found myself up against the eternal feminine, being hotly criticised because it was supposed that I wanted to exclude women. I have made it clear now that was a misunderstanding. The Prime Minister will bear me out when I say there never was any intention of excluding women. I need not tell employers of labour or Trade Unionists that the substitution of women for men is a very difficult and delicate operation. Workshop arrangements have to be altered, housing arrangements have to be made, agreements have to be come to between masters and men about rates of wages. All these things take time. It is clear that if we had attempted to enrol women on the same terms as men we should have caused great irritation and great annoyance, because we should not have been able to place many of them who came forward. We have to investigate the demand in some cases, we may have to create it in others. When we make our appeal we shall do so with the certainty that the women will be employed when the demand comes. I have appointed two extremely capable and experienced women to take charge of this department—Mrs. Tennant and Miss Markham. (Cheers.) They do not intend to disregard any organisations which have done valuable service in the past. On the contrary, they will seek the aid of those who can give it, and if we are not able to find employment at once for the millions of women burning to offer their patriotic services, I hope they will exercise a little patience and realise that their work will be all the more valuable because it is organised in advance.

Clergymen and Doctors.

If I may return to the interior sex, there are two classes who seem to stand apart in this matter of National Service because their services are required in another direction—doctors and ministers of religion. So far as ministers of the Church of England are concerned I have been in communication with the Archbishops on this subject, and we have formulated plans which I hope will enable many of the clergy to give effect to what we know to be their desire, and give National Service other than that in their parishes. Others, again, will be put to do work, perhaps of a special character, in different parts of the country. [illegible] work of national importance nothing further will be done with him unless it is desired to move him. But if he is engaged in any other occupation he will be summoned to appear in order that a trained staff may check his own statement as to what he is able to do.

All Sorts and Conditions of Men.

But this examination will not necessarily take place at the exchange building. We shall have to deal with all sorts and conditions of men. Some of them are not accustomed to go to Labour Exchanges. They might even lose their way in trying to find them. (Laughter.) Therefore we are going to give them the alternative of some well-known public building. After he is examined the volunteer may go back to his employment, and until he is called up he can continue to work at that employment with an easy mind, feeling that he is doing National Service, but as soon as a suitable vacancy occurs he will receive a notice calling upon him within seven days to present himself at his new place of employment. That will be accompanied by a railway warrant and by a form on which he can make a claim for subsistence allowance. I do not want it to be supposed that this allowance is to go to him automatically. A man who is exchanging from lodgings in one town to lodgings in another clearly has no claim. If, on the other hand, he is called on at our request to leave his wife and family to go somewhere else, and does not get extra wages to cover the extra cost, he is entitled to claim subsistence allowance which may go up to 2s. 6d. a day. But that allowance is not intended—I want this to be clearly understood—to enable a man to make a profit. (Laughter.) There is one danger we particularly wish to avoid—the danger of taking a man away from work of national importance upon which he may be already engaged. The workman very often does not know himself whether he is doing work of national importance or not. That information is frequently only in the hands of the employer, so, at the same time that we call up a man, we are going to send notice to the employer, and it will be open to him to make an appeal that the man should not be taken from him on one ground only—that the man is already doing work of national importance. This appeal will be sent to the Special Commissioner, and his decision will be final. We hope in that way that these appeals will be very quickly dealt with, and that the right of appeal will not interfere with or clog our machinery.

Wages.

Now I come to the rate of wages. In the case of a war munitions volunteer he gets either his old rate or the rate of the job to which he goes, whichever is the higher. But he is in a different position to the national volunteer. The war munitions volunteer does not change his trade, and any difference in rate is merely the difference between two districts for the same trade. Our national volunteer is going to change his trade. You might easily have, working side by side, a shopkeeper, a labourer, a gardener, and a barrister. It would be quite impossible that they should all have their old rates of pay. (Laughter.) There is in fact only one rate they can accept, and that is the rate of the job they go to. It may be higher, or it may be lower, than the one to which they are accustomed. They must just take their luck, as the soldier takes his luck and as he takes his pay and the dangers of whatever army he may be present with. But there is one reservation I have to make. There are certain rates of pay which are so low that they would not enable a stranger to live upon them, and we feel that there are limits to the amount of sacrifice that we can ask our volunteers to make. We have therefore decided that we must fix a minimum wage. (Cheers.) After very careful consideration we have put that minimum at 25s. a week, being the standard week of the district and the trade. Now I imagine that 25s. a week is lower than the rate which would be current in practically every industry except agriculture, and as for agriculture the wages of the agricultural labourer have already risen considerably during the war, and if in the future land is to be cultivated more freely than in the past it is obvious that the rate of remuneration must be sufficient to retain the labourer on the land. (Hear, hear.) While I am on the subject of agriculture I should just like to say one word to the farmers. The farmers have had rather a rough time of late. To some of them it has seemed that they were being harried almost beyond endurance. I hope I am not going to harry them any more. There is very little doubt that I shall be able to give them very considerable help as soon as I can get my volunteers. In the meantime I will give them two assurances—and I hope they will have better luck with them than with some other assurances. (Laughter.)

Assurances to Farmers.

First, we will not knowingly take away people engaged on the land and send them to other industries. Secondly, we will not even move them from one place to another without the assent of the President of the Board of Agriculture or his local agricultural representative. Now I come to a subject which has given me a good deal of trouble. What is to be the position of a volunteer we have taken away from his old employment and sent to another one, who has finished his job there, and is temporarily thrown out of work, because for the moment there is no work available for him? I do not anticipate that there will be many such cases, but we must face the possibility that they will arise, and it is just as well to fix beforehand what is the course you are going to pursue. This will not be a case of ordinary unemployment. I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that if he is unable to go back to his old employment and is thrown out of his new work we have some responsibility towards that man. We cannot let him starve. We must tide him over the period of unemployment, although we shall try to make that period as short as possible. We have, [illegible] to population our contribution is not comparable to that of the Great Powers of the West, either friend or foe. It is not that we are shirking our contribution; it is that we are making a larger contribution in other respects. (Hear, hear.) Our Navy is keeping the seas—(cheers)—not merely for ourselves—not merely for our Allies—it is keeping the seas free for the commerce of all flags. (Cheers.) That is an enormous strain on our man-power. It is not merely the number of sailors and fighting men in the field. It is that you also require a considerable number of men to keep your Navy going—to build, to repair, and to supply. We have also got to make greater financial contributions than any other country. (Cheers.) We have to supply our Allies very largely with coal and with steel, and therefore, when I say that the number of men that we contribute to the fighting forces is not comparable to that of France or Italy, it merely means that our man-power is distributed in a different way, but a way that is equally essential to the success of the Allies. (Cheers.) Still, millions of our best men are arrayed in the fighting forces on land and sea, and the result is that we have somehow or another to fill up the gap in labour.

Why the Appeal is Voluntary.

We are starting by making a voluntary appeal. Why is it voluntary? (Hear, hear.) I am glad to hear that there is at least one gentleman who does not think my speech irrelevant. (Laughter.) Why is our appeal voluntary? The first reason is that if you can succeed by voluntary means, it is preferable every way. (Hear, hear.) You get the men who are ready to go. Presumably you are more likely to get the men who can be most easily spared, and a voluntary arrangement avoids the setting up of much complicated machinery which takes time and absorbs labour, energy, and brains. (Hear, hear.) If you can get the people to do your work voluntarily, the system works with less friction and more spirit, and for that reason we decided that it was better to begin with a voluntary system. I am glad that we began recruiting for our Army in that way. It was one of the most magnificent displays in the history of the world. (Cheers.) Millions came forward. No other country under the sun ever produced such a volunteer Army, and we never left the voluntary system until it ran dry. I will give you another reason. At the commencement of its career the present Government gave a pledge to the Labour Party that we would make an effort to secure the necessary labour recruits by voluntary means, and I say that the goodwill and co-operation of the great Labour organisations of this country is in itself a military asset. (Hear, hear.) If we can get the recruits we want—and I am very sanguine in that respect—the advantages of a voluntary start will undoubtedly outweigh the disadvantages. (Hear, hear.)

Compulsion in the Background.

Should we fail in our voluntary appeal, then the nation must save itself. We must resort to compulsion. (Hear, hear.) The community is entitled to the utmost help and the best help of every member who partakes of its life. The body is entitled to the protection of the right arm. (Cheers.) It is essential to the welfare of the whole that each member should make his contribution for the defence of the rest. The community is entitled to the best that each member can give—not as a favour, not as a privilege, but as a duty and a right. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, if we failed to secure the necessary supply of labour by voluntary means the Government would be guilty of the grossest dereliction of duty if they did not resort to what after all is the act of all in a democratic country—legislation for the purpose of securing the best that each man can contribute in order to save the country and civilisation from complete disaster. (Cheers.) The task would not be long. The organisation which Mr. Chamberlain is building up would be the essential part of any scheme for the purpose of national organisation even under compulsory conditions. I think that the Government are entitled at the present juncture to ask every class—men and women—to contribute of their resources for the help of the State. The nation is fighting for its life and for the life of civilisation. (Cheers.) That has been said so often that I am afraid we are beginning to regard it as a controversial platitude. It is not—it is a tragic reality. The Chairman referred to the developments of the last few days. You have only to dwell on them in order to realise the character of the struggle in which we are engaged. It is nothing new. It is a development—it is a set policy on the part of Germany, deliberated on, planned out, taught years before the war, planted in the heart of every man and woman in the community. That is the real meaning of the submarine campaign and its latest development. It may be said that war itself is barbaric. So it is, and that is why I hope that at the end of this struggle you will have the conviction driven into the hearts of every man that some means must be established by which war shall be a thing of the dark past. (Cheers.)

Germany's Removal of Humanising Barriers.

War is barbaric, but if you will read the history of past conflicts you will find that Christian civilisation was leaving deeper and deeper traces upon war and the methods of waging it, the treatment of the wounded, the treatment of prisoners, and the treatment of civilian populations. But what has Germany done? Germany is removing, one after another, all the barriers set up by civilisation for humanising war. (Hear, hear.) There is the German treatment of our prisoners and of the civilian populations of Belgium [illegible] the Board of Trade had ever entered the [illegible] then, could it be a matter of wonder that there was lack of enthusiasm on the part of the staffs? It was like putting them in a refrigerating chamber. (Laughter.) He had been there himself—(laughter)—finding out the conditions. They must all be filled with boundless enthusiasm and sympathy getting ready for the lads when they came back. (Cheers.) Everything that could be done to make Mr. Chamberlain's scheme a success would be done, because it was in the national interest and for the reason that they were looking ahead, not content with the present, but desirous that when this great catastrophe came to an end we might begin the building up process. In the meantime everyone had his duty to perform. A premature or inconclusive peace would be a greater disaster than the war itself. We had to fight this out to a finish. (Cheers.) The Prime Minister had omitted to mention one of the super-cruelties threatened by the Germans—the threat that they were going to sink hospital ships. Could there be anything more damnable than that? (Cheers.) This of itself ought to enthuse them with the determination to make Mr. Chamberlain's scheme a mighty weapon for success. (Cheers.)

On the proposition of the Archbishop of Canterbury, supported by the Lord Mayor, a cordial vote of thanks to the Chairman was carried by acclamation, and the meeting concluded with the singing of the National Anthem and cheers for the Prime Minister.

Railway Review
9-2-17

THE ORGANISATION OF WOMEN'S WORK.

February 3rd, 1917.

SIR,—The organisation of women is one of the most pressing problems of the day, more especially in connection with the cultivation of the soil. It is well known that the employment of women has been eminently successful, but they have drifted into their occupations largely haphazard, certainly not by any organised system. They were, after a determined stand, included in the National Register of 1915, but, much to their disappointment, their part of the register was never utilised. The sole object of this register was to organise the resources of the country for war, indeed to organise our fighting forces and our industries simultaneously, the latter being, as is abundantly proved, quite as important in securing victory as the former, and absolutely necessary for supplying the money to carry on the war.

The great need of to-day is to organise to the full the services that can be rendered by the women of the country, who have already proved themselves to be so thoroughly capable in many directions.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain has undertaken a colossal task. It is only those who have had experience of organisation on an extensive scale who can understand what it means. I would like to suggest that Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the President of the Board of Agriculture, and the President of the Local Government Board, work in close co-operation.

The great success of the national Register, which was the result of carefully thought out details and definite instructions being given to the 2,000 municipalities, enabled 27 million forms to be dealt with in a remarkably short space of time, the work being done by the staffs of the municipal authorities, assisted by a large army of voluntary workers. Unfortunately, the information supplied by the National Register was not used as it ought to have been, and the women's part of the register was not used at all, although they were expecting to be called upon and were ready to do their part.

This is simply a statement of fact which I refrain from criticising under present circumstances. As an experienced organiser, I consider the proposal that cards should be sent to the Department in London offering help will only lose time and not succeed, but if instructions were given by the Local Government Board to the 2,000 municipalities to utilise the details of the National Register, especially as regards ascertaining the number of women available for work on the land or any other pressing work, I am of opinion that the necessary information would be got in a very short time. As I have already said, the urgency for immediate work on the land is great, and I consider this the only way to deal promptly with the situation. The housing difficulty might be met by billeting on satisfactory terms or any other method that has been resorted to in connection with his Majesty's forces. I feel confident that when the women of the country fully realise the necessity and are told what to do patriotism and esprit de corps will do the rest.—Yours, etc.,

CHARLES W. MACARA.

33, York Street, Manchester.

Reading Observer
10. 2. 17.

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WOMEN'S WORK.

Mr. Cecil Harmsworth, M.P., Chairman of the Interdepartmental Committee on Women's War Work, speaking at Leeds on January 25th, said that women from the beginning had been more anxious to give their services than employers, or the State, had been to accept them. In a very great many districts the number of women offering their serveces at the present time was greatly in excess of any ascertained demand, and u much larger numbers were required he believed they would be forthcoming without undue pressure from the Government or public opinion. It is precisely because of this fact that the national service of women should be properly organised. The Director of National Service expects to be in a position to give details of his scheme for women volunteers in the course of this week, but the women's problem is complicated by the recruiting activities of other departments. On January 29th the Ministry of Munitions made an urgent appeal for 8,000 women for shell-filling factories, and on the following day it appealed for a further 20,000. The Board of Agriculture, on the other hand, decided to ask Mr. Chamberlain in future to supply them with women workers for the land, although in the past the Board has recruited and trained their own labour. Meanwhile there have been sundry rumours in the Press, now confirmed by Mr. Neville Chamberlain himself, that the War Office has a definite scheme of its own for the use of woman-power in the civilian posts with the Army abroad. The principle of such a proposal would be welcomed by women as enabling them to take an even fuller share in the sustained effort of the country, but its success would depend upon how the scheme was initiated and carried out, and in whose hands its organisation lay. The German Auxiliary Service Law is being administered by the War Bureau of the Prussian Ministry of War, aided by expert civilian advisers, both men and women, the latter being chosen from among the chief feminist leaders in the country. Unless similar measures are taken in this country any scheme for the organisation of women's national service is foredoomed to failure. More especially with regard to the rumoured War Office scheme, it is probable that the desire of women to work with and for the Army will be so great that the utmost care must be taken in recruiting, if the other needful occupations of women are not seriously to be dislocated. There is a widespread feeling that the whole work of recruiting, controlling, and organising women for national service, whether with the Army or at home, should be in the hands of women, and to this end a committee of picked women should be formed without delay to work under Mr. Neville Chamberlain. This Committee should consist of women who have proved themselves by service during the war, as well as some of the tested women officials already in Government service, and it should have the power to recommend for appointment all women officers needed at the outset for the scheme, including the staff of women inspectors who will be absolutely essential if the employment of women is to be on any large scale. The suggested women's committee might well advise as to the details of employment of the women needed for non-combatant work with the Army, as well as at home, such as terms of contract, health insurance, pay, grading, housing, uniform, etc. The more one considers every phase of the employment of large numbers of women, the more important is seems that the whole question should be handled by women, who understand its complexities more clearly than men can possibly do, and who would be able to bring their knowledge and experience to bear on the problems involved. What is absolutely essential is that a committee of women should be formed and a scheme of employment initiated by them, before any more public appeals are made to enlist women. The failure made by men in the past has been to enlist large numbers of eager women for "war-work" and then to discover that they were unable to place them. Much disappointement and irritation naturally ensued. We do not believe that this blunder would have been made had the organisation of women been placed in the hands of qualified members of their own sex, and the Director of National Service is to be congratulated on his stated intention to set up committees of representative women to deal with the many sides of the labour problem. On these committees, Mr. Chamberlain has stated, every women's society which has authority to speak for women will be represented.

The recommendations of the Speaker's Conference on Electoral Reform are now said to be in the hands of the Prime Minister. They include a number of drastic proposals for revising the register, abolishing plural voting and reducing the qualifying period for a vote to six months. It seems that the Committee approved of the prin-

Daily Mail 682
12. 2. 16.

WOMEN LEADERS OF WOMEN.

SOME NOTABLE ORGANISERS.

The plans of Mrs. H. J. Tennant, director of the Woman's Department of National Service, include co-operation with half a dozen able women already holding responsible Government positions. These women are discoveries of the war. They include:

MISS TALBOT, head of the Woman's Department at the Board of Agriculture. Now working 12 hours a day to help women to get on the land through the women's agricultural committees and to satisfy the up-to-date farmers who know how to make use of women's labour. She has travelled all over the country inspecting model schemes.

MISS DURHAM, Central Bureau of the Board of Trade. Has the organisation and classification of all women who apply for war work, and has a great reputation among employers for sending the right women for the particular work.

MISS A. GARDNER, Divisional Offices, Board of Trade. A very experienced organiser. Holds the strings of the women's departments in Employment Exchanges in London and all over the country.

MRS. CRAWFORD. After very successful organisation at the Ministry of Munitions has already been secured to help in the organisation of Women's National Service.

MISS BARKER, Woolwich Arsenal. She knows the whims and fancies, requirements and ability, of every type of woman who ever offered herself for work in a munition factory.

VOLUNTARY WORKERS.

Mrs. Tennant can also turn to a great band of women who have been organising voluntary associations since the beginning of the war, including:

LADY LONDONDERRY, head of Women's Legions, 72, Upper Berkeley-street, W. Has supplied women for the Army as cooks and motor-transport drivers, also for the land, and has organised canteens. Her aid in selecting women for responsible positions is keenly appreciated by the War Office.

LADY HENRY GROSVENOR, prominent among the organisers of hostels and canteens for women workers. Without these it would have been impossible to employ women on munitions.

MISS PICTON TURBERVILLE, organiser of welfare and hostel schemes for the Young Women's Christian Association all over the country.

MISS B. PICTON TURBERVILLE, a serious rival to her twin sister. Organiser of welfare schemes and hostels for young women at centres where the Young Men's Christian Association, under whom she works, is already established.

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This is simply a statement of fact which I refrain from criticising under present circumstances. As an experienced organiser, I consider the proposal that cards should be sent to the Department in London offering help will only lose time and not succeed, but if instructions were given by the Local Government Board to the 2,000 municipalities to utilise the details of the National Register, especially as regards ascertaining the number of women available for work on the land or any other pressing work, I am of opinion that the necessary information would be got in a very short time. As I have already said, the urgency for immediate work on the land is great, and I consider this the only way to deal promptly with the situation. The housing difficulty might be met by billeting on satisfactory terms or any other method that has been resorted to in connection with his Majesty's forces. I feel confident that when the women of the country fully realise the necessity and are told what to do patriotism and esprit de corps will do the rest.—Yours, etc.,

CHARLES W. MACARA.

23, York Street, Manchester.

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The recommendations of the Speaker's Conference on Electoral Reform are now said to be in the hands of the Prime Minister. They include a number of drastic proposals for revising the register, abolishing plural voting and reducing the qualifying period for a vote to six months. It seems that the Committee approved of the principle of Women's Suffrage, but could not reach a unanimous decision as to the method of applying the principle; some members desired to limit the franchise to women with a property qualification, others were for wider democratic franchise for women, giving the vote to all over 25. According to the "Observer" of Sunday, January 28th, "it is rumoured in a significant way that even if no formal agreement on the question can yet be announced, matters have reached a stage praeeically ensuring a very large enfranchisement of women." By accepting the principle the Committee carried the question a long way towards fruition.

From reports received from Dr. Elsie Inglis we learn that since the retreat, Dr. Chesney's Field Hospital has continued to work for the 1st Serbian Division while it was resting, and Dr. Inglis and the staff and the Transport agreed to an urgent request from the Russian Red Cross to work for it. Dr. Inglis, staff and 25 Russian Orderlies and equipment for six weeks received orders to set up a hospital at a certain place and the Transport went to work independently for the Russians; but the line of fighting must have suddenly changed, as on arrival Dr. Inglis found the place being evacuated and the same happened subsequently on receiving further orders. Eventually after a most wearisome, hungry and cold journey, lasting a fortnight from the start Dr. Inglis arrived back at Braila. The Russians then gave the Unit a new building at Galatz, which was ideal in every respect. By cable it is reported that the hospital has had to be removed to Reni.

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The Queen 682/14
10·2·17

WOMEN FORWARD!

THE FORMATION of a Women's Department of National Service, with Mrs H. J. Tennant as its director and Miss Violet Markham as assistant director, is a considerable event. Mrs Tennant was the first Chief Lady Superintendent of Factories before her marriage, and she has a ways kept most closely in touch with the industrial conditions and needs of working women. Miss Markham, too, brings ability and knowledge to her task. The call is now for our women generally to come forward.

Many women are, of course, responding to the demands that the State increasingly makes upon their powers. The women's departments of the employment exchanges all over the country are filled with women applicants for munition and other important work. On the men's side of these exchanges there is often comparatively little doing, as the men are already in their places. But the development of the scheme for voluntary national service and for substitution must inevitably lead to a further marshalling of the women's forces. Not only must the huge business of munition making by women be further extended, but very many more women must be brought into the field of agricultural production and distribution.

We are only, too, at the beginning of things in regard to the military auxiliary services. We are beginning to hear of trained women carpenters and joiners being sent to the front to build huts. The number of such women must be increased. Soon we shall probably find that women are being more extensively employed near (if not at) the front as motor transport drivers, army cooks, army bakers, canteen workers, and army clerks. Women have made such excellent quartermasters in some of the home hospitals that they might well try to rival the skill of the sergeants in catering and distributing food. It is possible that they might be quite as successful in keeping the ingredients of tea and soup, sausages and porridge, delicately separate.

The organisation of women's national service can hardly go far before questions will arise concerning occupations that are or are not indispensable in the national interest during war time. Large numbers of young and trained women are occupied to-day in home industries. The habit of wage-earning work which they have acquired makes them more available than women who are older or less disciplined. It will be extremely difficult to spare them, more particularly as some of them are even now doing work for which men had formerly been employed. But the time may come when some of them will be called up for service more directly concerned with the winning of the war. And their places must be taken by the less trained women. Wealthy householders, too, may have to be asked to manage with fewer domestic servants. Mothers may have to act as nurses to their own children, and the lady's maid may well be abolished for the period of the war.

There is also most assuredly a residue of women who are still not fully employed. There are youngish women looking after elderly mothers or aunts who at such a time as this might strive to look after themselves. There are also thousands of women who are not doing more than a half-day's work. The last women who can be pressed to change their duties are the mothers of quite young children. Yet even they could have more time to spare were it possible to organise residential children's nurseries for the benefit of wage-earning mothers engaged in national service. Still, the work of mothers is national service of the best kind when it is well done; therefore, let us first try to mobilise the women who are less tied by duties to the next generation.

The day may not be far distant when it will be necessary to appoint women's tribunals to determine which women should be recruited for national service and which others ought to be left to do the work they have already undertaken.

Daily Express
17·2·17

WOMEN.

After a eulogy of the part played by women in the war, Mr. Chamberlain said:—"Many women are waiting impatiently for the call; the call will come soon. Women may have confidence that their devotion will not be abused."

On the subject of professional men Mr. Chamberlain said:—

"The last thing I desire is that a man working with his brain should work with his hands, unless he desires to. There will be clerical and administrative positions in Government offices and important establishments in industry, and we expect to fill these places with professional men."

Daily Express

SUPREME CALL TO WOMEN.

TWO GREAT ARMIES REQUIRED.

ONE FOR FRANCE. ONE FOR FOOD.

FREE TRAINING, OUTFIT AND GOOD WAGES.

WHEN TO APPLY FOR SERVICE.

The exclusive publication in yesterday's "Daily Express" of the full and correct details of the national scheme for an army of women in France to relieve men for the fighting line caused the greatest interest throughout the whole country.

So many women offered their services at St. Ermin's Hotel yesterday that, to prevent disappointment, Mrs. Tennant has arranged that names and addresses will be taken of any who wish to enrol, but it must be clearly understood that actual enrolment cannot be made until the official call for women is issued.

This tremendous interest has brought forward the immediate necessity of putting ahead of it another great scheme for women—an army of 100,000 women for the land.

For the moment, therefore, the Army scheme, which will by no means be held in abeyance, will occupy the second place.

FOOD.

The question of the food supply and the urgent necessity for supplying sufficient workers for the land without retaining too many men of an age and fitness for the Army means that women are needed as soon as possible for all branches of agricultural labour.

The Women's National Service Department state that they will shortly require some 100,000 for the land. An appeal will be made for women milkers, carters, shepherdesses, buttermakers, and the like. In fact, there will be agricultural employment available for women of every class, provided they are healthy, willing, and prepared to work as hard as possible for the good of the country.

FREE TRAINING.

Where such women are not already experienced free training will be afforded them, and when they start work they will be provided free of charge with suitable clothing, such as boots, gaiters, overalls, and breeches. The wages will be on a generous scale. The matter naturally depends very much on the work required and the conditions.

When the Women's Service Department are ready to deal with applicants a printed application form, which the women will be asked to fill in, will be issued through the post offices.

It is felt that the 100,000 women required will readily come forward for this patriotic work, for women have already proved to the utmost that they are only too eager to help once a call is made for their services in a direction where they will certainly find health, happiness,

Daily Express 21-2-16 682

THE WOMAN AS SOLDIER.

MILITARY WORK BEHIND THE LINES IN FRANCE.

NEW ASPECT OF THE ERA OF KHAKI.

The war has brought into being many different aspects of woman as worker, organiser, and general helper, but the greatest innovation of all is the woman soldier, recognised by the military authorities, uniformed, living in camps beside the men, under the same conditions as to food and lodging, and working day in, day out, under strict military discipline.

In past times there were the vivandières, who followed the armies in France all through Napoleon's campaigns, but according to history these women, though plucky and hard working, were rather a wild lot, with very little notion of discipline or feminine prestige, who were always ready to hobnob with their soldier comrades.

FIT MEN RELEASED.

To-day these vivandières are replaced in the British Army by regiments of women who attend to the housekeeping, cooking, and well-being of the men, but who are upheld in their work by a keen spirit of patriotism, and bear themselves with military discipline and a full sense of what befits their position as members of a military unit. Now the scope for women soldiers is to be extended on far wider lines, and they are to be employed with the Army both here and in France in practically every capacity in which they are able to carry out the work, and so release thousands of fit men for service with the regiments.

It has only lately been realised how much useful work women can carry out in that vast organisation, with its network of different sections, which constitutes an army on active service. There are kitchens and canteens which women can run quite as well as men. There are offices and pay departments where the clerical work can be undertaken by the woman accountant or typist every inch as successfully as by the male clerk. Women in these days, thanks to their own energy and determination, are qualified to drive motor-cars and to take charge of technical stores, which means a wide knowledge of bolts and screws and all the thousand-and-one pieces of mechanism that are required for motor-cars, lorries, and army equipment of this type.

COMING INTO HER OWN.

There is not the smallest doubt that, had it been suggested that women should undertake work of this kind during the first months of the war, there would have been a great outcry, and the busybodies would have shaken their wise heads and said it was asking the impossible. Because women had never had a chance of proving otherwise, the opinion prevailed that if brought into close touch with the soldiery they would prove frivolous, irresponsible, and undisciplined, inefficient as workers, and unreliable in every way. Experience has happily proved the contrary.

The idea of enrolling women to work in units on military lines originated with themselves. Several women leaders came forward with carefully worked-out schemes, the women quickly offered their services, and in a very little while there were a number of organisations carrying on useful war work where the women wore uniform and were supervised on lines of military discipline.

When once it was seen that women could be trusted to work quietly and efficiently their services were rapidly commandeered. One of the first moves made by the military authorities was to take over the cookery section of the Women's Legion and to establish women as cooks in training and convalescent camps all over the country. It naturally followed that the camp cooks must live in the camps beside the soldiers, and soon the neatly dressed military cook in her khaki uniform, and wearing her Women's Legion badge, was seen hard at work preparing the men's food and taking charge of the messes.

STURDY COURAGE.

It has been found that putting women

after elderly mothers or aunts who at such a time as this might strive to look after themselves. There are also thousands of women who are not doing more than a half-day's work. The last women who can be pressed to change their duties are the mothers of quite young children. Yet even they could have more time to spare were it possible to organise residential children's nurseries for the benefit of wage-earning mothers engaged in national service. Still, the work of mothers is national service of the best kind when it is well done; therefore, let us first try to mobilise the women who are less tied by duties to the next generation.

The day may not be far distant when it will be necessary to appoint women's tribunals to determine which women should be recruited for national service and which others ought to be left to do the work they have already undertaken.

Daily Express
17-2-17

WOMEN.

After a eulogy of the part played by women in the war, Mr. Chamberlain said:—"Many women are waiting impatiently for the call; the call will come soon. Women may have confidence that their devotion will not be abused."

On the subject of professional men Mr. Chamberlain said:—

"The last thing I desire is that a man working with his brain should work with his hands, unless he desires to. There will be clerical and administrative positions in Government offices and important establishments in industry, and we expect to fill these places with professional men."

enrol, but it must be clearly understood that actual enrolment cannot be made until the official call for women is issued.

This tremendous interest has brought forward the immediate necessity of putting ahead of it another great scheme for women—an army of 100,000 women for the land.

For the moment, therefore, the Army scheme, which will by no means be held in abeyance, will occupy the second place.

FOOD.

The question of the food supply and the urgent necessity for supplying sufficient workers for the land without retaining too many men of an age and fitness for the Army means that women are needed as soon as possible for all branches of agricultural labour.

The Women's National Service Department state that they will shortly require some 100,000 for the land. An appeal will be made for women milkers, carters, shepherdesses, buttermakers, and the like. In fact, there will be agricultural employment available for women of every class, provided they are healthy, willing, and prepared to work as hard as possible for the good of the country.

FREE TRAINING.

Where such women are not already experienced free training will be afforded them, and when they start work they will be provided free of charge with suitable clothing, such as boots, gaiters, overalls, and breeches. The wages will be on a generous scale. The matter naturally depends very much on the work required and the conditions.

When the Women's Service Department are ready to deal with applicants a printed application form, which the women will be asked to fill in, will be issued through the post offices.

It is felt that the 100,000 women required will readily come forward for this patriotic work, for women have already proved to the utmost that they are only too eager to help once a call is made for their services in a direction where they will certainly find health, happiness, and the gratitude of the nation.

1,000,000 WOMEN WAR WORKERS.

Mr. Walter Runciman, M.P., ex-President of the Board of Trade, speaking at a suffrage meeting at Queen's Hall last night, said that Lord Kitchener once made the following statement to him:—

"'England will not put forth her full strength until women are doing nearly everything now done by men.'

"So far as I know," Mr. Runciman added, "Lord Kitchener was the first of our prominent men to realise the fact. No fewer than a million women have passed through employment agencies since the war began, principally for war work. Three thousand women a day, I believe, are going through these exchanges for work principally connected with the war."

women soldiers is to be extended on far wider lines, and they are to be employed with the Army both here and in France in practically every capacity in which they are able to carry out the work, and so release thousands of fit men for service with the regiments.

It has only lately been realised how much useful work women can carry out in that vast organisation, with its network of different sections, which constitutes an army on active service. There are kitchens and canteens which women can run quite as well as men. There are offices and pay departments where the clerical work can be undertaken by the woman accountant or typist every inch as successfully as by the male clerk. Women in these days, thanks to their own energy and determination, are qualified to drive motor-cars and to take charge of technical stores, which means a wide knowledge of bolts and screws and all the thousand-and-one pieces of mechanism that are required for motor-cars, lorries, and army equipment of this type.

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STURDY COURAGE.

It has been found that putting women in uniform and housing them in huts is immensely successful. The mere fact of wearing uniform inculcates a sense of military discipline. The women are extremely proud of their position, they know that they are "doing their bit," and are thus able to be of direct assistance to their menfolk. They show themselves perfectly ready to adapt themselves to novel conditions. Discomforts are treated with a smile. A woman ploughing her way through seas of mud in a camp where the ground has become a veritable morass will treat it as a joke. They are obedient to orders, and even the strict rule that prevails in camps where the women cooks and waitresses are working that no woman in uniform may speak to a soldier within the camp precincts is seldom broken.

Without uniform it would naturally be impossible to keep control, and the sentries on duty would not be able to distinguish the legitimate workers from strangers, but these battalions of women soldiers can be as easily handled as battalions of drilled men. There is little doubt that the women who go over to France to undertake military work there will prove as successful as their sisters in the camps at home.

There can be no gibes in these days at the woman in uniform. Through her own steadfastness and courage she has won respect from all. The army of women workers has its recognised place in the defence of the nation and the nation's rights. It is no longer the woman's duty to sit at home and watch and wait. The call has come for her to be up and doing, to equip herself as a soldier, and, with a soldier's sense of responsibility and the stern necessity for discipline and obedience to orders, to carry on many kinds of important work in the very midst of the expeditionary forces.

Daily Express
28.2.17

682/15

WOMEN FOR SERVICE AT THE FRONT.

THE OFFICIAL CALL.

WHAT TO DO: WHERE TO APPLY: FULL DETAILS OF THE SCHEME.

The War Office yesterday issued the full conditions of service under the scheme devised by Lieut.-General Sir Nevil Macready, the Adjutant-General, for the enrolment of women in the army in France. The scheme was announced exclusively in the "Daily Express" on February 20.

Women will be required as clerks, typists, cooks, waitresses, drivers, and telephonists, and for various other classes of work. No woman under twenty or over forty will be accepted. The rates of pay, excluding overtime, range from £1 to £2 12s. 6d. a week.

FULL CONDITIONS OF SERVICE.

PAY, TRAINING, AND UNIFORM.

WAR OFFICE, Tuesday.

The conditions of service which have been sanctioned are as follows:—

PERIOD OF ENGAGEMENT.

For twelve months, subject to termination earlier at the discretion of the Army Council on one month's notice, except for misconduct or incompetence, when one week's notice will be given. The engagement may be renewed by mutual consent at the termination of the first period.

A bonus of £5 will be paid to each woman, irrespective of grade, on renewal of the agreement for a second period.

CLASSES OF EMPLOYMENT.

There are five main categories of employment:—

Clerical, typist, shorthand typist.
Cooks, waitresses, domestic staff.
Motor transport service.
Storehouse women, checkers, unskilled labour.
Telephone and postal services.

In addition there will be certain miscellaneous services.

RATES OF PAY.

CLERKS.	Per week, according to efficiency.
Ordinary clerical work and typists	23s. to 27s.
Clerks employed on higher clerical and supervisory duties	28s. to 32s.
Shorthand-typists	28s. to 32s.

The above rates of pay cover forty-two working hours a week, after which overtime will be paid at the rate of 7d. per hour for ordinary clerks, and 9d. per hour for clerks employed on higher work and shorthand-typists.

COOKS AND WAITRESSES.	Per annum.
Head cooks and waitresses	£40
Cooks, waitresses, housemaids	£26

(With free board and lodging and 6d. per week for personal washing.)

MOTOR TRANSPORT.	Per week.
Superintendents (1st class)	52s. 6d.
Superintendents (2nd class)	46s. 0d.
Head drivers	40s. 0d.
Qualified driver mechanics	35s. 0d
Washers	20s. 0d.

The above weekly rates include Sunday work when necessary, but if employed on Sunday a day's rest in lieu will be given. In addition, overtime will be allowed, except to superintendents, at the rate of 3d. per hour after 8½ working hours per day.

STORE WORKERS.	Per week.
Storehouse women and unskilled labour	20s.
(Extra pay up to 2s. per week where special aptitude is required.)	
Loading hands	22s.
Checkers	22s. to 24s.
Assistant forewomen	24s
[illegible]	[illegible]

WHERE TO APPLY FOR ENROLMENT.

LIST OF QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED.

Women who wish to offer their services under the new scheme are asked to apply to:—

THE DIRECTOR,
Women's Dept., National Service,
St. Ermin's Hotel,
Westminster, S.W.

They will receive application forms on which the following particulars have to be stated:—

Name.
Age.
Nationality at birth.
Single or married.
Number of children.
Particulars of education.
School leaving age.
Names and addresses of two British householders who have known the applicant for two or more years.

Applicants are asked to state if they are willing to serve anywhere they may be required, and the point is emphasised that the offer of service can in no way be regarded as final enrolment.

Mrs. Tennant, Director of Women's National Service, informed a "Daily Express" representative yesterday that until the return of the commission which has been sent to France to make arrangements regarding accommodation for these women workers it will be impossible to say exactly how many will be required.

Women are urgently requested not to throw up any present occupation until they are certain that their offer of service has been accepted. Women working in munition factories and at essential trades are asked not to apply.

TRAINED WORKERS.

It should be clearly understood that only trained and fully experienced workers will be needed for the majority of the posts, and the untrained, inexperienced amateur need not offer her services for work where it is obvious that special knowledge is necessary. It is possible that only a limited number of women will be sent to work in France at first, and that a reserve of workers will be trained and employed in England until they are required abroad.

"The women will have a uniform, probably khaki," said Mrs. Tennant, "but the colour has not been definitely decided. The welfare and social arrangements will be carefully carried out, and everything possible will be done to safeguard the women."

Mrs. Tennant also states that there is a great and growing demand for women to help with the agricultural work of the nation at the present time. There is a wide scope for employment on the land, and women who are not fitted for the Army posts will have an opportunity of proving their patriotism by taking up land work instead. Details of the agricultural scheme as regard women workers will be published in full in the course of a few days.

Daily Express
28.2.17

682

THE CALL TO WOMEN.

A week ago the "Daily Express" exclusively announced the scheme under which women are to be employed in various capacities with the army in France. The conditions of service have now been published by the Adjutant-General. There can be no doubt that adequately trained women can be secured for the work allotted to them. Their engagement will release men who can be more advantageously employed in fighting units, and if the organisation is thorough and freed from red tape, the substitution should be effected swiftly and smoothly. Amateurs are not required. Only women technically equipped and experienced can be of any use. Other less exciting tasks are waiting for women with lower qualifications.

Daily Mail
2.3.17

WOMEN'S ARMY.

8,500 VOLUNTEERS.

APPLICANTS MUST NOT LEAVE WORK.

The first response to the appeal for volunteers for the Women's Army has been very great. Yesterday's posts brought 8,500 offers of service to the Women's Department of National Service, St. Ermins Hotel, Westminster. There were 5,500 completed forms and 3,000 applications for forms to fill in. There were hundreds of callers during the day.

Mrs. Tennant desires to point out that it is of the utmost importance that no woman shall leave her present employment in the hope of obtaining work under the National Service scheme. Although names of applicants are now being recorded no definite appeal for women for National Service has yet been issued, and if they leave their employment there is grave danger that a large number of them will be unemployed and will present a serious problem for the department. The scheme for the employment of women in agriculture is now ready and only awaits ratification by Mr. Neville Chamberlain before being announced.

Yesterday's offers came from every section of the community and from every part of Britain. Wealthy women, mill hands, teachers, clerks, domestic servants, dressmakers, factory forewomen, motor-car drivers, were among those represented. The postal staff at St. Ermins Hotel had to be increased from 6 to 20 in order to classify and register applications.

THE LURE OF FRANCE.

The number of offers from women willing to work on the land was probably a record for one day, but it is clearly service in France which has the greater appeal. All day there were little consultations in the hall where applicants filled up forms. The line "Nature of business" on the form was the subject of debate, and the problem the precise way in which to express a preference for work in France. Nearly all the applicants agreed to serve at home if necessary. They are being asked to register for service in either Great Britain or France, although preferences will be granted where possible.

There is a steady inflow of men volunteers for National Service. Of the 630 centres into which the country is divided, nearly 600 have notified the formation of local organising committees.

UNIFORM.

WAR OFFICE, Tuesday.

The conditions of service which have been sanctioned are as follows:—

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For twelve months, subject to termination earlier at the discretion of the Army Council on one month's notice, except for misconduct or incompetence, when one week's notice will be given. The engagement may be renewed by mutual consent at the termination of the first period.

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CLASSES OF EMPLOYMENT.

There are five main categories of employment:—

Clerical, typist. shorthand typist.
Cooks, waitresses, domestic staff.
Motor transport service.
Storehouse women, checkers, unskilled labour.
Telephone and postal services.

In addition there will be certain miscellaneous services.

RATES OF PAY.

	Per week, according to efficiency.
CLERKS.	
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The above weekly rates include Sunday work when necessary, but if employed on Sunday a day's rest in lieu will be given. In addition, overtime will be allowed, except to superintendents, at the rate of 5d. per hour after 8½ working hours per day.

	Per week.
STORE WORKERS.	
Storehouse women and unskilled labour	20s.
(Extra pay up to 2s. per week where special aptitude is required.)	
Leading hands	22s.
Checkers	22s. to 24s.
Assistant forewomen	24s
Forewomen	24s. to 30s.
(According to number of staff supervised.)	

The above rates cover forty-eight working hours a week. Overtime, at time and a quarter for the first two hours a day; thereafter, and on Sundays, time and a half.

TELEPHONE AND POSTAL SERVICES.

Rates of pay are under consideration by the Postmaster-General, and will be announced later.

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

Special rates of pay according to nature of employment with a minimum of 20s. per week.

GENERAL CONDITIONS.

Age.—No woman under twenty or over forty years of age will be eligible.

Agreement.—A short form of agreement will be entered into.

Health.—A medical examination by a woman doctor will be necessary.

Training.—The period of preparation in England will include elementary instruction in hygiene and discipline.

Journey.—Free conveyance to and from France on appointment and termination of engagement will be provided.

Leave.—A fortnight's leave will be given during each year's service.

Uniform.—An allowance of £4 will be paid to provide uniform at the beginning of service, with a further grant of £1 at the end of six months. Similar grants will be made for the second year's service. Slightly different grants will be made in the case of the motor transport section.

Board and Lodging.—In all cases other than cooks, waitresses, and domestic staff, storehouse women and unskilled labour, and miscellaneous services, a deduction not exceeding 14s. per week will be made to cover cost of board and lodging. In the case of storehouse women and unskilled labour and miscellaneous services, when the pay is less than 21s. per week the deduction will not in any case exceed 13s. a week

Accommodation in France.—The women will be accommodated while in France in hostels under the care and supervision of lady superintendents.

The above applies to France only. It must be understood that enrolment for service includes service at home as well as in France. Those who have a preference should declare it. Where preference for France is declared it will be satisfied if possible, and service in France may ultimately follow service begun at home.

ANSWERED.

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Daily Express
21-2-17

WOMAN-POWER CHIEFS.

LADY MACKWORTH TO WORK FOR NATIONAL SERVICE.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Director-General of National Service, has appointed the following Commissioners for Women's Service:—

SCOTLAND.—Miss M. M. Paterson, a National Health Insurance commissioner for Scotland.

WALES.—The Hon. Lady Mackworth.

LONDON.—Miss Mona Wilson, a National Health Insurance commissioner for England.

Lady Mackworth, who is one of the survivors of the Lusitania disaster, is Lord Rhondda's only daughter, and she has given him valuable aid in business. She is a director of a dozen companies, and has affairs of her own in Cardiff. When her father went to America in 1915 she took over the entire management of his affairs.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, speaking at a National Service meeting at Leeds last night, said we could not afford to allow the numbers in the Army, engaged on munitions, or employed in essential industries to fall below a safety minimum.

"I want to make it unmistakably plain," he added, "that if the numbers are not forthcoming, we shall have recourse to the only other alternative—compulsion."

The National Service Department makes a special appeal for ex-ploughmen who are now in other occupations to offer their services at once. They are urgently needed.

Star 13-3-17

WOMEN AND THE ARMY.

Miss Macarthur's Views of the War Office Scheme.

Miss Mary Macarthur, the women's labour leader, predicts a large and prompt response to the War Office appeal directly it is issued for women recruits for service with the Army in France. Women, she said, would offer themselves in great numbers, in spite of the fact that the wages offered are in several instances very much below the market rates.

The scheme, she pointed out to a "Daily News" interviewer, is bound to make a powerful appeal to sentiment, as the wages would be regarded to some extent from the same point of view as a soldier's pay, and many women would undoubtedly be influenced by a desire to be near their menfolk at the front.

"It is important," Miss Macarthur added, "to remember that no separation allowances are offered. Therefore women with dependents cannot think of volunteering. Again, it will be necessary that the women should be under strict discipline. To plant tens of thousands of women in the midst of an armed camp is an experiment that will need the utmost care and forethought. It will be very hard to draw the line between necessary supervision and harsh, intolerable restrictions. I am very glad to see that no girl under 20 will be eligible, and I think the age limit might well have been higher.

"While wishing the scheme well, one feels that it will need very careful watching, and that the country is entitled to the fullest possible information upon those points which appeal specially to women."

Evening News
26-2-17

MORE WOMEN COMMISSIONERS.

Other women commissioners, it is expected, may be appointed in addition to those who with Lady Mackworth are already in office.

The duties of a woman commissioner include:—

Increasing the supply of women's labour.

Considering the substitution of women for men.

Co-operation with the men commissioners in maintaining good relations between employers and employed.

Ensuring the welfare of the workers in the centres of employment.

Evening News
1-3-17

WHAT WOMEN CAN DO.

MRS. TENNANT OUTLINES THEIR WAR WORK.

Women who are eager to enlist for National Service may wait patiently and with confidence. Mrs. Tennant has them in mind. She has a place for every woman in the National Service.

"The wisdom of allowing a girl of seventeen to enrol for National Service has been questioned," Mrs. Tennant told *The Evening News*. "But it must be remembered that not every girl of seventeen who enrols will be accepted. The Selection Board which we are setting up will decide as to her fitness.

"In the dire need of the land for workers I think it would be a pity to refuse a strong, healthy girl of seventeen, because she was only that age. On the other hand, I have no prejudice against the middle-aged woman worker.

Mrs. H. J. Tennant.

"There are many women between forty-five and fifty who have been used to agricultural work, for instance, who would do much better work than a younger woman.

"There are many ways also for women to take the places of men and for older women to take the work of younger ones and release them for more active service. Office work, for instance, could be more in the hands of the older women

Part Time Workers.

"Women who have only part time to give will be used also.

"We are hoping to get them to work on such projects as:

Care Committee.
Infant Welfare Schemes.
Working Girls' Clubs.

"When the appeal for enrolment is made, if a woman will put herself in our hands, the Selection Board will decide whether she is doing better service where she is than she could do elsewhere."

Three directions in which women's work is to be used have been decided. They are:

The Women's Land Army.
The Women's Industrial Army.
The Women's Auxiliary Army.

The Land Army.

"In a very few days," said Mrs. Tennant, "the details of the land scheme will be made known to women.

"I cannot too strongly emphasise the national need for women to train for work on the land.

"It may not seem to women that in such work they are as closely helping the war as when they actually enable a man to join the fighting forces, but it has to be remembered that the forces must be fed. That is why we want the women workers on the land.

The Industrial Army:

Is simply a continuation of the substitution of women for men. This work has to be very carefully carried out. In many cases it has to be considered process by process.

"An industry having 80 different processes, for instance, may be able to substitute women for men in 10 different processes or in 70, and then the greatest nicety of adjustment is required.

"We shall use the existing Employment Exchange machinery in effecting this.

"We are also setting up a National Service Exchange at St. Ermin's Hotel in connection with the Employment Exchanges."

The Auxiliary Army.

Employment with the Auxiliary Army is divided into five classes:—

(a) Clerical, Typist, Shorthand-Typist.

(b) Cooks, Waitresses, and Domestic Staff.

(c) Motor, Transport Service.

(d) Storehouse Woman, Checkers, and Unskilled Labour.

(e) Telephone and Postal Services.

In addition there will be certain miscellaneous services which do not fall within the above main classification.

The rates of pay are:—

Clerical work: 23s. to 38s. for a 43-hour week. Overtime, 7d. per hour.

Head cooks £40 per annum with free board and lodging and 6d. per week for washing.

Assistant cooks, waitresses and housemaids £26 per annum.

In the transport service wages range from 24s. for washers to 32s. 6d. for superintendents. Unskilled labour is paid 20s. per week.

"For the clerical and technical work," said Mrs. Tennant, "women with experience are wanted. Not this is not an appeal for

Evening News
20-2-17

682

500,000 WOMEN WANTED.

Great Scheme for Helping in Army Work.

An Army of women is to be called up shortly for service with the Forces both at home and in France. "The Evening News" understands that about half a million women will eventually be needed.

They are to take the places of fighting men in clerical work, including typists, secretaries, accountants for the Army Pay Department; in housekeeping and cooking, in canteens; and as motor drivers, storekeepers, mechanical engineers, etc.

Only women with some experience will be taken at first, and they will be drafted to France in small detachments. Their services will be required as soon as the machinery is ready to deal with the new departure.

At present representative women who have most experience in dealing with the employment of women are engaged in drawing up a scheme which will absolutely ensure the welfare of the women who are sent to France.

No women will be sent until these authorities and the Army Council are satisfied that the arrangements are quite satisfactory.

Colonel Leigh-Wood and Mrs. Chalmers Watson, M.D., who are at the head of the new department formed to carry out this scheme of substitution, are therefore going to France in a day or two to arrange the housing and other matters for the Army women. Huts and hostels will probably be provided for the women.

A Woman Controller for France has also been appointed and Mrs. Gwynne-Vaughan, who is at present at Birkbeck College, will take this position.

CONDITIONS OF SERVICE.

The women soldiers will receive board and lodging and will wear uniform—khaki if possible. A full kit will be supplied to each woman exactly as if she were a soldier. The women will probably also have badges denoting to which "battalion" they belong. The rates of pay are now under consideration of the War Office, but it is expected the rates will be good.

Already about 33,000 women are employed in the Army as cooks, waitresses, and motor drivers, and in other work.

The headquarters of the new department are at Devonshire House, but women should not apply there. Mrs. Tennant, Director of the Women's Branch of National Service at St. Ermin's Hotel, will supply all the women needed.

St. Ermin's Hotel was besieged to-day by women anxious to volunteer for Army Service, either at home or abroad, and many women members of the clerical staff employed at the building submitted formal applications as soon as they reached headquarters to-day.

The applicants came from all parts of London, and many of them arrived in taxis. They were all informed that applications could not be considered, but that a scheme for National Service for women was in course of preparation, when forms similar to those issued to men would be procurable at all post offices and labour exchanges.

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now in other occupations to offer their services at once. They are urgently needed.

Star 1-3-17

WOMEN AND THE ARMY.

Miss Macarthur's Views of the War Office Scheme.

Miss Mary Macarthur, the women's labour leader, predicts a large and prompt response to the War Office appeal directly it is issued for women recruits for service with the Army in France. Women, she said, would offer themselves in great numbers, in spite of the fact that the wages offered are in several instances very much below the market rates.

The scheme, she pointed out to a "Daily News" interviewer, is bound to make a powerful appeal to sentiment, as the wages would be regarded to some extent from the same point of view as a soldier's pay, and many women would undoubtedly be influenced by a desire to be near their menfolk at the front.

"It is important," Miss Macarthur added, "to remember that no separation allowances are offered. Therefore women with dependents cannot think of volunteering. Again, it will be necessary that the women should be under strict discipline. To plant tens of thousands of women in the midst of an armed camp is an experiment that will need the utmost care and forethought. It will be very hard to draw the line between necessary supervision and harsh, intolerable restrictions. I am very glad to see that no girl under 20 will be eligible, and I think the age limit might well have been higher.

"While wishing the scheme well, one feels that it will need very careful watching, and that the country is entitled to the fullest possible information upon those points which appeal specially to women."

Evening News 26-2-17

MORE WOMEN COMMISSIONERS.

Other women commissioners, it is expected, may be appointed in addition to those who with Lady Mackworth are already in office.

The duties of a woman commissioner include:—

Increasing the supply of women's labour.

Considering the substitution of women for men.

Co-operation with the men commissioners in maintaining good relations between employers and employed.

Ensuring the welfare of the workers in the centres of employment.

ter work than a younger woman.

Mrs. H. J. Tennant.

"There are many ways also for women to take the places of men and for older women to take the work of younger ones and release them for more active service. Office work, for instance, could be more in the hands of the older women

Part Time Workers.

"*Women who have only part time to give will be used also.*

"We are hoping to get them to work on such projects as:

Care Committee.
Infant Welfare Schemes.
Working Girls' Clubs.

"When the appeal for enrolment is made, if a woman will put herself in our hands, the Selection Board will decide whether she is doing better service where she is than she could do elsewhere."

Three directions in which women's work is to be used have been decided. They are:

The Women's Land Army.
The Women's Industrial Army.
The Women's Auxiliary Army.

The Land Army.

"In a very few days," said Mrs. Tennant, "the details of the land scheme will be made known to women.

"*I cannot too strongly emphasise the national need for women to train for work on the land.*

"It may not seem to women that in such work they are as closely helping the war as when they actually enable a man to join the fighting forces, but it has to be remembered that the forces must be fed. That is why we want the women workers on the land.

The Industrial Army:

Is simply a continuation of the substitution of women for men. This work has to be very carefully carried out. In many cases it has to be considered process by process.

"An industry having 80 different processes, for instance, may be able to substitute women for men in 10 different processes or in 70, and then the greatest nicety of adjustment is required.

"We shall use the existing Employment Exchange machinery in effecting this.

"We are also setting up a National Service Exchange at St. Ermin's Hotel in connection with the Employment Exchanges."

The Auxiliary Army.

Employment with the Auxiliary Army is divided into five classes:—

(a) Clerical, Typist, Shorthand-Typist.

(b) Cooks, Waitresses, and Domestic Staff.

(c) Motor, Transport Service.

(d) Storehouse Woman, Checkers, and Unskilled Labour.

(e) Telephone and Postal Services.

In addition there will be certain miscellaneous services which do not fall within the above main classification.

The rates of pay are:—

Clerical work: 23s. to 38s. for a 43-hour week. Overtime, 7d. per hour.

Head cooks £40 per annum with free board and lodging and 6d. per week for washing.

Assistant cooks, waitresses and housemaids £26 per annum.

In the transport service wages range from 20s. for washers to 52s. 6d. for superintendents. Unskilled labour is paid 20s. per week.

"For the clerical and technical work," said Mrs. Tennant, "women with experience are wanted. But this is not an appeal for them to enrol for service yet.

"If they wish, they can register their names on forms which will be supplied from St. Ermin's Hotel. Women who do not register until an appeal is actually made will stand just the same chance of selection as those who have already done so."

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Financial News
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MR. CHAMBERLAIN WANTS 5 0,000 MEN.

Speaking at Whitefield's Mission yesterday, Mr. Neville Chamberlain said the enemy was wavering. Now was the time to hit him hardest. To do this not only was it necessary to keep up the forces in the field, but also to maintain continuous supplies of munitions for the armies and the food for civilians. He had now 100,000 volunteers for National Service—five divisions of the new Industrial Army; but he wanted five times as many. He should get them if he were supported, as he believed he would be, by the patriotism and good will of the people of this country.

15,000 APPLICATIONS FROM WOMEN.

The following was issued by the National Service Department on Saturday evening:—

Although no direct appeal has been made by the National Service Department (Women's Section) for offers of Service from Women in the way they have been invited from men, 15,000 applications from women have been received at St. Ermin's Hotel within the last three days. Saturday morning's first post brought nearly 2,000 letters and forms, and further heavy deliveries are expected during the day. A staff of 50 skilled sorters are at work on the posts, and a still larger staff will be employed on Monday to deal with the week-end deliveries. So well is the work organised that each day's post is completely dealt with by night time. The applications are sifted in five large rooms at St. Ermin's, Westminster. In the first room the letters are opened, and application forms and important letters are sorted; in the second the letters are read and classified; in the third, registered and numbered; in the fourth, envelopes are addressed and numbered application forms are enclosed. The return application forms are dealt with in the fifth room, where they are attached to the original letters classified according to district and sent to the Commissioners, to be further sorted according to trades and occupations and sifted in final readiness for the individual candidate to be called up for National Service. Applications have been received from every class of women throughout the land, and from the wealthiest to the poorest the most earnest desire is expressed to serve the nation. Very many trained and skilled women have applied; also a great number of domestic servants.

The following additional meetings have been arranged by the Parliamentary National Service (Meetings) Committee: March 9, Right Hon. R. Munro, K.C., M.P., Harrogate; March 7, Sir L. Chiozza Money, M.P., Kettering; March 16, Right Hon. Sir J. Compton-Rickett, M.P., York; March 18, Mr. T. W. Dobson, Woking (at 3.15 p.m.).

Daily Mail
16 · 3 · 17

USE THE GIRL GUIDES.

To the Editor of *The Daily Mail*.

Sir,—It is a source of surprise to me that a call is not made to the "Girl Guides" of England.

There are thousands of girls in this movement trained for domestic work, cookery, clerk's work, and the like. I feel sure they would welcome the call to be of any use in this critical time.

I. R.

ARE WOMEN REALLY WANTED?

To the Editor of *The Daily Mail*.

Sir,—Are women really wanted?

Twice since May 1916 the Government has had my name on the register to help, and twice (each after an interval of four months) a different Department has written asking me if I still wished my name to be on the register.

My brave brother was blown to pieces at sea in July 1915—is it any wonder I wished to help to end this war? And yet we are still being told that conscription for women will soon come into force.

ELIZABETH J. WELLBURN.

Sheen Cottage, Thorpe-lane, Robin Hood's Bay.

The Gentlewoman
10 · 3 · 17

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National Service & Mrs. Tennant's Plans.

OUT of the chaos of conflicting claims for the first drafts of the Women's Army, Mrs. Tennant is gradually being able to evolve a definite scheme of service. She has been confronted during the first fortnight of her work with considerable difficulties such as invariably attend the inception of every new movement. When the call for women voluntary workers was first mooted, a good many departments were anxious to utilise their services, and it was an extremely difficult thing to determine which branch of national activity had the strongest claims. The premature publication of the request for volunteers for France must have complicated matters in no small degree, and so anxious were women to enter upon this attractive adventure that many thousands sent in their applications. It cannot be said that they were much to blame, inasmuch as there is something fascinating about the prospect of being able to help our men in or about the actual battlefield. It showed clearly that the glorious spirit which animated Joan of Arc is not dead amongst British women.

It is a pity to have to damp the ardour of these chivalrous volunteers for foreign service, but it should be pointed out that the needs which the Government have in view will be defeated if any woman offers her services who is at present employed in necessary and useful work to the country. Furthermore, it should be clearly understood that there are other considerations infinitely more important than the supply of women for France, and Mrs. Tennant has now made it perfectly clear that the paramount scheme for the moment is that for the employment of women in agriculture. As the Prime Minister pointed out, our food stocks are getting dangerously low, and, in order that they shall be preserved and increased, every ounce of available labour must, for the time being, be diverted to the land. Occupation of this sort does not possess the glamour of foreign service, but if every woman who undertakes it realises that she is doing more to help our soldiers and our country by devoting herself to agricultural work than any other form of activity just now, she will feel that her patriotism is no vain thing, but is of real practical use in the solution of a very great problem.

I am informed that offers have come in from every section of the community, and from every part of Britain. The wealthy women, mill hands, teachers, clerks, domestic servants, dressmakers, factory forewomen, motor-car drivers, are amongst those who have sent in to offer their services, and the postal staff at St. Ermin's has had to be considerably increased in order to classify and register applications. Applications for service under the War Office are now being dealt with by the Women's Section of National Service, but in order that the thousands who have applied should not be disappointed and disheartened they must be warned that even after the successful applicants have been enrolled it will necessarily be some time before all will be called up; the War Office, at present, demands a steady flow of women workers, and not a sudden rush. The demands for agriculture come simultaneously with those for War Office Service, and in the considered opinion of many are of greater importance; and while there are fields to be ploughed, land to be cleaned, and crops to be sown, it is the duty of all not engaged in other necessary work to throw themselves with vigour into the work of the soil. By doing this they will prevent a great deal of unnecessary suffering at home, and be able to keep our fighting men well supplied with food. I would therefore urge on my readers who happen to be in one of the 630 centres into which the country is divided to support the local organising committees who are recruiting women for this urgent national work.

Morning Post
7. 3. 17

NATIONAL SERVICE.

EXPLAINING THE SCHEME.

CONFERENCE OF LOCAL DELEGATES.

An important conference of representatives from National Service Committees which have been set up in every part of Great Britain was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, yesterday. Lord Rhondda, President of the Local Government Board, presided, and was supported by Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Director-General of National Service; Mr. Hayes Fisher, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board; the Lord Mayor of London, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, the Mayor of Westminster, many members of Parliament, and the chief officials of the National Service Department. About 600 delegates were present, and the hall and galleries were crowded.

Lord Rhondda said he thought the local authorities and recruiting committees had been complimented in being asked to take up the work, and he hoped they would do their utmost to support Mr. Chamberlain by forming, as speedily as they could, special Associations for National Service in every town and district, and by instituting a house-to-house canvass for volunteers. He also urged that the political agents of each party should be brought into the scheme.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain said he was aware that some persons in the country thought that a compulsory scheme ought to have been started at once. But that was a matter for the War Cabinet, and they were under pledges that the voluntary system should have its trial. It was their duty as patriotic citizens to do everything in their power to make the best of it, and render compulsion unnecessary. There were some also who feared that compulsion would come hereafter. If it should, the Prime Minister had given him leave to say that the original volunteers would be released from their engagements, so that in no way would they be on a worse footing than those who were brought in under compulsion. A second point was often raised: Why were those who were already Government employees asked to enrol? Because the appeal was universal. It was not desired to have exemptions on this ground or that, as in the case of the early recruiting for the Army, but because all were asked to enrol it did not mean that all would be called up. Indeed, the more who enrolled the smaller would be the proportion of the called-up, and no one would be removed from his present work except to work in which he could do better service to his country.

Business and Professional Men.

The problem of business and professional men was the next point. Such might, in many cases, hang back, and be afraid that they might have to do work of an unsuitable kind, even manual labour, and at a lower rate of remuneration than would enable them to live as they and their dependents had been accustomed to live. They were making special provision for these, and were asking them to present themselves for examination at Employment Exchanges or public buildings before specially appointed representatives. Their cases would be considered by men of their own class, often, indeed, by other volunteers, who could do the country good service by undertaking this task. For the most part they looked to find work for these business and professional men in Government offices, in clerical and administrative posts vacated by young men going into the Army because of the cancellation of Government exemptions. They knew that on a volunteer being called up, after his offer of service, his employer had a right of appeal against his being taken away on the ground that he was already doing work of national importance. As orginally arranged, this appeal would go to the Sub-Commissioner in the district, whose judgment was final. The object of that was to avoid the delays which had occurred in connection with the military Tribunals, but they might have to modify the scheme. They had decided to give a right of appeal not only to the employer, but to the employee also, and to set up a local Court of Appeal. This might remove the doubts of a would-be volunteer afraid to trust to the judgment of a single man. The question of part-time service was constantly being brought up. It was much harder to allocate part-time than whole-time service, and for this reason they had decided on a whole-time scheme. But they were endeavouring to arrange for some part-time service locally. For instance, they had been able to make use of the Stock Exchange's offer of one day a week, and this week the members and their staff were engaged in addressing letters from the Government to the agriculturists of the country. A certain amount of work in Government Departments would also be taken up by the Stock Exchange and their staff. With regard to the employment of women, there were many difficulties which prevented them from moving at so quick a pace—difficulties connected with the kind of work, with housing, &c. But appeals would be made to women for special work as required.

Lord Rhondda, before leaving the chair, announced that, although he was within three months of sixty-one, he had enrolled himself as a National Volunteer. (Hear, hear.)

The Employment of Women.

Major C. G. C. Hamilton, M.P., Chief of the Enrolment Section, then addressed the conference on points of organisation. He mentioned that on March 24 it was intended to have a National Service Day, and on the following day the clergy and ministers of all denominations would be asked to make a special appeal from the pulpits. On March 31 the present campaign for volunteers would come to an end, so that there were only three weeks in which to carry it through. Referring to the question of women, Major Hamilton said that women were not wanted to enrol at present on the ordinary enrolment cards. Special appeals would be issued in due course. Mrs. Tennant hoped to hold a mass meeting of women in London in about ten days' time, when the scheme for the enrolment of women would be launched. The important point

Daily Express
9. 3. 17

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WOMEN AND THE WAR.

NATIONAL SERVICE CAMPAIGN EXTENDED INDEFINITELY.

The great mass meeting of women at which the women's national service scheme will be launched once again will be held at the Royal Albert Hall on Saturday, March 17. Mr. Chamberlain will preside, and Mrs. Tennant and Miss Violet Markham, the chiefs of the Women's National Service Department, will speak.

It was officially stated yesterday that there is, at present, no time limit for voluntary enrolment under the National Service scheme, and that the enrolment of volunteers will be continued beyond March. 31. The statement that the campaign would end on March 31 was made at the conference at Westminster on Tuesday by Major Hamilton, M.P., chief of the enrolment section.

It is hoped, however, that by March 31 the success of Mr. Neville Chamberlain's scheme will be ensured. The number of volunteers enrolled up to mid-day yesterday was 114,803.

"If I am to be guided by the experience I have gained in moving up and down the country," said Mr. Arthur Henderson at Reading yesterday, "I do not hesitate to say that the army of men and women who will presently be enrolled will be sufficient to enable us to carry out our objects in view, which will lead to a successful termination of the war."

In order to employ to the best possible advantage national service volunteers of the professional and administrative type, Mr. Chamberlain has arranged for the co-operation of the professional and business register, which is a branch of the employment department of the Ministry of Labour. Employers should address applications to the Professional and Business Register, Ministry of Labour, Queen Anne's-chambers, Westminster.

Daily Mail
12. 3. 17

THE QUEEN AND WOMEN'S SERVICE.

WOMEN-ONLY MEETING AT ALBERT HALL.

The Queen will attend a great mass meeting for women only—the most representative gathering of women ever held—at the Albert Hall next Saturday, when the women's scheme of National Service will be launched. This is the first time her Majesty has consented to attend a public meeting. She has relaxed her rule owing to the great interest she is taking in the scheme.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain will preside. Mrs. Tennant, Director of the Women's Department of the National Service Ministry, and Miss Violet Markham, Assistant-Director, will explain the scheme. Other speakers include Lord Derby, Secretary for War; Mr. Prothero, Minister of Agriculture; and Mr. Hodge, Labour Minister.

The audience will be composed not only of representative women and women organisers of all classes but also of women and girls straight from their daily work in uniforms and overalls, Red Cross, V.A.D., munitionières, van-girls and motor-drivers, women under the War Office, women police, postwomen, and many others doing men's work.

Every one of the 9,000 seats in the Albert Hall will be *free*. Seats will be given to those who state they will be present, and a limited number of admission tickets can be had on application to "Albert Hall Meeting," National Service, Women's Section, Westminster.

The meeting begins at 3 p.m.; doors open 2 p.m.

The Man and Woman muddle is referred to in Page 6.

Daily Telegraph
12. 3. 17

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HER MAJESTY AND WOMEN'S WAR WORK.

ALBERT HALL MEETING

It is officially announced that the Queen has consented to be present at the Women's National Service meeting at the Royal Albert Hall next Saturday afternoon. Her Majesty has thus once again shown her active support in all matters pertaining to the interests of women. It is entirely contrary to her Majesty's usual practice to attend at any public meeting, but in view of the great importance of this particular gathering she has made an exception, and, by her presence, will convince the women assembled, an through them their sisters throughout the Empire, of the necessity of all working together towards final victory.

This will be the most representative gathering of women workers ever brought together. All those anxious to help to beat the Hun should make an effort to be present, or represented, to hear the Secretary of State for War, the President of the Board of Agriculture, and the Minister for Labour tell them what is required of women in this most critical moment of the nation's history, and also to hear their own advocates, Mrs. Tennant and Miss Markham, tell what great work women have already done in the nation's service since Aug. 4, 1914, and what they are further ready to undertake. The audience will be composed, not only of representative women of all classes, and organisers of effort, but also of women and girls who have come straight from their actual daily work; the uniforms and overalls of the Red Cross and V.A.D. services, of munition workers, transport workers, women under the War Office, women police, post women, and many other women who are now undertaking men's work, will be brought together. Invitations have been sent to the various women's societies placing boxes at their disposal, to peeresses, the wives of lords-lieutenant, Cabinet Ministers, members of Parliament, and of the clergy, to representative women of Roman Catholicism, Nonconformity, and of the arts.

The meeting will commence at three p.m., and the doors are to be open at two o'clock. Every one of the 9,000 seats in the Albert Hall will be free. Seats will be allocated to those who signify their intention of being present, and a limited number of admission tickets can be had on application to "Albert Hall Meeting," National Service, Women's Section, Westminster, as the supply is already nearly exhausted.

CONFERENCE WITH LABOUR.

The Director-General of National Service, feeling that his scheme has not yet been fully understood by those who are likely to be most valuable to it, has invited trade union representatives from all the societies in the United Kingdom to meet him at the Central Hall, Westminster, on Wednesday next, at half-past two, to discuss some very important proposals which are being made in respect to the remuneration which labour is to receive in connection with the voluntary scheme for national service. The chair will be taken by Mr. Stephen Walsh, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the National Service Department, who will be speaking in public for the first time in his new capacity. Other speakers will be Mr. Arthur Henderson and Mr. John Hodge. About 600 representatives of trade unions are expected to be present.

that was a matter for the War Cabinet, and they were under pledges that the voluntary system should have its trial. It was their duty as patriotic citizens to do everything in their power to make the best of it, and render compulsion unnecessary. There were some also who feared that compulsion would come hereafter. If it should, the Prime Minister had given him leave to say that the original volunteers would be released from their engagements, so that in no way would they be on a worse footing than those who were brought in under compulsion. A second point was often raised: Why were those who were already Government employees asked to enrol? Because the appeal was universal. It was not desired to have exemptions on this ground or that, as in the case of the early recruiting for the Army, but because all were asked to enrol it did not mean that all would be called up. Indeed, the more who enrolled the smaller would be the proportion of the called-up, and no one would be removed from his present work except to work in which he could do better service to his country.

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A discussion followed, in which numerous questions were asked by delegates and replied to by Major Hamilton.

In reply to a question whether all men between eighteen and sixty-one were asked to enrol, Major Hamilton said that such was Mr. Neville Chamberlain's desire. To another delegate Major Hamilton pointed out that the limitations in regard to the transference of men from one non-essential industry to another industry was, after all, very limited in its operation, since all men between eighteen and forty-one were supposed to be either employed in essential occupations or were in the Army, so that the restrictions, in effect, applied only to men between forty-one and sixty-one. The obligation of a volunteer to carry out his undertaking for National Service, he stated, was a matter of honour, and compulsion did not apply to it. Replying to a question whether the Education Department had instructed the school teachers not to enrol, Major Hamilton said that it was the case, but he believed the instruction was to be withdrawn. Since the matter had come before the War Cabinet, it had been considered that teachers should enrol for the same reason as munition workers, volunteers, or others employed at present on important work for the State.

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Daily Mail
12 3-17

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Mr. Neville Chamberlain will preside. Mrs. Tennant, Director of the Women's Department of the National Service Ministry, and Miss Violet Markham, Assistant-Director, will explain the scheme. Other speakers include Lord Derby, Secretary for War; Mr. Prothero, Minister of Agriculture; and Mr. Hodge, Labour Minister.

The audience will be composed not only of representative women and women organisers of all classes but also of women and girls straight from their daily work in uniforms and overalls, Red Cross, V.A.D., munitionières, van-girls and motor-drivers, women under the War Office, women police, postwomen, and many others doing men's work.

Every one of the 9,000 seats in the Albert Hall will be *free*. Seats will be given to those who state they will be present, and a limited number of admission tickets can be had on application to "Albert Hall Meeting," National Service, Women's Section, Westminster.

The meeting begins at 3 p.m.; doors open 2 p.m.

The Man and Woman muddle is referred to in Page 6.

quired of women in this most critical moment of the nation's history, and also to hear their own advocates, Mrs. Tennant and Miss Markham, tell what great work women have already done in the nation's service since Aug. 4, 1914, and what they are further ready to undertake. The audience will be composed, not only of representative women of all classes, and organisers of effort, but also of women and girls who have come straight from their actual daily work; the uniforms and overalls of the Red Cross and V.A.D. services, of munition workers, transport workers, women under the War Office, women police, post women, and many other women who are now undertaking men's work, will be brought together. Invitations have been sent to the various women's societies placing boxes at their disposal, to peeresses, the wives of lords-lieutenant, Cabinet Ministers, members of Parliament, and of the clergy, to representative women of Roman Catholicism, Nonconformity, and of the arts.

The meeting will commence at three p.m., and the doors are to be open at two o'clock. Every one of the 9,000 seats in the Albert Hall will be free. Seats will be allocated to those who signify their intention of being present, and a limited number of admission tickets can be had on application to "Albert Hall Meeting," National Service, Women's Section, Westminster, as the supply is already nearly exhausted.

CONFERENCE WITH LABOUR.

The Director-General of National Service, feeling that his scheme has not yet been fully understood by those who are likely to be most valuable to it, has invited trade union representatives from all the societies in the United Kingdom to meet him at the Central Hall, Westminster, on Wednesday next, at half-past two, to discuss some very important proposals which are being made in respect to the remuneration which labour is to receive in connection with the voluntary scheme for national service. The chair will be taken by Mr. Stephen Walsh, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the National Service Department, who will be speaking in public for the first time in his new capacity. Other speakers will be Mr. Arthur Henderson and Mr. John Hodge. About 600 representatives of trade unions are expected to be present.

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NATIONAL SERVICE FOR WOMEN.

THE DEFINITE SCHEME for the enrolment of women in the various branches of Women's National Service will be launched at a great war meeting for women only, to be held at the Royal Albert Hall on March 17. Mr Neville Chamberlain will preside, and the speakers will be Lord Derby, Secretary of State for War; Mr Prothero, President of the Board of Agriculture; Mr John Hodge, M.P., Minister for Labour; Mrs H. J. Tennant and Miss Violet Markham. Mrs Tennant is most anxious that this should be a representative gathering, and to this end the chief women's societies are being invited to attend, and seats will be reserved for peeresses, wives of Lords Lieutenants of Counties and of Cabinet Ministers, wives of M.P.'s, as well as for women prominent in all branches of women's life and work. But as it is particularly desired that women who are in a position to undertake national service, and who are not engaged in essential occupations, should attend the meeting, the great bulk of the 9000 seats in the Albert Hall will be open and free.

Women for France.

Now that the National Service Department (Women's Section) has undertaken to recruit for the War Office an army of women to release fit men who are now doing civilian work in the army, there will be a continued response from women as further need arises for recruits.

For the present further applications in this section are not required, as the response made, as a result of the War Office statement on February 28 of the proposed conditions and terms, has been so far in excess of the probable immediate requirements, that it was found necessary to give notice on March 7 that no more applications should be made for the present. For reasons of economy, the training of the first batch of recruits is to take place in London, and it follows that those nearest London will be called first. Mrs Tennant is anxious that women who are not communicated with at once shall not think that they are left out, and disappointment will be avoided if it is realised that enrolment will follow in other areas as and when necessity arises.

No woman should leave her present employment at the time of making application, nor even when actually enrolled. She is, upon enrolment, exactly in the position of the man who is waiting to be called up, and who continues quietly in his civilian occupation until the latest possible moment.

Women on the Land.

The authorities at St. Ermin's are at present making all arrangements to assist the Board of Agriculture by arranging to regulate supply to meet demand. Milkers, shepherdesses, plough-women, haymakers, horse-keepers, cowkeepers, market gardeners, harvesters, all must be forthcoming.

Within the next few days the scheme will be issued officially; application forms will be obtainable at every Post Office; enrolment will begin, and the work be put in hand with expedition.

Mrs Tennant feels that it would be beneficial that all women in the provincial towns should know what excellent work has been done in certain villages to augment the autumn food supply. Under a scheme of the Board of Trade and the Board of Agriculture, a registrar was appointed in most village centres last year to keep a number of girls and women willing to work on the land. In the course of February, for instance, the registrar of one small village canvassed a hundred of the cottages, urging them to plant as many potatoes as they could make room for, before April, in their gardens and allotments. The whole order for the village was sent to one grower, and the costs advanced by the registrar. There is now, then, a prospective supply of at least 670 pecks of home-grown potatoes for next winter in that one village. Given a simple plan like this in all villages, and a horse and cart for distribution in each district, and the addition to next winter's food supply would be a most important asset. The need for women's work upon the land is now extremely urgent.

Women in Industry.

Women Commissioners have been appointed whose duty will be to assist with measures for increasing the supply of labour within their respective areas, and to consider questions of substituting women for men in various trades, closely co-operating with the men commissioners for inducing both employers and employees to facilitate substitution, and facilitating and maintaining good relations between the two.

One important work undertaken by the Women Commissioners will be to see that proper steps are taken for the welfare of the workers in each centre of employment, and also to see that the women workers in National Service are properly paid and housed.

Miss Mona Wilson is the Commissioner for London, and is well known all over the country as one who has devoted her career to the investigation of the problems of industrial life, especially as touching women. She is a daughter of Canon Wilson, formerly Archdeacon of Manchester, and has been associated in her public work with such widely known people as Mr Charles Booth, Mr Seebohm Rowntree, Miss Gertrude Tuckwell, Lady Dilke, and Miss Mary Macarthur.

Miss Mary Paterson is the Commissioner for Scotland, and has transferred her energies from the National Health Insurance for Scotland to the wider field of National Service. She has a very thorough knowledge of the conditions under which women work, and her knowledge of procedure and her organising ability qualify her for work of distinction in the post she has now undertaken.

Lady Mackworth, the Commissioner for Wales, is the daughter of Lord Rhondda, and wife of Sir Humphrey Mackworth, of Caerleon, Monmouth, President of the Local Government Board. She is a woman of remarkable business ability, and a Director of many influential companies, chiefly connected with coal and shipping. Recently Lord Rhondda took over the assets of a business formerly in the hands of enemy aliens, and Lady Mackworth was elected to the chairmanship.

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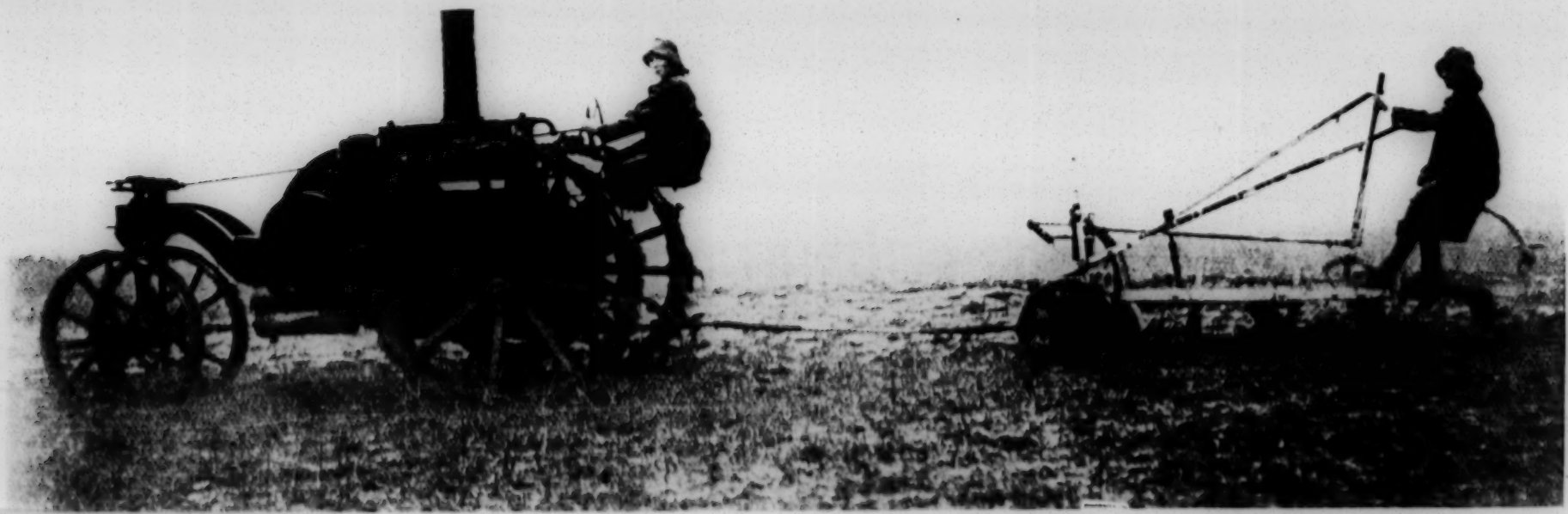

[Sport and General Press Agency Ltd.

WORKING THE TRACTOR AND THE THREE-FURROW PLOUGH.

WOMEN'S WORK FOR THE NATION.

By THEKLA BOWSER.

HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF WOMEN have been hard at work for the nation ever since that sad August day in 1914, but even yet there are women of all ages and all classes, who are not doing definite national work. The reason for this is very largely that they do not know *what* to do or how to set about doing it.

The magnificent response made by *Queen* readers to our appeal a few weeks since for munition workers, shows that women of the "better" classes want only to be shown a real, straight-forward need for them to come forward readily and even gratefully.

Hoeing Strawberry Plants.

The solution of a Chinese puzzle, surely, would be child's play by the side of the task undertaken by Mrs Tennant and Miss Violet Markham, who are endeavouring to put round women into round holes and square women into square holes, all the "holes" being national ones!

We want to make the *Queen* newspaper a medium by which worker and work can get in touch, and we believe that we can be of some service to the country in explaining difficulties, in answering questions and in helping to marshal the willing woman worker through the apparently intricate maze of National Service.

St. Ermin's Hotel, Westminster, the headquarters of the Department of National Service, has suddenly become one of the most interesting spots in London, and it is there that the London applicant must go to offer her services.

But shall I be paid? Can I go for a week or two to see if I like it? Can I go to France at once? Will they insist on my milking cows, because, if so, I should be paralysed with fright? And so the questions roll out *ad infinitum*, and unless they can be answered promptly it is more than likely that the candidate will decide that *she* is not needed and will sink back into the routine of her life, content to knit a few pairs of socks and cajole herself into believing that she is doing all the "war" work that is necessary.

We women have given much; we have given our men and we have given our leisure but, alas, the end of the war is not yet, nor the demands that it must make upon us! Those who can possibly be spared must offer themselves as "whole-timers" to the Government and must work with a will to fill the awful gaps made in our daily needs by the absence of the men who are suffering such an infinitely harder fate on the battlefield than ever can we at home.

But at the very outset we want to keep level-headed and to plan out, methodically and sytematically, the scheme upon which we mean to work so that every ounce of benefit may be produced for our country's good. For the woman who is already working in a munition factory to dash off to offer her services at St. Ermin's is worse than useless, or for the nurse or probationer who is capably filling a post in a hospital to insist on going on the land, though she is entirely ignorant of agricultural work, is the height of wastefulness.

To the woman of any class who already has her hands full of serviceable national work, the National Service Department has nothing whatever to say, except that it says her to stay where she is and not add to the huge amount of work which already has to be got through by the staff. There is nothing finer than to come across the woman who tells you simply "Yes, I have been in this 'job' for a long time and mean to stick to it for duration."

It may not be a great or a glorious task, but she knows how to do it, and her superior knows she can be trusted to do it well. All honour to her, for she is having a willing to do agricultural work should not complicate things by coming to town, for, if possible, she will be given work in her own district. She will go to the nearest post office and fill up the form she can shortly get there and then hand it in.

The woman, however, who wishes to work for the army will find that there are five main kinds of employment. These are:—

(*a*) Clerical, typist, shorthand-typist.
(*b*) Cooks, waitresses and domestic staff.
(*c*) Motor transport service.
(*d*) Storehouse women, checkers and unskilled labour.
(*e*) Telephone and postal services.
(*f*) In addition there will be certain miscellaneous services which do not fall within the above main classifications.

The woman who is really competent in any of these directions can be of immense use to the army both at home and abroad, but she must be good at her work. Enthusiasm and patriotism are fine attributes, but they must be allied to sound knowledge before they can help to win the war. There is no place for the amateur who "means well," nor for the *dilettante* who is filled with a mighty exaltation to-day but finds the work dull and uninteresting to-morrow.

The Government holds out no tempting bait in the form of big salaries for it rightly knows that the only bait worthy of acceptance by the real patriot is that of putting in an effective wedge against the foe. Does it matter how thin or frail is your end of the wedge so that it grows and grows in bulk and in importance until it has swelled to the proportions of a mighty department?

The rates of pay are fair and they have been worked out on a truly fascinating basis. Thousands of cultured men have thrown up well-paid positions of trust to [illegible] the greatest war the world has ever known, with the thing accomplished.

With infinite trouble it has been worked out by Mrs Tennant that the wages given to all women undertaking National Service will leave them with at least the same amount (7s. a week) in their pockets as Tommy has for himself. The only difference is that *he* spends his days and nights in the wretchedness of the trenches, that he risks life and limb and that he suffers more than any of us—even we who have been fairly near the firing line—can guess, because he simply never tells us *all* he has gone through "up there."

Here are the rates of pay as arranged at present, though there may be slight alterations.

(*a*) Ordinary clerical work and typists, 23s. to 27s. per week, according to efficiency.

Clerks employed on higher clerical and supervisory duties, 28s. to 38s. per week, according to efficiency.

Shorthand typists, 28s. to 38s. per week, according to efficiency.

The above rates of pay cover 43 working hours per week, after which overtime will be paid at the rate of 7d. per hour for ordinary clerks, and 9d. per hour for clerks employed on higher work and shorthand-typists.

(*b*) Head cooks and waitresses, £40 per annum with free board and lodging, together with 6d. per week for personal washing. Cooks, waitresses and housemaids, £26 per annum with free board and lodging, together with 6d. per week for personal washing.

(*c*) Superintendents, 1st class, 52s. 6d. per week. Superintendents, 2nd class, 46s. per week. Head drivers, 40s. per week. Qualified driver mechanics, 35s. per week. Washers, 20s. per week.

The above weekly rates include Sunday work when necessary, but if employed on Sunday a day's rest in lieu will be given.

In addition, overtime will be allowed, except to superintendents, at the rate of 5d. per hour after 8½ working hours a day.

(*d*) Storehouse women and unskilled labour, 20s. per week. Extra pay up to 2s. per week where special aptitude is required. Leading hands, 2[illegible]s. per week. Checkers, 23s. to 24s. per week. Assistant forewomen, 24s. per week. Forewomen, 24s. to 30s. per week, according to number of staffs supervised.

The above rates cover 48 working hours per week; overtime, at time and a quarter for first two hours per day; thereafter and on Sundays, time and a half.

(*e*) Telephone and postal services. Rates of pay are under consideration by the Postmaster General and will be announced later. Miscellaneous services. Special rates of pay according to nature of employment, with a minimum of 20s. a week.

"Work on Sundays!" exclaims someone as she reads down the conditions.

"Certainly—why not? Our men seem to have their biggest 'scraps' on Sundays, but no one ever heard of Tommy being paid 'overtime' when he has been on duty day in and day out with no chance of a sleep and perhaps short rations because the ration waggon had been 'unlucky' in catching a shell!"

The conditions offered to women workers are fair and the real patriot will find nothing to grumble at in them.

No woman under twenty years of age will be eligible for employment and all candidates must pass a medical examination by a (lady) doctor

Foreign Service

A large number of applicants want to be assured that they will be sent to France to work, but no such assurance is given by those in authority at St. Ermin's. It will be a mobile army of workers, but mobile only by order and individuals will have no power to move themselves from

Photo. Sport and General Press Agency Ltd.

Cutting and Trimming Cabbages.

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Now we will suppose that a woman who is free to offer herself to do National work goes to St. Ermin's in order to find out the obligations and the regulations. She will do that if she lives in London, but the woman who is

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The rates of pay are fair and they have been worked out on a truly fascinating basis. Thousands of cultured men have thrown up well-paid positions of trust to accept the soldier's shilling-a-day, and now we women are being put on the same high level. Everything has been turned topsy-turvy by the war and here is a new kind of trades-unionism! Many a working woman has clamoured in the old days to be treated "like the men" in the matter of wages, and here we are in the midst of

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A large number of applicants want to be assured that they will be sent to France to work, but no such assurance is given by those in authority at St. Ermin's. It will be a mobile army of workers, but mobile only by order, and individuals will have no power to move themselves from one district to another. This must be so if the greatest amount of good work is to be extracted from the workers. Only very competent and capable workers will be sent to France, and they will be selected after they have passed various tests. All condidates must enrol for a year's

purpose to minimise the demands [illegible] and daughters uncontaminated by commerce.

at the homestead makes upon the physical and mental

To-day we are past and beyond all these ideas, y

[Photos. Sport and General Press Agency Ltd.

CUTTING AND TRIMMING CABBAGES.

service and at the very beginning they will undergo a certain amount of training in which will be included elementary instruction in hygiene and discipline. A short form of agreement will be entered into and an allowance of £4 will be made for uniform at the beginning of the service, with a further grant of £1 at the end of the first six months. If sent to France workers will travel free of cost.

Board and lodging is provided in every case, a deduction of (not exceeding) 14s. per week being made to cover the cost and personal washing. In some cases the deduction will be less.

In France hostels have been arranged and all workers will live in them under the charge of lady superintendents.

There will be no voluntary work, but women who are already engaged in work of national importance will be ineligible and should not apply. Those who are selected and enrolled should not give up their work until they are called up. They will be in precisely the same position as the "reservist" soldier who goes on with his job, knowing that he may have to answer his country's call at any moment.

During the year of service two weeks' leave will be given, and if a second period of work is signed for (a second year) a bonus of £5 will be paid, irrespective of grade.

Agriculture.

It is urgently necessary that an army of women should be trained in agricultural work at once, and the Director of National Service (Women's Section) is now hard at work on the details of the scheme which will be shortly published. Women who love country life and have spent their happy leisure hours in gardening and in sport may well throw themselves into this fine side of labour which will bring us our daily bread.

It is interesting to go amongst the women of high education and culture who have already become very useful on the land, for one hears nothing but enthusiastic praise of the life. The compulsory early rising is compensated for by the new wonders which are opened out by the glorious dawns of winter and spring days, and the strenuous life brings its own joys all through the working hours, by reason of the new sense of freedom and exhilaration which come as soul-reviving revelations to many a woman who has spent much of her life within four walls.

It is hoped that a steady stream of applicants for work will pour into St. Ermin's for many months to come so that each applicant may be dealt with to the very best advantage. There must be no more waste in putting the skilled labour into unskilled work than there must be wastage in food. Economy, in its truest and widest sense, is the note which must be struck by all who love their native land, but most of all by the women; for they, after all, hold in their hands the greatest opportunities of effecting savings, which, growing and growing, shall become one of the most honourable monuments raised by them in this terrible time of stress and strain.

WOMEN ON THE LAND.

A GREAT DEAL has been learned during the past two years concerning the capacity or fitness of women for work on the land. When the movement for substituting women for men in farm and garden work was started, knowledge of their aptitude and powers of endurance was limited, and it has to be admitted that many answered the call for volunteers who were but indifferently fitted for work of a kind new to them, and which has to be performed under conditions to which they had not been accustomed. In the circumstances it was not surprising that a substantial proportion proved after a short but enlightening experience, disappointment had to follow from the [illegible] of the great [illegible] which was [illegible] the

Fetching Straw Bedding from the Stack.

well as the efficiently equipped department over which Miss Talbot presides at the Board of Agriculture, conduct operations on so sound a basis and with so thorough an understanding of the duties to be undertaken that the sifting process may be said to be completed at the source, and before money, time, and patience are wasted in distributing unsuitable applicants throughout the counties. The first rush of volunteer workers included a liberal proportion who, though willing, lacked the strength or the ability to reconcile themselves to their new environment, and their presence did the cause no good. But although failures have been common, successes have been sufficiently numerous not only to justify past exertions, but to inspire hopes of still greater results in the future. We are at the beginning of one of the most important seasons in agricultural routine, and never in the history of the country have the spring months been fraught with greater possibilities than is the case this year. Within the next five or six weeks—the earlier the better—there has to be committed to the ground the seed from which will spring the harvests of this supremely critical year. There is no time to weigh and ponder the relative efficiency of male and female labour in this or that class of work; time presses so urgently that every available hand must be summoned to the task if the country is to even maintain its normal modest standard of self-sufficiency in cereals and other essential stuffs. Wisely or unwisely skilled men of military age have gone from the land in their hundreds of thousands, and they have to be replaced from one source or another. The temporary release of soldiers and prisoners of war, and the provision of interned civilians and conscientious objectors are promised, but help from these quarters cannot go very far in making good the deficiency, and in the main it devolves upon the women of the country to fill the places of the absent labourers.

Women have responded so splendidly to all other calls that there can be no doubt as to the result of the

capacity of those who undertake it. But while it may be strenuous it is not monotonous. Indeed with the exception of such operations as the milking of cows and dairy work generally, it varies from week to week, perhaps even from day to day, with the weather and the season, and thus few tasks last long enough or are so sustained as to become tedious or objectionable. If they really set themselves to it there is hardly any kind of work on the farm which women could not undertake in the case of necessity. Ploughing, drilling, carting of manure, and the like are not really women's work, and they would not be asked from choice to undertake any of these operations, but in very many cases this season these vital tasks will remain undone unless women come to the rescue and, having regard to the importance of home production of food, it is in the interests of the nation that they should at least make an effort, and be encouraged by the farmers to do so, to take the places of the skilled men who are with the colours.

While necessity may require women to turn their hands to all kinds of work connected with the production of food, there are certain capacities in which their services will be especially useful. The sprinkling of eligible men who remain on the land, supplemented by others under or over military age, may suffice for the heavier and more intricate operations, and if this be the case, as it is understood to be in most districts, the women workers will be so graded according to physical and mental capacity as to make good the deficiency in the less arduous and technical work. Those who have had exceptional opportunities for judging of women's fitness for farm work divide them into two main classes and advise that as far as may be practicable this order should be observed in the interests of the employed and the employers. The two categories are field workers and workers at the homestead—the one relating to the growing of crops and the other to the management of live stock. The educated classes with limited experience of country life and work, find their proper sphere in managing and feeding cattle, pigs, and other animals, while the local women, more inured to the strain and exposure of rural work, can render the best service in field operations. This broad classification is in accordance with an intelligent interpretation of the conditions that govern such matters, and while at such busy periods as seed time and the hay and corn harvests, it may be departed from with advantage, general success in utilising emergency labour will be largely dependent upon the judgment with which work is allotted and individual talents utilised.

Photo: Sport and General Press Agency, Ltd.

Haymaking.

THE BRITISH BUSINESS WOMAN.

Her Part in a National Service Scheme.

By MRS MARGARET HEITLAND.

I AM NOT EXACTLY A BUSINESS WOMAN myself, but I belong to the first generation of women of the Victorian era that was not altogether scared and intimidated by the machinery of finance. To the generation of women before us no book was so mysterious as a cheque book, and such words as "rent charge," "debentures," and "ordinary shares" were alarming without having any real meaning. Our own generation was less dismayed by the language of business, yet not many of us proceeded far into the commercial world. I shall not attempt to give any long explanation of this disappointing fact, for there are, indeed, several explanations. One of these was the sort of vague discredit which used to attach to the practice of money-making when conducted by a woman. If it was humiliating for a gentlewoman to be "decayed" or "in straitened circumstances," it was scarcely more admirable for her to make a big turnover and profit in some shrewd commercial undertaking. Many men were not over-proud of their money-making exploits, and found their best excuse for such achievements in

short form of agreement will be entered into and an allowance of £4 will be made for uniform at the beginning of the service, with a further grant of £1 at the end of the first six months. If sent to France workers will travel free of cost.

Board and lodging is provided in every case, a deduction of (not exceeding) 14s. per week being made to cover the cost and personal washing. In some cases the deduction will be less.

In France hostels have been arranged and all workers will live in them under the charge of lady superintendents.

There will be no voluntary work, but women who are already engaged in work of national importance will be ineligible and should not apply. Those who are selected and enrolled should not give up their work until they are called up. They will be in precisely the same position as the "reservist" soldier who goes on with his job, knowing that he may have to answer his country's call at any moment.

During the year of service two weeks' leave will be given, and if a second period of work is signed for (a second year) a bonus of £5 will be paid, irrespective of grade.

Agriculture.

It is urgently necessary that an army of women should be trained in agricultural work at once, and the Director of National Service (Women's Section) is now hard at work on the details of the scheme which will be shortly published. Women who love country life and have spent their happy leisure hours in gardening and in sport may well throw themselves into this fine side of labour which will bring us our daily bread.

It is interesting to go amongst the women of high education and culture who have already become very useful on the land, for one hears nothing but enthusiastic praise of the life. The compulsory early rising is compensated for by the new wonders which are opened out by the glorious dawns of winter and spring days, and the strenuous life brings its own joys all through the working hours, by reason of the new sense of freedom and exhilaration which come as soul-reviving revelations to many a woman who has spent much of her life within four walls.

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Women have responded so splendidly to all other calls that there can be no doubt as to the result of the renewed appeal for their assistance in maintaining the production of foodstuffs. It would serve no good purpose to minimise the demands work on the land or at the homestead makes upon the physical and mental perhaps even from day to day, with the weather and the season, and thus few tasks last long enough or are so sustained as to become tedious or objectionable. If they really set themselves to it there is hardly any kind of work on the farm which women could not undertake in the case of necessity. Ploughing, drilling, carting of manure, and the like are not really women's work, and they would not be asked from choice to undertake any of these operations, but in very many cases this season these vital tasks will remain undone unless women come to the rescue and, having regard to the importance of home production of food, it is in the interests of the nation that they should at least make an effort, and be encouraged by the farmers to do so, to take the places of the skilled men who are with the colours.

FETCHING STRAW BEDDING FROM THE STACK.

While necessity may require women to turn their hands to all kinds of work connected with the production of food, there are certain capacities in which their services will be especially useful. The sprinkling of eligible men who remain on the land, supplemented by others under or over military age, may suffice for the heavier and more intricate operations, and if this be the case, as it is understood to be in most districts, the women workers will be so graded according to physical and mental capacity as to make good the deficiency in the less arduous and technical work. Those who have had exceptional opportunities for judging of women's fitness for farm work divide them into two main classes and advise that as far as may be practicable this order should be observed in the interests of the employed and the employers. The two categories are field workers and workers at the homestead—the one relating to the growing of crops and the other to the management of live stock. The educated classes with limited experience of country life and work, find their proper sphere in managing and feeding cattle, pigs, and other animals, while the local women, more inured to the strain and exposure of rural work, can render the best service in field operations. This broad classification is in accordance with an intelligent interpretation of the conditions that govern such matters, and while at such busy periods as seed time and the hay and corn harvests, it may be departed from with advantage, general success in utilising emergency labour will be largely dependent upon the judgment with which work is allotted and individual talents utilised.

[Photos. Sport and General Press Agency Ltd.

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To-day we are past and beyond all these ideas, yet the

influence of what has been remains with us. The commercial training available for women is still very poor. Exception should be made for some of the younger universities (notably, perhaps, Birmingham), which are offering students of both sexes the wide courses of study that modern commerce demands; but those young people, and especially girls, who have no means of attending such universities are offered little or nothing more than a few classes or private lessons in book-keeping, typing, and shorthand. Book-keeping is an indispensable elementary subject in commercial education, but shorthand and typewriting lead no further into the world of commerce than the clerk's desk.

On a Fruit Farm.

Studying Present Conditions.

If I were to define our chief educational need I should say that what as a nation we want is *a thorough study of the present.* We study the past perpetually. We discuss again and again such trains of events as the history of Germany during the life of Frederick the Great, the crises of the French Revolution, the battles of the Napoleonic wars. The world of the present we only study when we are forced to do so, and generally too late. The governmental system of Germany, the physical geography of Gallipoli, the racial influences at work in certain states of South America—these and a hundred other matters of the deepest importance to our own people have hitherto been known only to a few travellers, and have been excluded from commercial education as superfluities of information. Small wonder that commerce has not greatly attracted the more highly educated women, accustomed as they are to being told that the prime qualities for business success are shrewdness, quickness, tact, and a hand-to-mouth, muddling-through sort of cleverness.

From this subject of commercial education, vital though it is, let us turn to a consideration of women's present position in affairs. For many years some women have done exceedingly well in certain kinds of small private businesses. They have distinguished themselves as caterers for a few customers of rather exacting taste. In planning the one gown for the one customer, many women are indefatigable artists. The same statement is true in a limited sphere of house decoration. They are not equally talented (our British women) in running the little restaurant where each person's appetite should be sympathetically studied. British women do not think deeply and earnestly, as many men do, whether it shall be a chop to-day for luncheon or a cut from the joint, and whether a tankard of stout or a half-bottle from our "gallant Allies" is the ideal accompaniment. I am bound to admit that the male trader sells a gown to a woman with better feigned interest than a woman offers a man her advice regarding the menu. In commercial imaginativeness we have still something to learn.

If women's commercial enterprise has hitherto stopped short of running wholesale or big retail businesses, it has certainly shown possibilities in other directions. Some women who have had the chance to distinguish themselves have proved themselves to be successful buyers for large drapery houses and competent commercial travellers in various "lines." I believe, further, that some of them would make good saleswomen of agricultural and garden produce. I see no convincing reason why a man and not a woman should be employed by vegetable and fruit growers to drive into the market town and do a round of the greengrocers' shops. For this nothing more is wanted than attention to the tradesmen's orders and honesty.

Publicity Work.

An important branch of commerce is what is now called "publicity." Here many women with good wits, a training in a newspaper office, and a close study of the tastes of the general public, could certainly do fully as well as the men who now devote their attention to the devising of telling exhortations in six-foot type from our walls, by the aid of mother wit and common eye, and so forth. It is not due to them, I imagine, but to the more practised sex that deep red bills with black lettering (which are both painful to look at and imperfectly legible) are still to be seen.

If we ask ourselves where the directors of the National Service scheme can most readily find women with real business ability, we shall not hesitate long in our reply. The most useful business women for the nation's purpose are those who, well educated to begin with, have had some considerable experience in the organisation of effort. There are certain great movements of thought which for their realisation have demanded tremendous systematised organisation during the past twelve years. The arranging of meetings, advertising them, speaking at them, forming societies and conducting newspaper correspondence, have given to women a most valuable practical training in the essential principles of propaganda work. And, in saying this, I include also those women who have obtained similar knowledge as systematic opponents of the movement in question. The workers, too, for other causes and other societies (such as the Y.W.C.A., temperance bodies, war savings committees, &c.), have likewise been often unconsciously students in the school of business.

Already a good many women are obtaining commercial knowledge by serving as directors of limited companies, for housing schemes, steam laundries, and clubs, although we have not as yet many Lady Mackworths. Women factory inspectors, women house agents, women rent-collectors, market gardeners, and many others, including especially the women who are doing important "welfare" work in the big arsenals and factories, are all acquiring commercial experience which must be of great value at the present time. Lord Buckmaster's Bill for enabling women to become solicitors, which so successfully passed its second reading in the House of Lords, has to my mind a special significance. Few persons obtain a more all-round knowledge of commercial matters than solicitors, and I believe that able women, as soon as they find themselves in this profession, will get an understanding of all that domain of affairs which touches the law on one side and business on the other, an understanding that has been almost impossible for them hitherto.

Women are not on the whole inclined to be either money-grubbers or profiteers. They are much more concerned that their work should be interesting to them than that it should be lucrative. For this reason they do particularly well as organisers or administrators of some kind of public work in which there is scope for practical abilities and a good spice of living human interest. I therefore hope that as the National Service scheme develops it will give opportunities to women to take a more serious part in the progress of our country's business.

THE AUTOMOBILE WORLD.

INASMUCH as this issue of the *Queen* is specially devoted to the subject of women's national service, it is only fitting that reference should be made on this page to the ways in which women are helping and may render still more help in connection with automobile driving of every kind. I may take the opportunity of summarising here the various spheres of useful activity in which women motorists have patriotically played their part in these days of stress and need. The number of women who are now driving motor ambulances on the streets of London is very great, and so familiar has the sight become that surprise is only felt when the driver at the helm is seen to be a man. The British Red Cross Society and the St. John Ambulance Association have, of course, depended largely upon women's help from the early days of the war both at home and at the front, and particularly valuable aid has been rendered by the Scottish branch. But there are also two other forms of ambulance driving which are highly necessary to the community, and which are carried on ceaselessly by day and night. The Metropolitan Asylums Board, in the first place, is responsible for the transport of all infectious cases in their own extensive area. It has a considerable fleet of motor ambulances, recognisable by their green and grey bodies. For many months past these have been driven entirely by women, and they have not only to be in constant readiness to answer emergency calls from every quarter of the huge metropolis, so far as concerns the civilian inhabitants, but have also to transport urgent cases from the military camps. In the second place there is the ambulance service of the London County Council, and this is concerned with street accident cases, which have been, as everyone knows, abnormally numerous during the last two years. It is not too much to say that without the help of women neither of these important services could have been maintained at full strength.

As regards ordinary cars, it may be said that women drivers are now attached to almost every branch of official service. Many are employed by the Ministry of Munitions and the War Office, and the Royal Flying Corps have also utilised women's help. Since the Royal Automobile Club threw open its Owner Drivers' Corps to women a number have been allotted to the special class of work which the club has performed for the War Office and other Government departments ever since the war broke out. Then, of course, thousands of private cars are now driven by lady owners or paid chauffeuses, and this means in nearly every case the release of a man for military service. Nor must the van-woman be forgotten. The work of driving a motor van through the dense traffic of London is no sinecure, but the number of women performing this exacting work appears to increase almost every day. Tradesmen's delivery carriers, too, are now quite commonly in the hands of girls.

(Photos. Sport and General Press Agency Ltd.

Fruit Under Glass.

Lady Alice Sackville having a Lesson in Pruning.

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C.A.V. ACCUMULATORS

are the result of 24 years' solid experience, and are guaranteed to be the soundest procurable. An accumulator for every purpose and every climate.—Particulars from C. A. Vandervell and Co. Ltd., Electrical Engineers, Acton, London, W. Tel. Chiswick 1234 (8 lines.—[Advt.]

render still more help in connection with automobile driving of every kind. I may take the opportunity of summarising here the various spheres of useful activity in which women motorists have patriotically played their part in these days of stress and need. The number of women who are now driving motor ambulances on the streets of London is very great, and so familiar has the sight become that surprise is only felt when the driver at the helm is seen to be a man. The British Red Cross Society and the St. John Ambulance Association have, of course, depended largely upon women's help from the early days of the war both at home and at the front, and particularly valuable aid has been rendered by the Scottish branch. But there are also two other forms of ambulance driving which are highly necessary to the community, and which are carried on ceaselessly by day and night. The Metropolitan Asylums Board, in the first place, is responsible for the transport of all infectious cases in their own extensive area. It has a considerable fleet of motor ambulances, recognisable by their green and grey bodies. For many months past these have been driven entirely by women, and they have not only to be in constant readiness to answer emergency calls from every quarter of the huge metropolis, so far as concerns the civilian inhabitants, but have also to transport urgent cases from the military camps. In the second place there is the ambulance service of the London County Council, and this is concerned with street accident cases, which have been, as everyone knows, abnormally numerous during the last two years. It is not too much to say that without the help of women neither of these important services could have been maintained at full strength.

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Daily Mail 17. 3. 17

THE QUEEN AND WOMEN'S SERVICE.

THIS AFTERNOON'S MEETING.

The Queen will be present at the Women's National Service meeting at the Royal Albert Hall this afternoon, arriving at the hall at three o'clock. Her Majesty will be received by Lady Ampthill, chairman of the organising committee; Miss Clapham, principal officer, women's section; and Mr. J. Jeffrey, assistant-director, women's section. Ticket holders are asked to be in their places by a quarter to three.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain is to preside, and the speakers will be Mrs. Tennant, Director of Women's Section National Service, Mr. Prothero, the Earl of Derby, Miss Markham, deputy-director, and Mr. John Hodge, M.P.

Among those on the platform will be Lady Curzon, Lady Derby, Mrs. Asquith, Miss Balfour, Lady Crewe, Mrs. Austen Chamberlain, Mrs. Prothero, Mrs. Pember Reeves, Lady Rhondda, Lady Reading, Mrs. Hodge, and Miss Mary MacArthur.

More details will be given of the scheme for the employment of women in France and for their employment in agriculture. Two other important schemes which are likely to employ thousands of workers have been organised by Mrs. Tennant and will be produced by her as a surprise at the meeting.

So great has been the demand for admission that an overflow meeting will be held. The hall itself seats 9,000, but many more than that number of women wished to hear the plans for the scheme of National Service.

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RALLY OF 10,000 WOMEN.

THE QUEEN AT THE GREAT ALBERT HALL MEETING.

TREE FELLING AND A WOOL CANVASS.

By MARY MORTIMER MAXWELL.

There was every kind of woman at the Albert Hall on Saturday afternoon. I do not suppose that ever before in England, if in any other part of the world, was there such a "mixed" gathering. There was no class in the world, and no occupation in which women are now engaged, which was not represented. Furthermore, all the occupations in which the women of the future will be engaged were represented, for in the breast of every woman there a spark of ambition to do "something" was glowing.

Personally I do not believe there is any work in the world which a woman—some woman, I mean—cannot do and will not do, and therefore I regarded this meeting of ten thousand women as an ominous thing—ominous to Germany. My charwoman was there, or rather the charwoman I used to have, and so was the Queen of England. I mention the charwoman first out of no disrespect to her Majesty.

MR. PROTHERO.

Since hearing him speak at this meeting I shall always have a new thought of Mr. Prothero. I shall think of him as the man who told the women the truth about work on the land; that it was not a "case of a lilac sunbonnet"; that it was hard work, dirty work, and monotonous work; that it was not poetry, but downright plain and practical prose; and then, with the sublime confidence of a man patriot in women patriots, told the women they were needed on the land just as soon as they could get there.

"On the land," said Mr. Prothero, "you will be doing work that is the nearest you can come to approaching the hardships of your brothers in the trenches!" That diplomatic touch will gain thousands of women workers for the land. Truly, Mr. Prothero knows as much of women and of tact as he does of potatoes

Lord Derby presented himself as the "War Office lamb," in spite of the fact that he knows he is already possessed of the lion's share in the way of offers of service from women who wish to join the Women's Army for France, for there is something about service in France that beckons, and that was a good stroke of Mrs. Tennant's when she reminded the women that they must not forget the Glory of England in the Glamour of France.

PLAIN SPEAKING.

Miss Markham, too, had something to say about the difficulties in connection with placing women precisely where they belonged. Plain speaking was the order of the platform, and every one gloried in Mr. Hodge's rebuke to a few women who started to leave before the meeting was over, when he reminded them of their breach of good manners in going before the Queen.

I was particularly interested in Mrs. Tennant's reference to the need of women for felling timber, and then her appeal for the saving of waste woollen and cotton materials in every home. She appealed to every household to collect all such waste material, and asked women to organise a house-to-house canvass.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain was in the chair, and somehow, as I looked at him and thought of the work he had done, and had yet to do, I remembered a Biblical text that seemed to fit him. It was this:—

"In quietness and in confidence shall be your strength."

Daily Mirror 19. 3. 17 682

SCOPE OF THE NEW SCHEME FOR NATIONAL SERVICE.

By Our Special Correspondent.

The following article represents the point of view of Mrs. Tennant and her helpers in the organisation of woman's work.

SATURDAY'S meeting at the Albert Hall was attended by the Queen. The highest lady in the land went there to help in launching the scheme that is finally to organise our woman-power for the last stage of the war.

The scope of the National Service scheme, as far as it affects women, was fully explained by the speakers at the Albert Hall meeting. I do not propose to go over the ground again; for I am sure that what was said on this occasion will be carefully studied by every woman who is debating in her own mind whether she shall come forward. We explained that there would be no general appeal for women, that the work would be organised before workers are asked for, and that it would be the policy of the Department only to appeal for women in strict relation to an ascertained demand. Until a definite call is made women were especially asked to remain where they are at present employed, and not give up their posts. The national cause is not helped by restlessness and a game of general post, which upsets employers and employed. However, there are a few points which may be more fully explained, and there are a few suggestions that I should like to make.

Married women are torn between two pressing duties in the present crisis. Many of them feel that should a call for service be made they will be neglecting their domestic responsibilities. The question has been raised very often, and it is one that can be answered only with great reserve. Every woman must consider her own case impartially and very critically; she must not allow her inclinations to colour or to influence her decision. But if a woman knows that should she volunteer she must neglect her children, or fail to look after the men of her household who are doing national work, I am satisfied she should remain at her post.

RURAL HOUSING.

An appeal has been made for women to volunteer for work on the land. The food supply of the country must be maintained. It has run very low. The reserves are almost exhausted—and a great deal of the food which is necessary must be produced at home. This means that the women must do the work, since the men are, for the most part, otherwise employed. The land cannot wait—it is crying aloud for cultivation—and Mrs. Tennant appeals to the women to come forward.

One point about which there is naturally considerable anxiety is the question of the accommodation which will be available for workers on the land. In many rural districts this is a very difficult problem; but I think that the difficulty has been overcome. The arrangements are being made by the County War Agricultural Committees, and where necessary hostels will be established; and it may be taken for granted that they will ensure the comfort and welfare of the workers.

The women agricultural workers will be guaranteed a minimum wage, and they will be provided with an outfit by the State. Another attraction is the guarantee of 15s. a week for a period of four weeks during unemployment. But, as a matter of fact, claims on this allowance are not likely to be numerous. The call for labour is far too insistent and omnivorous.

Women have shown a splendid eagerness for service. It will be the business of the Department to direct their enthusiasm and goodwill into the right channels.

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19-3-17

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STIRRING CALL TO THE WOMEN OF BRITAIN.

ALBERT HALL MEETING.

THE QUEEN PRESENT.

Saturday's great National Service meeting for women at the Albert Hall was a wonderful and inspiring sight. Round the building half an hour before the doors were opened stood a ring of women four abreast, and broken only for a few yards before the main entrance, facing the Albert Memorial. Another great queue was in the course of formation on the west side near the College of Music. There were stories told by those waiting of enthusiasts who had taken up their positions at eight in the morning, and certainly many had waited three hours. Within the hall the great balcony began to fill rapidly, and later the gallery had all its accommodation soon occupied. To the boxes in due course came representatives of every well-known organisation of women in the country. In one could be seen the bonnets and uniform of the Salvation Army; in another was a contingent of district visitors. From the National Union of Women Workers came those who have associated themselves with all phases of social endeavour. Labour sent members of the executives of the trade unions All the special corps that the war has brought into being were to be seen—the Women's Patrols, the Women's Volunteer Reserve, and the Women Police, only to name a few. Brisk little Girl Guides helped in various ways.

Meantime a very distinguished company had assembled in the Royal box to await the arrival of the Queen. Among them were the Hon. Lady Haig, Lady Robertson, Adeline Duchess of Bedford (who has borne so active a part in connection with the Joint War Committee); Lady Perley, Lady Borden, Mrs. Fisher, Mrs. Schreiner, and Mrs. Massey, representing the self-governing Dominions, and Mrs. Creighton. The Queen was accompanied by Princess Victoria of Schleswig-Holstein, who was specially identified herself with the work of the Young Women's Christian Association, and in attendance were Countess Fortescue, Lady Bertha Dawkins, and Sir E. W. Wallington. Lady Ampthill received her Majesty, together with Miss Clapham (principal officer, Women's Section) and Mr. J. Jeffrey (assistant director). The ladies of the Royal Choral Society (conducted by Sir Frederick Bridge) had passed the hour of waiting very pleasantly with their selections, and on her Majesty's arrival the National Anthem was sung. As the Queen took her place it was noticed that by a very happy arrangement the box on her right was occupied by the senior sisters of the Royal Naval Nursing Service, while on the other hand were the Matron-in-Chief of Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military Nursing Service, with several members of her staff, the Matron-in-Chief of the Territorial Nursing Service, and the Matron-in-Chief of the Australian Nursing Service.

OVATION TO THE QUEEN.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain's graceful reference to the presence of "our beloved Queen" was the signal for the first round of hand-clapping. Being an entirely feminine audience, it did not cheer, but it showed its appreciation with no less vigour in this manner. Mrs. Tennant was heard well throughout the hall, speaking slowly and clearly, her appeal for wool now lying useless in various forms at home creating a good deal of interest. And her call to women to continue their useful efforts among the mothers and babies, and at clubs for girls, was a just recognition of the value of what women have been doing in these not very showy directions. Quite a new suggestion was Lord Derby's—that women could help with timber-felling, and the girls present listened with special attention to it. There was a ripple of amusement, too, when the Secretary for War referred to Mr. Prothero's promise that the outfits for women agricultural workers should be made to measure by Army contractors as easing upon the War Office one of the most difficult burdens that it had yet borne.

It remained for Mr. Hodge "to gather up the crumbs," as he said, and also to bring about the greatest scene of enthusiasm of the proceedings. He had spoken of her Majesty

consist merely of putting on uniforms and forming fours. There were many methods of rendering assistance to the country of a less sensational character. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.)

TASKS FOR VOLUNTEERS.

Mrs. H. J. Tennant, Director of the Women's Section of National Service, said the object of the meeting was rather to give direction to the universal energy women had shown than to make any appeal for an increase of that energy. There had never been a shortage of national service. Even in those directions in which some hesitation might have been anticipated there had been none. An appeal to women to serve in filling factories, at a moment when the country heard the news of a terrible explosion in which many lives were lost, was answered by more women coming forward for dangerous work than were necessary. (Cheers.) That was a tribute to the spirit of the women of this country. The need for service remained. The enemy act of sinking our ships left us tasks of a magnitude which had never been anticipated. One of those tasks was to supply timber for war needs. Timber-felling had, she supposed, been undertaken in this country as a rare relaxation and exercise by a very few women. But women were very adaptable, and it was hoped they would volunteer for the lighter classes of work in connection with the felling of trees and preparation of the timber. They would particularly and gratefully welcome the help of any of their overseas sisters who had had experience in this direction. A few had already volunteered. (Cheers.) Then both we and our Allies were short of wool. Here again the help of women was asked for. They wanted from every home all the waste material containing wool or cotton that could be spared. In the heavy woollen district of Yorkshire and other parts of the country it had been the practice on no insignificant scale to turn material of that kind afresh into yarn and cloth. It must now be done, not on the scale of peace-time, but of war-time; and as in peace time the conversion had been at the rate of 1,500 tons a week, they wanted every household to spare all the material of this kind it could do.

They wanted the help of all women's societies in this matter. They also wanted the help of all individuals who would come into their organisation for a house-to-house canvass and for the collection of the material. It meant blankets and clothing for the Army and the Navy. (Cheers.) Mrs. Tennant emphasised the fact that the care of mothers and of children was really national work.

"The needs of the Army in France and at home are pressing," Mrs. Tennant added. "I can understand their attraction; but in the glamour of France let us not forget the glory of England. The glory of England finds expression in many ways, but first of all it depends on her children." (Cheers.)

THE CALL OF THE LAND.

Mr. Prothero said the cultivation of the soil had become an urgent necessity of vital need. Appeals had been already made in a hundred ways to women, and they had responded so loyally and so bravely that Great Britain was thrilled with admiration for her women folk. He was confident the women would not fail now. (Cheers.) Women, constitutionally and physically strong, who had had experience of work on the land, these were the women wanted—women who, once engaged, would stick to the work not only in the summer months but through the winter. (Laughter and cheers.) The appeal was made to all women 18 years old and upwards. They would have to go before a selection committee composed of women—and there were on an average three such committees in every county—which would be instructed, except in special cases, to give preference to women of maturer age and character than women of 20. (Laughter.) The women selected would be given free an outfit supplied by the Army Clothing Department and supplied to measure. (Laughter.) All travelling expenses connected with the employment would be paid. From three to four weeks' free training would be given, either in depôts or on the farm. When once they were trained it was hoped to pass them out for work on the land. During unemployment they would be maintained free for four weeks.

He might try (Mr. Prothero continued) to paint the charms of working upon the land. (Laughter.) He did not pretend that work on the land was attractive to many women. It was hard, fatiguing, backaching work. Though it had variety, it was for long spells monotonous. It was dirty work. (Laughter.) It was work in all weathers, and it was poorly paid. The accommodation was rough, and those who undertook it had to face physical discomfort. In all these respects it was comparable to the work their men folk were doing in the trenches at the front. (Loud cheers.) "We want" (continued Mr. Prothero) "food grown here at home. The whole foundation of our being able to continue the war depends on food. Your sisters working in public offices feel that they have set men free to play the man's part in the trenches or on the seas. Your sisters working in munition factories are nerved to work beyond their strength by the thought that their labour spares the lives of men at the front. Your sisters nursing in the hospitals know that their ministrations save the sufferings of the wounded and bring them back to life. But without food, what is all that worth? You women who go to work on the land can feel that every weed you destroy, every ear of corn you help to grow, every animal you help to rear, means strength to the men at the front; it means restoring health to the wounded; it means the maintenance of the national strength to continue this struggle. Every sod you turn is a help towards the triumphant conclusion of this war. That you can do on the land. That is the call of the land. (Cheers.) If you women, from disinterested motives, out of patriotism, out of sheer patriotic endeavour,

Exchanges than they could find places for. But as the National Service organisation was completed, by substitution and dilution places would be found for more and more women. He therefore asked women to have patience until those plans were perfected. (Hear, hear.) "May I be permitted to remark," said Mr. Hodge, "how greatly indebted we fell to her Majesty for honouring us by her presence to-day?"

At these words the whole audience rose and broke into long-sustained applause.

The proceedings closed with the singing of the National Anthem, followed, on the call of Mr. Neville Chamberlain, by hearty cheers for the Queen.

CALL OF DUTY.

THE CITIZEN'S CHANCE.

Many interesting messages on the urgency of National Service have been received by the Director-General, two of which—from Lord Sydenham and Field-Marshal Sir Evelyn Wood—we quote below. Lord Sydenham's letter is as follows: "I am afraid that too many men and women still fail to realise the meaning and the need of National Service, or the patriotic duty which it imposes. We have reached a stage of the war at which success or failure turns upon the organised effort of the nation as a whole. Events draw to a crisis, and the enemy is throwing his whole weight and energy into the scales of war. For the sakes of our liberties and all that we hold dearest there must be no withholding of personal service if the Empire is to be maintained intact, untarnished in honour, and in the van of the world's progress. Our sailors and soldiers have fought most gallantly, and given their lives ungrudgingly, on sea and land and in the air. They have the right to claim that those who cannot fight should play a part in the unceasing work of all kinds which the supreme needs of the war demand. All of us have some aptitude or experience that can be turned to national account. There is work of the brain and of the hand, skilled and unskilled, in the factories, in the docks, and on the land. Men over the fighting age, and women, can release recruits for the ranks, and thus help to swell our armies in the field, and to keep alive essential industries which directly or indirectly provide for the necessities of the war and sustain the national life. We look to the Government so to organise the remaining resources of working power as to secure that each volunteer shall be employed in the capacity in which he or she can render the best aid to the Empire in the hour of danger. The National Service Department has undertaken these functions, and all to whom the love of country appeals have now the means of contributing their quota to the national strength. Never in our history has the call of duty been so clear and so imperative, and never before has the chance been given to every citizen to help to make certain the victory of the national cause."

"GO AND DO IT."

Sir Evelyn Wood's message is as follows:

"I suppose most British people of all classes have read the introduction of Nicholas Nickleby to his duties at Dotheboys Hall by Mr. Squeers, in the seventh chapter of Charles Dickens's marvellous creation. It will be remembered that Mr. Squeers's method was intensely practical. The eldest boy in the school was studying Bottinney (sic) by weeding the garden, and the second senior was directed to spell 'clean winder,' and then ordered to 'go and do it.'" Dotheboys Hall was not a model establishment, but I urge that the practical part of the lesson, 'Go and do it,' should be carried out by my fellow-countrymen, and so, in spite of appearing to be vainglorious, I mention the efforts of my own family. Our head, a midshipman, my great-nephew, has been mentioned in despatches from the Dardanelles; my three sons are all serving, two overseas, since the beginning of the war; one grandson overseas, and two training. My gardener, with one eye, has worked overtime in a V.A.D. hospital since the beginning of the war, and is now in the R.A.M.C.; the garden boy joined this week on attaining 18 years of age; my butler and coachman have been pensioners for thirty-five years or more; one groom overseas since early in the war; another classed C3 (v.d.h.) is serving. All the women servants, unasked by me, bought War Bonds. My little paddock was put under potatoes last year; my household is 2lb. under the weekly meat allowance; my bread expenditure has been to date 7oz in excess, which it is hoped will be corrected in future."

outfits for women agricultural workers should be made to measure by Army contractors as casting upon the War Office one of the most difficult burdens that it had yet borne.

It remained for Mr. Hodge "to gather up the crumbs," as he said, and also to bring about the greatest scene of enthusiasm of the proceedings. He had spoken of her Majesty as "a mother before a Queen." He had recalled how, at a garden party at Buckingham Palace some years ago, when the Royal children were younger than they are to-day, Mrs. Hodge had noted how they clung to their mother. He said he knew he was expressing all feelings when he asked them to join in thanking the Queen for the great encouragement she had given to all women's work. The applause that followed was tumultuous and prolonged. Suddenly, as though seized by one impulse, the whole audience rose, and, turning towards the Royal box, accorded a real ovation to her Majesty. It was just one of those spontaneous demonstrations that come from a full understanding. The Queen herself was obviously moved. As the rounds of clapping and the waving of handkerchiefs subsided a little she rose, and bowed repeatedly in acknowledgment.

A few minutes later and the speeches were over. Everyone joined with hearty fervour in singing the National Anthem, thus terminating one of the most remarkable gatherings of women that have ever been brought together. They had come to reaffirm their fixed desire to help in any way that would win the war, and they showed scant patience with the two or three feeble and ill-judged little efforts of discontented individuals who wanted to "protest" about something or other not quite in keeping with their own petty views.

MESSAGE FROM THE QUEEN.

Upon Mr. Neville Chamberlain rising, as chairman, to open the proceedings, a woman in the body of the hall shouted, "I am here on behalf of the Women's Suffrage Federation to express our strong opposition to national service, because we know it means industrial conscription." The interruption was met with hisses from different parts of the hall, and the interrupter was quietly escorted from the building. Silence having been obtained, Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said: This great meeting will be memorable in many respects, but first of all because we have been honoured by the presence of our beloved Queen. (Cheers.) Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to desire that I should say to you what pleasure it gives her to be present this afternoon at such an important meeting, and to convey to you her Majesty's great appreciation of the magnificent services rendered by the women of this country since the beginning of the war. (Cheers.) The Queen earnestly hopes that all those who are not already engaged in essential work will respond whole-heartedly to any further calls which may be made upon them. In the name of this vast assembly, I desire to thank her Majesty for the encouragement she has given us by her presence and by her gracious message. (Cheers.) We deeply appreciate this mark of her ever-present interest in women's work, given to us under the shadow of a great sorrow, and we assure her Majesty that her inspiring words will find a ready and a loyal echo in the heart of every woman in the land. (Cheers.)

Mr. Chamberlain said he had another message to give to the meeting which came from France, and was as follows: "The Association for the Voluntary Encouragement of French Women for National Service, one in heart and thought and hope with their sisters in Great Britain, desire to express to them their warmest sympathy on this great occasion." (Cheers.) He proposed to send the following reply: "This great meeting of British women thank their French sisters most warmly for the inspiring message of sympathy and support, and pledge their unalterable resolve to further the great cause of liberty and civilisation which unites both nations in sacred bonds." (Cheers.)

Among all the changes in our social fabric brought about by the war, he continued, none was more remarkable than the development of women's activities, in which connection he desired to read a letter from Sir Edward Carson, which was as follows:

My dear Chamberlain.—I should like to be permitted to express, on behalf of the Board of Admiralty, our sense of deep obligation to the women who have come forward to help us in various ways at this time of national stress. Before the war no women were employed in our central offices in London; we now avail ourselves of the services of nearly 2,000. In the Royal dockyards and naval establishments at home there were about 400 women employed before the war; there are now about 7,000. In the private engineering shops before the war there were, of course, many women employed, but the number since the war has increased manifold. In the private shipyards before the war there were probably few, if any, women employed; there are now many thousands. I could not easily overstate their devotion to their work. Their physical endurance is, in my opinion, beyond the expectation even of those who rightly understand the spirit which inspires them. I shall be glad if you will allow me this opportunity of making this statement, and to say that undoubtedly we shall want many more women as the work of dilution and substitution in the Royal dockyards and naval establishments and in the private engineering shops and shipyards proceeds. (Cheers.)

All he desired to impress upon the meeting, the chairman added, was that national service did not [illegible] every [illegible] of corn you help to grow, every animal you help to rear, means strength to the men at the front; it means restoring health to the wounded; it means the maintenance of the national strength to continue this struggle. Every sod you turn is a help towards the triumphant conclusion of this war. That you can do on the land. That is the call of the land. (Cheers.) If you women, from disinterested motives, out of self-sacrifice, out of sheer patriotic endeavour, take up this work on the land—(A Voice: This means industrial slavery, against which I protest)—I believe you will exercise over this country and in country districts an untold influence for good. Into the remote districts the war has hardly penetrated. Men go on in their old ways. They do not feel the urgency of the need, and you women can carry into these remote districts a fiery cross of patriotic endeavour. (Cheers.)

WAR SECRETARY'S CONFIDENCE.

The Earl of DERBY, Secretary for War, said Mr. Prothero and himself were present not as the opponents some people would make believe they were, but as allies joining hand in hand to advance a cause which in turn would help both of them. He had to get men for the Army; he knew that Mr. Prothero had to get work done on the farms. They both knew that the only way in which their requirements could be met was by women coming forward to help in the work. (Cheers.)

In the last few months he had often had to appeal for men to join the Army. He now appealed for women to join the great industrial army, in order that men might be released for the front. They could do it by taking the places of men at home as substitutes. Mr. Prothero had mentioned one branch. There were many others. Munitions work especially was a branch of our national activities in which they could relieve men to go to the front. With reference to timber, which was now under War Office control, if they could get all they required in England and France, it would practically nullify the loss of the whole of the shipping sunk by German submarines last year. He understood from what Mr. Prothero had said that the War Office had now undertaken to supply women's clothing. (Laughter.) He felt that of all the heavy burdens the War Office had taken on its shoulders that was by far the heaviest. (Laughter.) Women, he proceeded, could help in works from which so many men had been taken that the firms could not struggle on. It was only by additional labour, and that women's labour, that the industries of this country would be continued. In connection with the work of the Royal Flying Corps alone, the War Office would require the help of something like 6,000 women.

Then there was work in France. That seemed to attract an enormous number of ladies. They wanted comparatively few at present, and although the number required would grow, they had already something like ten times as many applicants as they could possibly employ. There was a certain amount of truth in the statement that novelty appealed to almost every woman. If it was confined to hats and clothes it did not matter much—(laughter)—but if it meant leaving one form of national work to take up another because it was more attractive, then he could say that was not patriotic. (Hear, hear.) If he were able to do so he would prevent any woman coming into the ranks of War Office employment who had given up other national work to do so. He asked women to give up as much time as they could spare from their homes to work in Army and munitions canteens, which had proved of inestimable value. Their services, however, would not be of the least use unless they stuck to what they said they would do.

"We do not intend in any way," Lord Derby added, to interfere with the work of national service. It is through Mr. Chamberlain we shall get all the assistance we require, and it is only to him that we shall apply for women's services. This is not a meeting to inaugurate women's work, but to reaffirm the determination of all women to help in every way they possibly can. Let me say with all the force at my command that this country will have to see far greater privations before the end is reached than any of those present, perhaps, may have any idea of. In this we want the help of women as well as of men—women who will not grumble, but will take everything as it comes as being only part and parcel of the burden the war is placing upon us. I look forward to the future with absolute confidence, resting assured that women will undertake their work and their duties with the same courage, confidence, and self-sacrifice as are their brothers in the trenches in France and Flanders." (Cheers.)

RESERVE OF WOMAN POWER.

Miss VIOLET MARKHAM, Deputy-Director Women's Section of National Service, said it must be remembered that the women's problem was different from that of the men. There was a shortage of men: there was no shortage of women. (Laughter.) Before the war there were over twelve million women in this country between the ages of 18 and 60, of whom nearly five million were unmarried. Of that total over four million were occupied women, engaged in wage-earning, and of them some 40 per cent. were employed in industry. Since the war it was calculated that about one million more women had entered wage-earning occupations. Of course, from the twelve million women available for work very large reductions had to be made, but even then the figure showed a large reserve of woman power in this country.

Mr. JOHN HODGE, Minister of Labour, remarked that more women had registered at the Labour

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19-3-17

WILLING WOMEN.

To the Editor of *The Daily Mail.*

Sir,—I am well fitted for war work and I have good health, but because I am over 41 I am passed by. I put my name down at the Labour Bureau and after three weeks received a communication of regret. I tried next through the "Woman's Service" and had no reply. And then to the Admiralty, with the same result.

I have arranged my home duties so that I can give from 10 to 6 to outside work, and I am anxious to do so. Surely there should be someone to interview willing workers who are over 41 years of age—someone who could judge by their appearance and record of good health their fitness for war work.

A. E. G.

Morning Post
19-3-17

WOMEN'S WAR WORK.

No more inspiriting overture could have been devised to the call to national service for women than the great meeting at the Albert Hall on Saturday. It afforded another convincing demonstration—though to-day further evidence is hardly needed—of that eagerness to bear sacrifice and to render service which the women of this country, not less than the men, have displayed in the present supreme national ordeal. The trouble with the authorities—who, truly, appear sensible of the fact—will be not to get women workers enough but to allot to them the parts that they can most usefully play. As Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, it may well be that "women, properly organised, may give the nation the strength that will enable us to win the last lap and to secure an honourable and lasting peace," but it were idle to ignore the fact that the organisation will not be an easy matter. It may be doubted, for instance, whether there is much scope for women in the work of tree-felling; and whether women on the land can ever be adequate substitutes for the skilled agriculturists who have been withdrawn for the Army. But unquestionably women have proved their capacity for all sorts of work which were thought before the war to be man's exclusive province; and it may be hoped that in their laudable zeal and enthusiasm they will not forget that there is still one vital branch of national service in which many of them are irreplaceable—the service of the home. It may not be heroic, but it is nevertheless priceless.

A branch of that service is to be found in the domestic economy to which a call was uttered on Saturday. There women can help the nation's need, both by influence and example, as no other power in the State can do. They are trained to economy in the little things that may make so much difference in the total result; and the authorities would be well-advised in such a matter in obtaining women's assistance in the organisation of their schemes. That would be both a timely and prudent endorsement of "the great appreciation of the magnificent services rendered by the women of the country since the beginning of the war," which the QUEEN, in her gracious message, expressed. The compliment was one which the women of this country must be anxious to return. For no woman has shown more earnestness in good works "since the beginning of the war" than her MAJESTY herself. She has given a lead for which the country cannot be too grateful, and with results that are too little known. As soon as the war began the QUEEN opened her Work for Women's Fund, with benefits that have grown with time, and with the same insight and initiative her MAJESTY reorganised her Queen Mary's Needlework Guild in order to adapt it to the supply of clothes and comforts for the fighting forces. From the great depot opened at St. James's Palace hundreds of thousands of garments for our soldiers and sailors have been issued; and it is easy to believe that without such an organisation in existence the War Office authorities would have found themselves more than once in the position of not being able to fulfil the demands which they had to meet. It is the memory of such gracious and practical acts that makes still stronger any appeal that the QUEEN may issue to the women of England; and how instant and overwhelming was the response to Saturday's message may be read in the spirit and character of Saturday's meeting.

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We see that the *Daily Chronicle*, usually a supporter of the Government, definitely announces that it will insert no more advertisements appealing for merely general enrolment for National Service, which it declares to be nothing but waste of public money. This is a rebuke which Mr. Neville Chamberlain will appreciate; and we may, it is to be hoped, look for the early abandonment of what was, from the outset, an impracticable scheme. The appeal for women now at last issued, unlike that for men, is on the right lines. Volunteers are invited for a specific industry; a definite wage is guaranteed (18s. per week as a minimum); free training is provided, with the necessary clothing; and suitable arrangements for lodging are promised. Whether the wage offered is, at present food prices, at all adequate for trained women doing the work of men, when untrained townsmen are to get 25s. per week, may well be doubted; but if it does not attract the amount can be raised. At any rate (and this may be commended to the Board of Agriculture) the wage is to be paid in cash—another nail in the coffin of "allowances"! Meanwhile the Local Government Board refuses to allow eager Town Councils to set free thousands of men, who are now being wasted in our extravagant system of multiple retail distribution, by organising a municipal distribution of milk and coal.

Evening News
31-3-17

WOMEN FOR THE WOODS.

Woodcutters to Live in Caravans and Use the Cross-Cut Saw.

Sixteen woman woodcutters were selected at the Women's National Service Headquarters to-day.

They are to start work in the woods at Bucknell, Shropshire, after Easter. They will live in caravans and be under the direction of Miss Dorothy Cook, who has already had experience in pit-prop cutting.

Miss Cook's agent, Miss Gwendoline Caffrey, who selected the girls, said that she must have those—

Used to out-door life;
Fairly young;
Prepared to meet physical exertion.

"Girls used to rowing," said Miss Caffrey, "are specially useful; they have the right muscles developed."

The women will—

Learn to measure and mark the trees for logs;
Use the cross-cut saw;
Clear undergrowth, using the billhook.

About sixty women will be wanted in all for the party.

British Australasian
5-7-17

Women workers are wanted in yet another strenuous occupation—to prepare and fell timber for pit-props, light sleepers, and other war purposes. The National Service Department is arranging for the training of a certain number of women in this kind of work as an experiment, and all volunteers must be strong and reliable, and over 18 years of age. The High Commissioner for Australia has been asked by the department to make the matter known among suitable Australian women who may have an aptitude for and be attracted by this kind of work. Outfits, free training, and travelling expenses will be provided free to begin with, and after that volunteers will be asked to sign an agreement to do forestry work until the end of the autumn, and to go where the Department likes to send them. The particulars may be learned from the High Commissioner

The Queen
24. 3. 17

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WOMEN'S NATIONAL SERVICE.

ALBERT HALL MEETING.

ALL ROUND THE ALBERT HALL last Saturday stood women in a close-packed, orderly crowd, hoping by dint of patient waiting to gain a place when the doors opened. There were enough of them to fill the hall and to leave a big audience for the overflow meeting. Inside the dark appearance of the crowd (mourning being very generally worn for the late Duchess of Connaught) was broken by patches of lighter tones. On one side of the Royal box was a group of Army nurses, and on the other Naval nurses wearing the characteristic flowing white cap. A line of khaki was picked out by the members of the Women's Volunteer Reserve, who also, under the direction of Mrs Charles, acted as stewards in concert with the Girl Guides. Meantime white-dressed women of the Royal Choral Society, conducted by Sir Frederick Bridge, sang just the right kind of songs. To Sir Hubert Parry's setting Blake's lines seemed to give the text that the great occasion signified:

I will not cease from mental fight,
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand.
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land.

Presently the Queen arrived, accompanied by Princess Victoria of Schleswig-Holstein, and attended by Countess Fortescue, Lady Bertha Dawkins, and Sir Edward Wallington. Her Majesty was received at the entrance by Lady Ampthill, chairman of the organising committee; Miss Clapham, principal officer of the Women's Section; and Mr J. Jeffrey, assistant director of the same department. Seats in the Royal box were also occupied by Mrs Schreiner, Mrs Fisher, Lady Perley, and Lady Mackenzie, wives of the Colonial High Commissioners for South Africa, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand; Lady Borden, wife of the Canadian Premier; Mrs Massey, wife of the Premier of New Zealand; Lady Haig, wife of Sir Douglas Haig; Lady Robertson, wife of Sir William Robertson; Adeline Duchess of Bedford, and Mrs Creighton.

The platform was crowded with women well known in the spheres of political and administrative work. There were Mrs Asquith, Lady Curzon, Marchioness of Crewe, Countess of Derby, Mrs Austen Chamberlain, Mrs Neville Chamberlain, Mrs Prothero, Lady Doreen Long, Lady Reading, Mrs McKenna, Mrs Winston Churchill, Mrs Arthur Henderson, Mrs H. A. L. Fisher, Lady Cave, Countess of Selborne, Viscountess Harcourt, Mrs Lowther, Miss Talbot (the organiser of women's agricultural work), Lady Rhondda, Lady Emmott, Miss Mary MacArthur (the industrial authority), Miss Anderson (the chief woman factory inspector), and Miss Constance Smith, Miss Mona Wilson (one of the Commissioners for Women's National Service), Lady Robert Cecil, Mrs Furse, Lady Askwith, Viscountess Cowdray, Lady Edmund Talbot, Miss Durham (superintendent of the Women's Department of the Employment Exchanges), as well as representatives of the women's colleges, the War Employment Committees, Board of Agriculture, Home Office, Local Government Board, Ministry of Munitions, and Ministry of Labour. Boxes were allotted to some of the leading women's societies.

[J. Gashion.

THE QUEEN ARRIVING AT THE WOMEN'S WAR SERVICE MEETING AT THE ALBERT HALL.

The Queen's Message.

As the Queen entered a wave of enthusiasm passed over the audience. Everyone rose; and when the notes of the National Anthem ceased the chairman, Mr Neville Chamberlain, beginning, as did all the speakers, with the words, "May it please your Majesty," went on to say that this would be a meeting memorable in many respects, but especially by being honoured by the presence of their beloved Queen, who had further desired him to say on her behalf that it gave her great pleasure to be present at such an important meeting. Her Majesty, he continued, had appreciated the magnificent services rendered by the women of this country since the beginning of the war. It was the Queen's hope that all women who were not already engaged in essential work would respond to the call made upon them. On behalf of the meeting Mr Chamberlain thanked Her Majesty for this gracious message. A cordial message of sympathy from the President of the Association for the Voluntary Enrolment of French Women in the National Service was also read by the chairman, together with a draft of the telegram of thanks which he proposed to send in reply. Yet a third message came from Sir Edward Carson on behalf of the Board of Admiralty, recording the valuable help which women had given to the Board. Nearly 2000 women were now employed at the Central Office, and some 7000 at the dockyards, as well as a great number in the private engineering shops and shipyards. It would not be easy, Sir Edward Carson thought, to overstate the devotion to their work which women had shown. As the work of dilution and substitution proceeded many more women would be required by the Board of Admiralty.

Speaking on his own behalf, Mr Neville Chamberlain said he had never doubted that the response of women to the call made upon them would be immediate and overwhelming. The difficulty, indeed, had been that women had searched before work was ready for them to do. [illegible] mean putting on uniform or joining corps. It was often much less sensational in character. But woman power, properly organised, would give the nation strength to win the last lap, and to secure for themselves and their children a lasting peace.

Timber Women and Foresters.

It had been rumoured that Mrs Tennant, Director of the Women's Section, would have some new suggestion to offer. It came in the form of an appeal to young and strong women to make good the loss of timber caused by the sinking of ships and the withdrawal of woodmen. Timber was required for pit-props, railway sleepers, huts, and many other purposes. She thought women might undertake the lighter tasks of timber hewing and cutting, and she appealed to those overseas women who had had experience of the work to help their British sisters. Her second proposal was made with the object of conserving our stocks of wool. She asked women who could give part-time to organise a house-to-house collection of disused woollen, and also cotton articles, which could be made again into yarn for cloth. In peace time 1500 tons a week were converted in this way, and now the need was much more urgent, since large stores of blankets and Army cloth were wanted. But Mrs Tennant devoted some of her time to making an appeal to women at home to go on with some of the good works in which they were previously engaged. She emphasised the special need for well-managed girls' clubs and for societies undertaking the care of infants and young mothers. The glory of England must depend upon her children.

Our Fields and Kitchen Gardens.

Gardening was "not a case of lilac sunbonnets," said Mr Prothero, who was not out to mince matters. ("It was more a case of corduroy breeches," whispered one lady.) It was backaching, dirty work, and must be carried on in the winter as well as in the summer. All the nearer, then, did it approach to some of the hardships which our men were enduring in the trenches. But the country had lost a third of its ordinary cultivators, and the nation must have food. The Board of Agriculture called for strong young women of good character, preferably about the age of twenty. It would give them a free outfit from the Army Clothing Department—"made to measure," he added enticingly—and a training of from three to four weeks in a depot or on a farm. Then the pupils would be passed on for work under suitable conditions of housing and pay. They would not be left in isolation, but in every parish a woman would be appointed to see after their welfare. Between engagements they would be maintained during unemployment for not more than four weeks. The cultivation of the land offered no scope for great achievement, but, added the President of the Board of Agriculture, it had surely been "the part of women to do the little things and to do them greatly."

The Novelty Hunting Woman.

Lord Derby's view was that one of the most interesting chapters in the history of the war would be the history of women's work. Before the war that work had only been organised in sections. What women had already accomplished as Red Cross, V.A.D., and canteen workers was beyond all praise. He asked other women whether they, too, could not play their part equally well, yet he did not wish women to suppose that a "general mobilisation" was contemplated. He asked each woman to do what she was best fitted to undertake. He appealed more particularly to women to join the industrial army in order to release more men for the front. He emphasised the demands already made for women in munition works, in the timber trade, and for making good the deficiencies of clothing material. Then there was the Flying Corps, whose requirements necessitated the work of women, of whom 600 more [illegible] Office of work in France had met with an enormous response. Novelty appealed to almost every woman. If it was restricted to novelty in hats and clothes it did not so much matter; but the War Office did not desire the services of women who were ready to give up important national work for work that was more attractive. "You must stick to the work you say you'll do!" he declared seriously; and it is to be hoped that Lord Derby's statement will be noted by many women whom it concerns. The War Office, he added, would engage women through the National Service Department at St. Ermin's. There was a sentence of general warning in the speech, when Lord Derby said that the country would have to see far greater privations before the end was reached. This meeting must be regarded as reaffirming women's determination to help in every way possible, and to undertake their tasks with the same self-sacrifice and courage as were displayed by their brothers in France and Flanders

"No Shortage of Women."

Miss Violet Markham, Deputy Director of Women's National Service, abstained as clearly as did Lord Derby from encouraging women to think they ought to take any tremendous step in the way of mobilising themselves. "There was a shortage of men, there was no shortage of women," she said, in clear tones, looking at the vast hall packed with members of her sex. Before the war there were twelve millions of women between the ages of eighteen and sixty, of whom nearly five millions were unmarried, and four millions were in wage-earning employments. About one million more had entered wage-earning occupations during the war. Making all deductions, there were large reserves of woman power. There was a shortage of skilled women, but a great surplus of women eager to serve, yet untrained. One lesson of the war was that every woman ought to be trained in a trade or occupation, and be competent to do some one thing well. The war could not have been carried on successfully without the services of women, and Miss Markham paused to pay special tribute to the labours of munition workers. Yet she reminded her hearers that there were 66,000 women on the "live" registers of the Employment Exchanges. There had been widespread dislocation of industry, and there were large "patches of unemployment." Substitution and dilution of industry would raise difficult and delicate problems. Wholesale and heroic measures were not possible, nor must women in employment be asked to play "general post." Therefore they of the Women's National Service Department did not propose to call up women in the mass but individually and as required. She asked each woman to be ready to answer the call to work when it came.

A genial little speech from Mr Hodge, Minister of Labour, wound up the afternoon, and at his suggestion three hearty cheers were given for the Queen.

The general impression left by the speeches was that the leaders of the Women's Section of National Service are at present rather feeling their way. It is impossible to say everything about women's employment within a couple of hours, and especially in a place like the Albert Hall. Yet it might perhaps have been indicated that a really good education on scientific lines would enable many women to fill important posts and to perform valuable service who now form part of the mass of the great unwanted.

M. H.

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M. H.

Weekly Courier
31. 3. 17

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700,000 WOMEN

EMPLOYED IN MUNITION WORKS

URGENT CALL FOR WORKERS ON THE LAND.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Director-General of National Service addressing a crowded meeting at the Sun Hall, Liverpool, referring to a previous speech in which he said he wanted half a million volunteers, remarked that it would clear up any misunderstanding on that score if he pointed out that that figure was not a careful calculation based upon the complete estimate of our present and future needs. It was rather a round figure sufficient to cover present needs, but the position was constantly changing, and if the war was prolonged he had very little doubt that they would require more than that. Where were they to come from? In the first place, they must make use of their woman-power. They had done that already, and to a greater extent than most people realised. He believed that there was something like 700,000 women employed at present in munition works. He did not know the number of women employed before the war, but he thought it must have increased at least fourfold since the war began. The process of putting women to do men's work would go on until the end of the war, and as the great struggle went on they would have to find more and more women to help them. At present there was no shortage of woman labour, but there were certain things for which women were wanted, and they were going to make special appeals in this connection. He felt quite certain they would get women to undertake the jobs for which they were required. One of them was essentially a woman's department. They wanted women in connection with the V.A.D., which had rendered splendid service. Not only nurses were wanted, but also general staff women, and he believed that in the course of the next six months they might have to ask for a fresh contingent of something like 10,000 women.

Work on the Land.

Dealing with employment of women in the treatment of home-grown timber, Mr. Chamberlain said it seemed somewhat unusual to imagine women going into forests and cutting down trees, but he had been informed that women could be of great service not in the felling of trees, but in cutting off the smaller branches, etc. Canadian women experienced in that kind of work had been brought over to act as instructresses in timber work, and he was very hopeful of the result of an appeal to women in this direction, because it would set free considerable tonnage for the carriage of food to the country.

The great task for which they required women was on the land. Perhaps the work was not very attractive. The pay was rather low, but he was informed it would keep them, and allow for pocket money. There was no attractive uniform, but there was a pair of top boots. Many women might like to go to France to share the discomforts of their brothers in the firing-line. Something would be done in that direction, for women would be able to set free men by acting as cooks, clerks, drivers, etc. That involved a great deal of preliminary work in the provision of proper accommodation, hospitals in case of illness. Obviously those things would have to be duplicated for the sexes. They could take large numbers of women on the land at the present moment, and although there were many discomforts attached to the work, he felt sure that the women of the country would undertake it. The work was of definite value to the country.

Organisation of Labour.

Turning to another aspect of the labour problem, the speaker said there would have to be greater organisation of the labour that was already employed in essential industries. He explained that he had heard of cases where groups of men in one workshop had not enough work to do, while at the same time similar work was waiting to be done in a neighbouring shop. He thought that if the employers and the trade unionists would work together they might find a very considerable supply of labour from that source alone.

Then there was the transference of labour from less essential to more essential occupations. He fully appreciated the importance to the country of maintaining its industries, and they did not want to destroy any industry if they could help it. There was only one way of solving the problem of finding employment for the men who would come back when the war was over. That was by so organising their industries that they could find employment for all. (Hear, hear.) Yes, but how could they find employment in industries if there was no nucleus left for them to build upon? At present there was not enough labour to go round, and so it must be the duty of someone to say who must go short. They had endeavoured in an order recently issued to divide the labour. That order had been received with a certain amount of criticism, which was directed not so much against the object as against the method of carrying it out.

Do Without Beer.

If there was not enough labour to go round, well we must try and do for a time as best we can without our pianos, gramophones, without our furs, and without our beer bottles. He did not think anybody would object to that. (Laughter.) What was objected to was that in restricting these occupations it was said they were preventing a certain number of people from finding employment in the trade to which they were accustomed, and yet at the same time they were unable to find them occupation in the trades which required the reinforcement of labour. That was a very reasonable criticism. It was one they had to meet, and they were endeavouring to meet it in this way, that they said anybody who would enrol as a National Service Volunteer might be taken on by any employer in any trade whatsoever. Their objection in creating these restrictions was to divert labour from less essential to more essential occupations. If they could not give a man a job in a more essential occupation there was no reason why he should be lost. Therefore they said, "Continue at your old employment, enrol as a volunteer for national service, and if we find a vacancy we can come to you and ask you to fill it." (Cheers.) That was the object of the order, but he was not sure that even so it was an ideal method of carrying out what was wanted. At any rate they were going to try something else.

Men for the Army.

In the new circumstances of which he spoke a large number of men had got to be drawn from the munition works for the Army, and they would have a demand which would be much more definite in character, and which enabled them to go to men and say what work they would be put to and the wages they would get if they undertook to do it. (Cheers.) It had been suggested to him from various quarters that if they took a town or district and said, "We want so many men from you," then there would be no difficulty in obtaining volunteers. There was a good deal to be said for that, but on the other hand they had got to work quickly, and he was afraid if they took town by town there would be certain jealousy as between one trade and another as to who should furnish the men, and much time might be occupied in settling disputes of that character. He thought it was possible to take separate trades and deal with them in that way. They had a scheme now for dealing with these restricted occupations, taking them trade by trade, and getting returns from the employers of the largest groups, so that they could see what they could do. They would fix for each trade the number of men they thought could be released without doing more injury to the trade than was necessary. This would be a voluntary scheme, and if dealt with in a broad-minded and patriotic spirit they would have no reason to be afraid of the result. One trade alone had already put up a scheme by which 2,000 men could be released for the Army and another 1,000 men as substitutes. If that could be done in one trade, he believed if the process were extended throughout the country it might go far to solve the problem he had before him. (Hear, hear.) There had been much talk in some parts of the country as to whether this scheme should not have been compulsory rather than voluntary.

No Threats.

It was decided by the War Cabinet that they should try a voluntary scheme, and if that was not successful then they might make it compulsory. "I am not using any threats," said Mr. Chamberlain. "I don't think Englishmen need to be threatened. (Hear, hear.) But I do put it to you that in this crisis of our country, if we put our whole strength into the struggle we may perhaps achieve some decisive result at an early date. It is up to all of us to put aside prejudices and suspicions, and work shoulder to shoulder and wholeheartedly in support of whatever scheme may be put up to us. (Cheers.)

WOMEN'S NATIONAL SERVICE.

Questions and Complications.

By MRS MARGARET HEITLAND.

THE PROBLEM of women's National Service has not been altogether clarified by the Albert Hall meeting. The effect of that great meeting was to still in the bosoms of some of the elder and less vigorous women the anxiety to be doing other work than that which life had prescribed for them. These would return to their homes feeling that (as servants say) there was no call for them to "leave their present situation." But many of the younger women—though the average age of the audience was a ripe one—must remain tormented with self-questionings. To some of these younger women, but not by any means to all, did the speakers indicate appropriate national labour.

Let me try to explain what, as I believe, a large number of educated, capable girls are thinking. They wish very much to be up and doing; though, indeed, most of them are by no means unoccupied as it is. They wish intensely to help their people through the last and most critical stage of the war. But they are not quite sure that they will help most effectively by making a complete sacrifice of all their previous education and training, especially if by making such a sacrifice they were to become less useful members of the community during the difficult years of international economic struggle that lie before us. Not a few of them are preparing at the Universities, colleges, and training centres to become scientific investigators, inspectors, industrial superintendents, chemists, organisers, and utilisers in various ways of trained mental powers. Ought they to break off the course of this elaborate preparation to go upon the land and to receive eighteen shillings a week?

The Question of Crops.

Perhaps they may decide that they ought to do this. For my own part, I think the right decision depends a good deal upon the circumstances of each case. If a girl has not yet begun her higher or professional training, then, if her health is sound, let her postpone this training and give from now till the end of the autumn to the cultivation of foodstuffs. Let any possible interlude be employed in this or in some other of the species of labour that are more obviously labelled just now as National Service. And it is well to point out that these apparent sacrifices sometimes mean more gain than loss. It is a great advantage to anyone, but to women especially, to get out of a social or professional groove. Often one gains more real change by going to live in a cottage or farm half a mile from home than by moving from hotel to hotel in what is supposed to be the enjoyment of foreign travel. Similarly, many girls who have left comfortable homes to enter munition factories have thus learnt more about life than they would have done by remaining in the decent stagnation of a residential district.

Postponing the General Call to Women.

I have mentioned "Questions and Complications" at the head of this article, and I think it right, though in no carping spirit, to indicate them. Our towns, since the Albert Hall meeting, have been more thickly placarded than ever with appeals for National Service. But it is apparent that these appeals are more immediately addressed to men. Women may, of course, offer their labour at once through any of the Employment Exchanges, as they have been doing since the outbreak of war. They have been asked to offer more particularly for farm and garden work, forestry and joinery, aeroplane work, and munition making. But for the present they are not to be nationally registered afresh, as are the men, nor are they appealed to in the mass. The chief reasons for the call to service not being addressed to them in the mass are: first, because there are so many women; second, that so few of them are skilled in the right way. The very mention of such reasons as these causes a sense of disappointment, and sets women questioning why training has been withheld from them.

This question of training for important work is rankling a good deal just now. Small casual indications suggest an answer. The objections offered by professional bodies of lawyers to the entry of women into their profession; the opposition of the London taxi-drivers to drivers' licences being given to qualified women; the curious hindrances encountered by women who try to learn certain well-paid trades—all these hindrances explain themselves too readily. Already we hear of the compulsory restriction of trades; and if these trades employ numerous women workers, women may have further reason to wonder how their powers are to find free scope. Twenty years ago optimists were wont to assure young women workers that there was "plenty of room at the top." It may have been true; but when the top was reached women were apt to find that the space was reserved. Undoubtedly women occupy far more posts than they did at salaries of from £200 to £500 or more a year; but they only do so by virtue of the University education which they have insisted on securing, and even now complaints of the absence of proper chances for promotion are many and well made out.

Wanted: The Note of Encouragement.

It is with these difficulties and doubts that the organisers of women's National Service will have to contend. I could have wished that one or other of the Albert Hall speakers had said in effect, "You women who have done well at the Universities, we can use you. The country will need more women of your type later. You who think of studying engineering, do so. If any of you are skilled chemists, come forward. If you are good linguists, replace men temporarily in some of the commercial houses. We want accountants for the banks. We want stockbrokers' clerks who shall have a chance of learning stockbroking. There is a shortage of men's labour; there is no shortage of women's. Consequently we must help women to train at once, so that they can make good that shortage. And after the war, when trade is skilfully developed, all of you who have become expert and valuable workers will help your country infinitely better than if you remained, what so many of you are now, compulsorily unskilled and compulsorily underpaid." I should have liked, in short, to hear the note of hope more clearly sounded in the ears of that eager and enthusiastic crowd.

I realise that if it had been sounded there would have been an even bigger rush of women to St. Ermin's than had been the case during the preceding weeks. Such a rush would be inconvenient, because the majority of the applicants would not be ready to fill the places that are vacant. But surely this is the cogent reason for handling this mass of women betimes, and moulding them by training for the work they are required to do. In agriculture such a scheme of training is in tolerable though not very complete working order. It is complicated by the offer of soldiers' labour which is made in some districts; and the extremely low pay suggested for women is a distinct difficulty. The value of money declines weekly, and the purchasing power of 18s. may perhaps be reckoned to-day at about 10s. 6d. This point is not sufficiently regarded. Even the comparatively high wages earned by women in munition work are not in all cases such a vast improvement on pre-war pay, if we reduce the sum in money to its terms in purchasing power. If £1 to-day means for buying purposes 12s., 25s. (which sounds such a comfortable wage for an uneducated girl) is only for practical purposes 15s., or the old fairly good wage of the factory girl, whose toil was moderate and never included nightwork.

Women in general will not cavil about the nature of their work or about the amount of their wages, provided two conditions are met. These conditions are (1) that they are working for the benefit of the nation at large (as, at the front, the soldiers, the doctors, the chaplains, and the nurses are working) and not to yield an extra war profit to an individual employer, and (2) that they as workers are put fairly on an equality with men, and are given good opportunities for training and for subsequent promotion. In short, the fear of exploitation must be banished.

Training First and Always.

The conditions imposed by the war are putting in women's way many good opportunities for training. One of the most far-seeing women's societies has helped women to do some of the finer kinds of engineering, metal-work, and glass-blowing, which such workers would not have been allowed even to learn to do in former times. To the printing trade women are gaining admission, and employers are announcing the discovery that their work is good. To Mrs Tennant, as Director of Women's National Service, it is clear that we may look for a lead with regard to some branches of the building trades, notably those connected with woodwork and carpentry. She has, it is understood, a considerable scheme on hand for the building by women of huts for other women war-workers. Those of us who have known anything of Mrs Tennant's work in industrial affairs will feel confident that she will go forward both boldly and carefully, knowing the end in view, and planning all the details.

The training and knowledge acquired by women in all the fields of labour they are now entering can never be thrown away. But to say so much implies that there may be an endeavour later to annul their present gains. Surely such an endeavour would be very bad national policy. To look at it from only one point of view, it would mean the remaking of slums and the refilling of our workhouses. Looked at from another, it means the loss of many skilled trades and their output. Keeping such considerations as these before our mind, I hold that we ought to press for the further training of women as the essential preliminary to their employment. The lesson taught by all our Employment Exchanges, National Service registration schemes, and the like is that to make any of these undertakings as useful as they might be it is absolutely needful that the offering of facilities for proper training should be part—and, indeed, almost the main part—of the women's side of the business. An Employment Department has not merely to put the pegs into the holes; it must try to shape the pegs to fit the holes. The Employment Exchanges would not be encumbered with such an enormous "live register" of women if they were given more power to help in this shaping.

SCHOLARSHIPS AT OXFORD.—The following scholarships have been awarded at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford: The Old Students' scholarship of £70 a year to C. M. Canning, Ladies' College, Cheltenham (history); the James Cropper scholarship of £50 a year to C. Anson, Manchester and Clapham High Schools (German); the Mary Talbot scholarship of £40 a year to H. M. Snelgrove, Croydon High School (French); the Anne Chalmers Bennet Clark exhibition of £20 a year to I. M. A. Naylor, Queen's School, Chester (history); an exhibition of £20 a year to G. R. Wood, Edgbaston High School (history). The following scholarships have been awarded at St. Hugh's College, Oxford: A college scholarship of £35 a year to G. R. Spurway, Ladies' College, Cheltenham (history); a college scholarship of £25 a year to N. P. Clark, Clapham High School (history).

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Daily Mail
25.6.17

WHERE TO FIND LAND WOMEN.

Girls are urgently wanted for the land, particularly for weeding and milking.—National Service Appeal.

The Government is still in a dilemma how to satisfy the claims made upon it by the War Office and the Ministry of Munitions and the Board of Agriculture. I wonder if Cabinet Ministers ever have time to walk through the streets of our big cities and to discover untapped labour reservoirs.

When I leave to catch my early morning train I find the advance parties from the grocer, the baker, and the butcher deploying in the street. They are young girls, about twenty years of age, and there are thousands of them wasting their time in booking orders. People ought to fetch what they need from the shops.

In the theatre I find girls selling programmes or iced drinks or carrying trays of chocolate.

When I go to lunch a "hefty," healthy man opens the door for me. Sometimes a pallid youth of about fourteen years of age seems anxious to hang up my hat. Like most other people I can hang up my hat, coat, and stick.

Could not all this superfluous labour be turned on to the production of food? The waste of energy and material is appalling. Nearly every important street is busy with superfluous traffic. Motor-vans, horse vans, and small carts of all descriptions are scurrying about to deliver small orders to suburban houses. Petrol is used up. Horses are used up. And the services of the army of employees necessary to sustain this business of delivery are dissipated uselessly.

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The explanation is that people have yet to realise that victory will be deferred until, as Sir William Robertson has insisted, the whole energy of the State is directed to the prosecution of the war.

The Chief of the Imperial General Staff has told us that it is to the 75 per cent. of the population not in arms that we have to look for effort to defeat the Boche. What is that 75 per cent. doing? A large part is toiling laboriously in the workshops. But there are others.

Take a voyage of inquiry. Walk through the streets of London some afternoon. Observe the multitudes of women aimlessly wandering from shop to shop—and the call is for more and more women workers. Go into a theatre. It is crowded with women who afterwards surge into the restaurants.

It is the same with the picture theatres. Hundreds of thousands of women idle their time in this way. And the majority of them maintain one or two domestic servants who ought to be doing direct work for the State. I have read recently that more than 2,000,000 persons are normally engaged in domestic employments. If a quarter of this labour were put on to production of food the results would be marvellous at the end of a year's time.

The call to reduce staffs of servants has fallen on a number of very deaf ears. More and more curtailments of purely luxury employments must be made.

The War Cabinet might devote a day to walking around London. Their eyes would be opened. The bustle of the streets cannot conceal the dissipation of energy upon non-essentials. The spectacle is a sickening one. C.

Daily Mail
16.7.17

GRADES IN WOMEN'S CORPS.

Various badges are to be seen on the workmanlike uniforms of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps. The N.C.O.s, or forewomen, wear a wreath on both arms; higher-grade N.C.O.s have a rose in the centre of the wreath.

Officers wear badges on their shoulder-straps instead of the "W.A.A.C." of the rank and file. The double rose indicates the Chief Controller at home, and a fleur-de-lys with two roses the Chief Controller overseas and Deputy Chief Controller at home. One fleur-de-lys and a rose is the badge of the Deputy Chief Controller abroad and of a Section Controller at home. A Clothing Controller sports three roses. So does a Unit Administrator, while a Technical Assistant Controller has to be content with only one.

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The Queen 4. 8. 17.

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NATIONAL EMPLOYMENT AND NATIONAL SERVICE.

By MRS MARGARET HEITLAND.

THE STRESS AND STRAIN OF THE WAR have caused some of our rulers and governors to act first and think afterwards. In the hurry of an urgent hour they create departments, a board, or a committee, only to discover afterwards, perhaps, that some existing body could have done the work better, and has been even hindered in its work by the establishment of the new organisation.

A glaring case of this (from the woman's point of view, at all events) was the establishment of the National Service Department.

Why was the National Service Department started as a vast piece of brand-new human machinery, wholly independent of that carefully prepared network of employment exchanges which had only been made within recent years? What was the reason for its existence?

On the face of things there was every reason for not starting a new department in this isolated, separate fashion. One powerful reason may be cited and is almost conclusive. To build a new organisation capable of drawing in all the potential workers, it would have been needful to open well-staffed offices as numerous and as widely distributed over Great Britain as the existing exchanges. Yet manifestly, with the shortage of labour occasioned by war time, this was impossible. At most it could only be hoped that outside London a few persons might be found willing to give a little spare time for unpaid office work of the kind. The manning of a complete, highly ramified National Service Department was in effect impossible, even supposing that it were desirable. But has it ever been desirable?

That is the point. And here let us distinguish between national service and the creation of an independent National Service Department, for they are wholly separate matters. I have been eager (who has not been?) that the call to national service should be addressed to everybody, and to women as much as to men.

But what is National Service? In answering this question we come to the root of the difficulty and to the root of our differences of opinion. I see no difference myself—or at most only a difference of degree—between national service and national employment. I take it that all of us who are not occupied in gambling, money-grabbing, trafficking in the lives and health of our neighbours, or persistently loafing, are to some extent in the National Service. National service is more or less splendid and heroic in proportion to the spirit of self-sacrifice displayed; and the unwritten rolls of honour include citizens of the Empire of each sex, of every station, and every calling. No line can be drawn on one side of which alone national service may be rendered.

In creating the National Service Department no attempt was made at the drawing of such a line. It was, for example, never asserted that national service meant unpaid work. Indeed, an attempt to draw the line there would lead us at once to some very odd conclusions.

If one persist in asking why the employment exchanges were not entrusted with the task of pressing the required additional workers into the nation's service, I suppose the answer would be that these exchanges had not been encouraged previously to find work for people of the best educated classes. If this is the explanation, the right step to take next would surely have been so to develop the employment exchanges as to make them suitable for the need of the present and immediate future—the need, that is, of well-educated workers to fill important posts. If the Women's Section of the National Service Department, with some of its able directors, can now be linked up with the whole employment exchange system under the Ministry of Labour, there will be this effective recognition of the unity of national service and national employment which ought to have been made from the beginning.

Too Many Departments.

We are suffering a good deal at the present time from lack of systematised and centralised organisation where employment is concerned. The national service is not the only extraneous employment department which has been created since the beginning of the war. For some unexplained reason agricultural and horticultural employment is also regarded as not coming within the control of the Ministry of Labour and the operations of the employment exchanges. Separate committees are set up to enlist and superintend women for agricultural labour during the war. No definite connection is established between these committees and the advisory committees on Women's War Employment which work in connection with the employment exchanges and are appointed by the Ministry of Labour. Consequently, the woman or girl who thinks of doing work on the land may register herself at her employment exchange and be referred to the Women's Agricultural Committee, or she may apply to the latter without passing her name through the employment exchange register. This want of centralisation prevents complete records of women's work from being kept. Munition workers on the other hand are supplied through the employment exchanges for the most part; but here again we find no clear demarcation at present between the functions of the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Munitions. In truth, the various organisations and committees set up to deal with national service, food production, agriculture, munitions, canteen work, welfare work, and war employment, find their boundaries continually crossing each other. From time to time attempts are made to remedy the ensuing confusion, and complaints are heard about "overlapping," and the cry goes forth that there must be "co-ordination." If "co-ordination" does not come when it is called for, a proposal is generally made that the next new committee shall be a "joint" committee comprising representatives of all the committees previously in existence.

Developing the Advisory Committees.

Personally I hold no brief for one committee or set of persons being better qualified than another to deal with women's employment. But I advocate simplicity and unification because trouble is saved thereby, and because with one organisation it is possible to register workers and employers on one system, and to make the records of lasting value. The employment exchanges are very far from being perfect. They are often quite inadequately housed, with insufficient space for the holding of interviews and the filing of documents. But they have in them the making of a national system of bureaux which might deal with employment generally, and help all but the most highly specialised workers to find suitable places. What they have needed also has been the help of committees who could deal with some of the fields of activity for which their own staff had not the time—such fields, for instance, as the technical training of workers, housing, and the safeguarding of health and character, &c. Help of this kind they are just beginning to receive from the Advisory Committees on Women's War Employment which are now at work in many localities. But why should not this beginning be carried further? Why should not the Women's War Agricultural Committees work similarly to committees of the employment exchanges? I am quite unable to see any reason for the present severance of their functions, but I do see that there would be a great gain if an agricultural employment committee worked in the same direct relation with the employment exchange as the advisory committees. Both are equally connected with the war. The advisory committees are chiefly occupied at present in finding women munition workers, but the provision of food and of munitions is dependent the one upon the other in the conditions of the present age.

My desire to see the employment exchanges better utilised for the whole domain of women's employment acquires an additional eagerness when I reflect that the demand is daily increasing for women of real capacity and education to fill many new and important public positions. There is at present no national institution which makes a serious business of putting forward the claims of first-rate women candidates for first-rate posts. The whole of this enterprise is left to private societies and private registries; and only by exception does a woman of the highest attainments obtain a suitable post through an employment exchange. This is only natural. To make suitable inquiries on behalf of a candidate, to test the candidate's intellectual and professional qualifications, to obtain, perhaps, a little extra training for her—all enterprises of this sort demand a great deal of trouble, and take more time than overworked employment exchange officials can give. But were small committees attached to the exchanges and charged with the duty of sifting out workers for public and professional appointments, employers would know that in applying to an exchange for a responsible, professional woman they would receive all possible help.

Anyhow, let us try to get rid of the notion that service and employment are not the same thing. Employment *is* service; and if service is so grand and so "voluntary" that it must not be called employment, then I am afraid it is the sort of service upon which I should be sorry to depend. I am sometimes rather repelled by the tremendous eulogies which are lavished on well-to-do persons who work without wages. The middle-aged, prosperous person who is too old to go to the war and not strong enough to do wage-paid work ought surely to be thankful for employment. When that employment takes the form, as it often does, of work on behalf of some great public or national cause, it seems to me that the worker is in luck.

Daily Mail
30 8-17

Warwick, Leamington & Warwickshire Times.
18-8-18.

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THE WOMEN'S ARMY.

At an erstwhile residential club somewhere off the Marble Arch, five hundred women of every rank and condition are housed together, under the control of a woman administrator and women officers. These women make up a large part of what is known as the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps. The object of their training and preparation may be summed up in three words—Service in France.

Clerks, secretaries, shorthand-typists, accountants—these form a large proportion at the moment, while the rest of the "draft" consist chiefly of cooks, parlourmaids, and household workers generally.

The day's régime at the hostel begins with réveillé at seven, when the sleepy recruit is awakened not by bugles but by the distinctly "cracked" sound of an apparently ancient bell being carried along the corridors by an energetic member of staff. Roll-call is taken at 7.50, the girls and women—the "draft," as they are called—standing at attention outside their bedroom doors to answer as their names are called over by an officer upon each floor. Breakfast follows at eight, tables being laid with knife, fork, and spoons, which members at each table are bound to clear and return to their respective piles for washing up. The draft line up in queues, first finding plates and then being served with portions of porridge, fish, and the like, and a couple of slices of "marged" bread. Tea is supplied for each table, and is given out ready "milked." Sugar is allowed at the moment, and the draft heave a sigh of relief at the daily prospect of sweetened tea or porridge.

Beds made and bedrooms tidied, the "Orders for the Day" are studied on the notice-board, and various sections go off to drill in Hyde Park (except beginners, who are under instruction on the premises); others attend a lecture by the resident medical officer, or are free to go where they please until midday dinner. Special passes are granted for absence on business or (occasionally) for pleasure; and it is even possible to obtain a pass, where conditions justify it, which allows a member to be absent until 9.30 p.m., when the hostel door closes with inevitable punctuality. No member is allowed "out" after 5 o'clock without a pass, except on Sunday, when there is a special extension until 7.30 p.m.

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One of the chief objects of residence in the hostel before drafting is, of course, that of being revaccinated and of being inoculated against both typhoid and paratyphoid A and B.

Getting into uniform and procuring kit follow these operations in due course, and then arrives the great moment when members' names appear on the board as "Drafted for France." Every day almost does this happen for somebody, every day almost does a draft assemble for kit inspection in the dining-hall and march off from the entrance amid cheers from their comrades, whose turn will come next.

It is probable that only those members who as private individuals emphatically have "things to do"—work to complete, business affairs to settle, homes to give up—will find in the life anything but a simple and straightforward preparation for their Great Adventure in the great war.

The big orderly room at this hostel of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps, with its network of ceaseless activities pervaded and disciplined by the Army spirit, provides an answer to any who may still be sceptical of woman's powers of business and her capacity to carry on unhesitatingly to the end H. C.

Daily Mail
22-10-17.

WOMEN'S ARMY APPOINTMENTS.

Temporary appointments to the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps were gazetted on Saturday night as follows:

Controller.—Miss C. Ellis.
Assistant Controller.—Miss J. V. D. Learoyd.
Recruiting Controller.—Mrs. C. L. Dean.
Unit Administrators.—Mrs. A. E. B. Johnston, from an assistant administrator; Mrs. D. L. Esslemont.
Assistant Administrators.—Miss E. J. March, Miss A. F. Robertson, Miss E. M. Thring, Miss G. E. G. Watkins, Mrs. M. L. Caborne.

WOMEN AND WAR WORK.

Women's share in war work has been so valuable that the majority of critics, who shook their heads and prophesied all manner of failures and even catastrophes when the introduction of feminine aid into realms previously sacred to the other sex was brought about, have long since been silenced. It is true there are, even to-day, some mere males who tightly shut their eyes to the good work their sisters have done in the factories and even contend that "tea, tears and titters" have so interfered with the performance of ordinary duties as to seriously discount any service which had otherwise been rendered. But the great majority fully realise the enormous amount of energy the women have displayed, the remarkable aptitude shown in picking up work quite new to them, and how impossible it would have been to release so many men for the Army had they not come forward to fill places at desks, behind counters, and in many other capacities besides what is being done in work more directly associated with the actual carrying on of hostilities. That the Army Council rightly appraises the services of the women is to be found in the fact that a new corps has been formed to be composed entirely of the fair sex who are to be employed in such diverse occupations in connection with the Army as accountancy and shoemaking. The object is to effect substitution of women for soldiers in certain employments at home, at the bases, and on the lines of communication overseas. It is, however, stipulated that except in cases where the employment of a soldier would otherwise have been officially authorised, no woman of the corps will be employed unless a soldier is thereby relieved for other purposes. At home the women will gradually be introduced into command, garrison and regimental employments, the last including officers' and sergeants' mess clerks, tailors, cooks, librarians, company storemen, shoemakers, quartermasters' storemen, and orderlies. When circumstances permit women on certain duties may live at home, otherwise both in this country and abroad, they will live in billets and hostels. They will be provided with a serviceable outfit, shoulder straps, inset with colour, will denote the various sections, and the badge of the corps will be a laurel wreath, surrounding the initials W.A.A.C., which will be worn by all. Care is to be taken that they will not have to toil excessively. Indeed, when off duty, the women will have a good deal of liberty and the discipline will not be irksome, but it is stipulated that they must wear their uniform on all occasions. Needless to say there are certain restrictions regarding admission to cafes and estaminets in France. The progress of the experiment will no doubt be closely watched, but there is little reason to believe that the result will be other than satisfactory. Women are certainly having the opportunity they have long expressed a desire for, of working on equal terms with the men, and they are hardly likely to be backward in taking advantage of it. This is only one of the changes the war has brought about in social life.

Challenge 20. 9. 18. 1918 September. 682

682/31

Women's Work for Soldiers in India.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

THE most pressing Army problem in India at present is that of the furlough season. Hundreds of men, fresh from the heat, boredom and discomforts of Mesopotamia, which they have endured perhaps for three years without a break, come pouring into the big cosmopolitan cities of India, intent on amusement. Needless to say, that amusement will be by no means always of the innocent kind. An Indian city is no place at any time for relaxation of moral fibre—it is a breeding house of impurity; nor is it the healthiest place for furlough during the summer months. But the hill stations afford little in the way of amusements, and are less attractive to the men.

The problem has been bravely tackled by the Y.M.C.A., and they have gained the willing co-operation of many English ladies, who have been tireless in arranging tea parties, concerts and recreation of all kinds for the men. But it was felt by some that there was need for more organisation of these voluntary efforts, and a bold experiment has been made this year at Wellington, in the Nilgiri Hills. Here there is an organised service of trained lady workers, giving their full time to the running of a Recreation Institute for some 600 furlough men. The whole of one end of the great Barrack Square has been given up to the Institute. Here there is a skating rink, there a large dining room, at which any meal can be obtained, including the Army rations—a games room, a reading and a writing room, and a most popular "shop," at which anything may be procured, from "scissors" and afternoon tea to Indian curios, upon which the men love to spend their money, especially since there are also two or three ladies whose main business it is to pack up properly the purchases that are to be sent home. Sing-songs, whist drives, lectures and carnivals at the rink fill up the evenings, and there is a small room set apart for prayer, in which a meeting is held each night. In the square itself are badminton and tennis courts.

The ladies, some of whom are salaried full-time workers, known as "A's," and some voluntary helpers for a longer or shorter time, or "B's," live all together in the old Depot Mess, some in the house, some in tents. The "A" workers are picked women from all parts of India, some of them lent for the season by missionary societies and Y.W.C.A. Each of them is in charge of one department—indoor or outdoor games, canteen, picnics, etc. The last is no light job, and entails organising expeditions for an average of forty men every day—walking out with them perhaps ten miles, and generally being responsible for their enjoyment.

The credit for having originated this scheme belongs to Mrs. Whitehead, the wife of the Bishop of Madras, and all honour is due to the military authorities for having the courage and wisdom to perceive its value and adopt it, and for their readiness to co-operate for its success. It is a remarkable achievement in a time of remarkable achievements in the way of women's work. The Women's Service at Wellington is recognised by Government and the military authorities as an integral part of the Wellington furlough camp, and as such it is under the military organisation.

Experience shows abundantly that there is something which can be done for these men that women can best do. Testimony afte testimony comes from them showing how they appreciate the opportunity of constant friendly natural intercourse with ladies. "You don't see many ladies in Mespot., you know, Miss"; or, "I've not spoken to a woman for three years," are frequent comments. The workers are quickly adopted as "sisters," "mothers," or "aunts," and they have ample opportunity for being so in more than name. A good deal of quiet missionary work is being done, and lads who would not go wrong if it were not the thing to do are getting straight again because they are being made to feel that somebody cares about it and thinks it matters.

There is an opportunity, too, for opening the eyes of these men—who are, of course, just an average scoop of Englishman, gathered from every kind of pre-war occupation—to the interest and problems of the country in which they are [illegible] ing, and which they are supposed to govern. It is something to be able to teach them that all Indians are not "boys," whose sole reason for existing is to minister to the wants of the white man in return for backshish. The idea of many Indians being University graduates comes as quite a shock. Many of the soldiers are keen to pick up information on these matters, and much can be done even in the short furlough month to help them to the right attitude. They are peculiarly receptive, ready to do anything that is arranged for them, and with a quick chivalry which responds at once with gratitude, admiration and respect to the women, whom they realise are there simply for their sakes.

Week's Dispatch 22.9.18.

The women employees, to the number of several hundreds, in a big institution have sent a demand to the directorate for an increase of wages by October 1, and intimating that if it was not given there would be trouble. In presenting the ultimatum they announced that if any woman signing it was "victimised" the whole staff would strike. The directors were amazed at the tone of the communication, and have intimated that they will consider it when the language in which it is framed is of a more respectful character.

* * *

Bank clerks, among the worst paid and worst conditioned of clerical workers, are formulating a plan of campaign for extracting more money from the banks which are paying such high dividends. Meetings of the Guild of Bank Clerks are being held every night, and matters are reaching a crisis.

* * *

At a south-coast town the other evening several young airmen and women motor-drivers of the R.A.F. were seen dining together. No harm in that, of course; but if a party of young people start off dinner with cocktails, followed by champagne and liqueurs, then one wonders whether, apart from the expensiveness of such luxury, some restraint should not, even in their own interests, be put upon girls who are entrusted with the driving of motors. No aspersion need be cast on this particular section of the W.A.A.C.s, who are doing such excellent national work, but where stricter supervision is necessary the authorities should not hesitate to enforce it.

* * *

The Allied Shipping Commission has now before it a petition from the Australian and New Zealand Governments asking for the transference of shipping to deal with the colossal amount of foodstuffs in Australasia at present in storage. In New Zealand alone there are millions of carcases of lamb and mutton in cold store awaiting shipment. In Australia the amount of wheat stacked at the railway sides is worth many millions of pounds.

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September 1918. October "

Glasgow Bulletin 28.9.18.

WOMEN'S ARMY WEEK

Round Glasgow With the Recruiting Tramcar

(SPECIAL TO "THE BULLETIN")

The women of the press who accompanied the Women's Recruiting Week party on their tramcar tour on Monday night experienced something of the feelings of a "Cuthbert" in the company of fighting men. This, although we were assured that our "civilian" presence was most important. But contact with so many military members of our sex made us feel that our path of duty lay in the direction of a recruiting office. The sight of women in uniform has this effect on other women, and the fact will have considerable influence during this week's recruiting effort.

Our tramcar—beflagged and manned, appropriately enough, by a woman driver—started in brave style, the way being prepared before us by an advance car-load of "Waacs" and pipers. Naturally our progress excited interest, and along the route much attention and many comments (mostly complimentary) were bestowed upon the "wummen sojers."

Women's Service Fashions

It was to women that we appealed, and women will be women still, even in relation to matters military. From the remarks of the feminine portion of the crowd at the several meeting places it was evident that there was a vast interest in the dress of the different branches of the Women's Army represented.

The khaki of the "Waac" rank and file is well known, but that of the officers of this corps, with their distinctive coloured shoulder straps and badges, is less familiar. So is the peaked uniform cap which distinguishes the members of the youngest of the women's services, the Women's Royal Air Force, or the "Wrafs." There is a large immobile force of these girls in Glasgow engaged on clerical work, and as motor cyclists, in connection with a Royal Air Force depot.

The navy blue uniform and blue velour tricorne hat of a young officer of the Women's Royal Naval Service also attracted attention, but what seemed to excite most curiosity was the resplendent pale blue, gold-braided kit of a "Wraf" official, which may be said to represent the last word in Women's Army fashions.

The Women Officers

A word about these women officers. Just as the Army moulds the man, so the Women's Army moulds the woman, and the type of officer produced is a splendid type of "war girl"—firm, kindly, capable, self-reliant—one to get the best out of girls placed in her charge. Only good material, of course, will produce such results, and the material is selected with care, for its officers will make or mar the Women's Army.

The crowd were interested and sympathetic, and the meetings passed off with few contretemps. One inebriated gentleman mistook us for a party of pacifists, but was speedily convinced of his mistake.

"Hey, gie this lassie a bill!" shouted one patriotic mother to the dispenser of leaflets, thrusting forward a retiring maiden of likely appearance.

"Keep my weans and I'll jine the 'Waacs.'" Thus another woman expressed her dilemma.

The Women's Army recruiting authorities, needless to say, do not ask any woman to leave her "weans" in order to join. Their appeal is to unemployed young women and those whose present employment is not of national importance. Many such women are known to be available. A "Waac" officer told the writer that in recruiting in various parts of the country she came across scores of girls who were engaged neither on war work or any other kind of work. The Women's Army can find a job for every one of these.

682/32 682

Glasgow Bulletin 3.10.18.

Women's Air Force

WORK OF THE "WRAFS" AT A SCOTTISH DEPOT

THE glamour which to the public surrounds the doings of the Royal Air Force has communicated itself in no small degree to the feminine arm of the service, the Women's Royal Air Force—the "Wrafs" for short—and there is much interest in this "infant" of the Women's Army, which in a short time has become an important corps.

At a Scottish air station on the East Coast a large force of "Wrafs" may be seen on duty. Their work seems to include everything connected with aeroplanes short of the actual flying of them, and there are plenty of intrepid spirits among the women who would undertake this last adventure did not the authorities forbid.

HANDLING THE AEROPLANES

The "Wrafs" have a connection with various stages in the career of an aeroplane. In the workshops they are found shaping frames, and in the fabric department they may be seen making sails and stitching canvas coverings. Another highly important duty entrusted to them is the charge of technical stores where the various mechanical parts of an aeroplane repose in classified order. When one of these is wanted the mechanic is told, "Go to Miss So-and-So," which he does, and the part is produced at a moment's notice.

When an aeroplane descends after a flight the "Wrafs" are there to clean it, and if any part of it is in need of repair, again woman-power is called into request. In the repair shops acetylene welding and other highly skilled work is done by women.

Practically the whole of the motor transport work of this air station is undertaken by the "Wrafs." Girls are to be seen driving everything in the way of an automobile, from a light Ford car containing officers to a heavy motor lorry loaded with stores.

The women also run the telephone system of the station, and are employed as shorthand typists and clerkesses in the administrative offices, and as cooks, cleaners, and waitresses at the living quarters.

HOSTEL LIFE

But life in the Women's Royal Air Force is by no means all work and no play. In the organisation of this typical Scottish "Wraf" colony living conditions and recreation facilities have received the most thorough attention.

The women are housed in a large hotel taken over for the purpose. Each bedroom is shared by three girls, individual camp bedsteads and washstands being provided. There are excellent heating arrangements and a plentiful supply of hot water.

Based on the belief that before a girl can do a good day's work she must be well nourished, the menu is generous. A two-course breakfast, a three-course dinner, afternoon tea, and a two-course supper are served daily, and the "Wraf" is among the few favoured mortals who in these days enjoy unlimited jam, and currants in their pudding.

The large and cheerful recreation hall is the scene of many entertainments—"sing-songs," whist drives, impromptu dances, and "guest nights." Amateur theatricals are popular—and reveal surprising talent—and a private cinema has been under consideration. There is also a circulating library for the benefit of the bookworms who are inevitable in a feminine community. Bathing, hockey, golf, and other sports are encouraged, and cases of illness—which are very few—receive the promptest medical attention.

THE "LIGHT BLUES"

With natural feminine vanity the Women's Royal Air Force delights in its picturesque uniform. All ranks wear light blue coats and skirts and close-fitting blue hats. The rank and file—who, by the way, are known as "members," not as "privates"—have blouses of natural shantung and black ties. Their hat badge is red on black, and on their sleeves are "wings" sewn in red silk. The non-commissioned officers are distinguished by their white silk blouses and white and black badges, and the commissioned officers by their gilt braid and buttons.

An excellent type of young womanhood has been attracted to the Women's Royal Air Force. If the "Who's Who" of the rank and file were known it would surprise some girls who are hanging back because they are not sure that to join the Women's Army is the right thing to do from the social point of view. At more than one Scottish air depot daughters of most highly placed officers of the Royal Air Force are working as plain "members" in the women's section. Many of the recruits are

but a woman officer assured the writer that this type of girl has in almost every case made good. And her lack of experience is no handicap, as arrangements are made to train her where necessary.

Enquiries as to service in the Women's Royal Air Force—in which there are many immediate openings, especially in the mobile section—may be made at the headquarters, Adelphi Hotel, Glasgow.

ANSWER TO CORRESPONDENT

KIT (Paisley).—The head offices of the Scottish Branch British Red Cross Society are at 86 St Vincent Street, Glasgow.

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n & Company, Limited, and Published at 65 Buch

Glasgow Bulletin 1918. October. 682.

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EXPERT W.R.A.F.'s AT A SCOTTISH CAMP.—Members of the Women's Royal Air Force stitching and fixing a cover on the body of an aeroplane at Turnberry.

THE DAILY WORK DONE BY THE WOMEN OF THE ROYAL AIR FORCE TO HELP ON AERIAL WARFARE

Scenes of the "Wrafs," introduced, so to speak, by the sewing staff above, were secured at a Scottish aerodrome, where many and varied tasks are performed by these girls. Obviously it is interesting work, owing seem to be very pleasant. Transport (1) appears (most jovial; (2) shows how well off the officers' mess is in respect of waiting; (3) Miss Main, Acting Administrator, and Miss Pannier, Acting carbon; (4) the dope shop (the cloth of the wings, etc., is treated with a waterproofing substance); (5) doping again; girls at work on a fuselage; one is tracing with compasses the distinguishing mark to be painted on; (6) the method of fastening wings: sewing through and through in pairs.—"Bulletin" Photos.

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Daily Mail 15-1-18

WOMEN'S RECRUITING.

LADY MACKWORTH IN CONTROL.

"I am glad to be in a position to announce that Lady Mackworth has accepted the appointment of Chief Controller of Women's Recruiting," said Sir Auckland Geddes in the House of Commons yesterday, referring to the development of women's corps for work with the Navy, Army, Air Force, and on the land.

He contradicted emphatically rumours concerning the conditions alleged to exist in certain units of the W.A.A.C. reflecting adversely both upon the members and upon those who are responsible for their welfare, and gave figures for discharges overseas and at home:

	Overseas.	At Home.
Misconduct	2	4
Breach of conditions	0	2
Unsuitable & inefficient.	8	17
Medically unfit	31	67
Compassionate grounds	8	32

"These figures speak for themselves," said Sir Auckland Geddes.

Lady Mackworth, who is Lord Rhondda's daughter, began her business career by taking charge of some of her father's interests during his absence in America. She is now director of 27 companies.

Daily News 12.10.18.

WOMEN'S NATIONAL SERVICE.

Our Lobby Correspondent writes that Sir Auckland Geddes has decided to dispense with the Women's National Service Department. This department has been under the direction of Viscountess Rhondda, formerly Lady Mackworth. It is felt that the necessary work is being done by so many other organisations that the Women's National Service Department has now fulfilled its functions.

Daily Chronicle 12.10.18 12.10.18.

A "PENGUIN" AGITATOR.

TROUBLE IN A STORE OVER THE QUESTION OF PAY.

For some time there has been trouble among the 700 "Penguins" at a Royal Air Force store in outer London on the question of pay, and yesterday one of them, Dorcas Gallant, a storewoman, whose home is in Grange-road, Bermondsey, was charged with conduct likely to delay essential war work.

Defendant was a member of a deputation to the Air Ministry, and afterwards it was alleged that she stood on a form in the canteen and told the girls that their leader had "let them down," but if they would meet in the canteen on Saturday morning she would see they got what had been promised to them. She concluded: "Now, girls, will you stand by me?" and the girls shouted "Yes!"

All the witnesses said it was understood, from what had happened before, that a strike was intended, and one stated that subsequently she said to defendant, "It's very unfair to do this while our boys are at the front." Defendant replied, "It's not a living wage, and it's nothing to do with the boys at the front."

Defendant said that when she told the girls to meet her in the canteen she did not intend them to do so in Army time, but before starting work, and she had no intention of agitating for a strike.

In fining defendant £5 the magistrate gave a general warning that if any more girls from these stores were convicted of a similar offence they would be sent to prison.

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October 1918.

Glasgow Bulletin 30.10.18.

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W.R.A.F.'S AT A SCOTTISH AERODROME ON THE EAST COAST

The Women's Royal Air Force plays no small or unimportant part in maintaining our supremacy in the air, and apart from the patriotic grounds on which it should appeal to Scottish women, it offers favourable working conditions and good wages, and more recruits are still wanted. Our pictures, taken at a Scottish aerodrome, show:—1. In a W.R.A.F. hostel bedroom—getting ready to start the day's work. 2. Workers in the sail loft tacking and stitching canvas. 3. W.R.A.F.'s hockey teams. 4. Painting and "doping" plane wings. 5. A "hullo girl" in the aerodrome telephone exchange. 6. Tea-time in the hostel dining-room.—"Bulletin" Photos.

Daily News 27.1.19

682/36 682

37,000 "WOODEN HUTS."

Work of Women Carpenters in France.

From Our Own Correspondent.

BYFLEET, Saturday.

No fewer than 37,000 spacious huts—divided into 22,000 of the "Nessin" pattern and 15,000 of the "Tarrant" portable hut—were made by the women carpenters who arrived home a few days since after working for two years in the danger zone. These figures have been made public by Mr. W. G. Tarrant, of Byfleet, head of the firm of Government contractors which was responsible for the women taking up the work and crossing the water for their camp near Calais.

These 37,000 huts, if placed end to end, would reach over 300 miles. As an instance of the amount of material used in work of this nature it may be mentioned that one week, when the women were working in full swing, they used nails weighing 50,000lb.

Times. 30.8.19.

Hull Daily Mail 25.1.19

WOMEN WAR WORKERS' COMPLAINT.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,—Allow me space regarding the letter of "Land Girl." I myself have been in France serving in the A.S.C. It is quite time something was done for munition girls. I got 24s a week; out of that I had to pay 1s 6d for washing and 12s for food. I received 10 francs a week, and had to pay for my own boots mending, and had to walk in France up to our ankles in mud. I had also to gather sticks to make a fire, or go to work with wet clothes. I myself am discharged "medically unfit," and also broken in health. I have been awarded the silver discharge medal by the War Office. I cannot get any pay, and it is high time someone took the matter up to give us fair play when we had to do our bit, not earning from £3 to £4 a week.—I am, sir, etc.,

ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S Q.M.A.A.C.

Jan. 24th, 1919.

Times 6.9.19

THE CASE OF THE FORAGE CORPS.

The War Office, having had its attention drawn to our editorial article on Thursday on the treatment of certain members of the Forage Corps attached to the Army Service Corps, is anxious that its position in the matter should be made clear. We can appreciate this anxiety, and we accept the explanation offered to us that a good deal of what has occurred has happened through misunderstandings, and possibly through some mistakes on the part of subordinate officials. We are assured that had representations been addressed personally to Mrs. Athol Stewart at Whitehall-court—such representations should, however, always be sent by the recognised channels—they would have been fully investigated and the results of such investigations duly communicated to those concerned. We think this very likely, for we find it difficult to conceive of the War Office being anxious to victimise the women of so useful a body as the Forage Corps, and we are convinced that Mrs. Athol Stewart must take a pride in seeing that no injustice is done to her women and that they are kept contented and interested in their work.

There are one or two questions of fact that we are also asked to correct. In the first place, the forwarding supervisors now get 44s 6d, instead of 42s, and the assistant forwarding supervisors 37s 6d, instead of 35s, per week. These higher rates came into force a month or two ago, and if any supervisors are not now getting them they should at once make application in the proper quarter. When sick, the women get full pay for two months, subject to the usual deduction for National Insurance. The billeting has been left to the women themselves because on a balance of disadvantages, Mrs. Athol Stewart says, experience has shown that arrangements work out more satisfactorily for them than under any other method. The regulations for transfer and for moving into different grades are, we are informed, excellent, and involve no injustice to the women. We have never doubted it. It has only been when the rules have been overlooked or disregarded that scope for grievances has occurred.

From Mrs. Athol Stewart's own explanation of the re-enrolment scheme in March we are satisfied that a good deal of confusion took place through the way in which the matter was handled, and that while there was no intention of being unjust to any of the women, some have in point of fact been unfairly treated. The re-enrolment, though signed before the first term had expired, was a perfectly legal contract, and its conditions were binding on both parties unless dissolved by mutual agreement. Apparently a number of these re-enrolments were cancelled by due notice being given to members, but in others the notice evidently did not reach the women and they have proceeded on the supposition that the new contract was in force and incurred obligations under it, including the purchase of the new uniform, towards which the 70s grant was promised. That their services were retained shows that misconception of the position was not on their side alone. We are assured now that these cases of misunderstanding will be properly inquired into and that the women concerned will receive all they are entitled to by the conditions of their re-enrolment. We hope, therefore, that those who feel themselves aggrieved will afford the authorities the opportunity of fairly disposing of their claims without being under any apprehension that their position by virtue of these claims will be prejudiced when they are demobilised. It will give us much pleasure to hear that their legitimate demands have been satisfied.

Meanwhile we are glad to be able to make this explanation. In the administration of large bodies of either men or women it is impossible to avoid some mistakes, and injustices occasionally occur with the best will and the most energetic efforts to avoid them. When they happen what should be done is to rectify them as speedily and as cheerfully as possible, instead of trying to cover them up or gloss them over. We think the War Office will see that the members of the Forage Corps get the fullest consideration they deserve. We shall then not have to ask: Why does not Mrs. Athol Stewart look after her girls? On the contrary, we shall be able to assert that of all the directors of the auxiliary women's forces brought into being by the war none was keener for the rights of her girls than Mrs. Stewart.

THE WOMEN'S SERVICES.

A WORD BEFORE DISPERSAL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—The article on the Women's Services in *The Times*, written by "a woman correspondent," is the sanest and most sympathetic which has appeared on the subject. The attacks generally have been aimed at uniformed women themselves, and have shown little appreciation of the manner in which these women desire to wind up their concerns.

But the article of to-day does attempt to show that, though these Service women feel keenly the disbandment of their own particular corps, because of the enjoyable communal life possible only in a Service, the question of demobilization does not rest with them. The terms of service—"one year or the duration of the war"—are elastic. It belongs to the highest authority, outside the Women's Organizations, to decide the date of that "duration."

Those who read papers beyond the mere, often worthless, letters which appear in print, could have gleaned for themselves that at least one of the Services was demobilizing soon. It was officially announced weeks ago that the W.R.N.S. would be disbanded by September 30. From the tone of the letters in various papers, it is quite evident that these civilians do not comprehend what it means to wind up a Service. Surely it would have been unwise to close any organization which did useful work before the Peace Treaty was ratified. And possibly, some of these organizations have spent their energies since that date was assured in perfecting their departure. Necessity caused a more hurried beginning than was desired; experience improved defective machinery; *reasonable* leisure may surely be granted for the end. Yet has any of the writers of these letters of complaint tried to ascertain himself the date of the disbandment of any one of the Services?

Looked at from an internal point of view, it is the fact that the public desires a hasty funeral for the Women's Services that hurts. We stepped into a breach, and however great our shortcomings have been, and we own that we have had them (mostly due to inexperience), even the public that now decries us has accorded to us unexpected success and often unstinted praise. Then why not give us, as a last token of good will and respect, a dignified departure, with our records complete and our plans so well laid that, should the need arise in the near or far future, we can respond to the call again, this time doubly useful because of our previous experience.

It is not easy, either, for the men and women to replace each other suddenly. As the women's work has finished or their places have been taken by men, the women have been and are returning to civilian life. The public ought to thank us that, instead of flooding the market suddenly with thousands of women requiring posts, events have caused them to be demobilized in sections. Let readers be assured that the stories of women in Services spending their days "joy-riding" and "jazzing" apply to the few isolated instances of the reverse which proves the rule.

I am, Sir,

A MEMBER OF ONE OF THE WOMEN'S SERVICES.

August 28.

682/37 682

Weekly Irish Times 15/2/19

Somerset Guardian 21. 3. 19.

DAILY JOURNAL, MON1

WOMEN WORKERS.

FIGHT AGAINST IGNORANCE AND POVERTY.

A mass meeting under the auspices of the National Federation of Women Workers was held on Saturday night in the Albert Hall, London.

Miss Mary Macarthur, w[illegible] resided, said the meeting was composed [illegible] resentatives of absolutely every wo[illegible] which women were engaged, skilled and unskilled, throughout the United Kingdom. They had been promised a new world, but they did not expect to find it worse than the old, and the distinctions between the wealthy and poor accentuated more than ever. They had been told that the women who had toiled so strenuously during the last four and a half years had become slackers and shirkers, and preferred to receive a dole of 25s a week rather than take up domestic and other work. There was no doubt that al arge number of women were receiving the allowance who were not entitled to it, just as the giving of it would never solve the question of unemployment amongst women who wanted to work, but refused to become the slaves of capitalism. They did not claim their rights without recognising their duties. Mr Lloyd George had said we must a land fit for heroes to live in, but what was wanted was not a new world but a new race. They wanted a new life and the privilege to enjoy it, and they were proclaiming their charter in the fight against ignorance and poverty. When those evils were overcome the land would be fit for heroes and everybody to live in.

Other speakers, including Mr Fred Bramley and Mr Harry Gosling, addressed the meeting, and resolutions in support of "The right to work, the right to live, and the right to leisure," were carried.

Daily News 5/2/19

WOMEN'S CHARTER MEETING.

On the occasion of the opening of Parliament yesterday afternoon a large number of women munition workers paraded the vicinity of the House of Commons, dressed in their overalls and carrying sandwich-boards bearing such inscriptions as "Women want work, not doles," "Domestic Slaves—Nothing Doing," "A 40-hour week." The object in view was to advertise a mass meeting of the National Federation of Women Workers at the Albert Hall on Feb. 15 at which a women's charter is to be submitted, demanding the right to work, a living wage, and a 40-hour week. Miss Mary Macarthur is to preside at the meeting.

HENDON AERODROME LICENCE

WOMEN'S CORPS—BENEFI[illegible] [illegible]ASE.

An Arm[illegible] Council ins[illegible] gives [illegible]ails as to the [illegible]bilisation [illegible] for enrolled Women's [illegible]s—Q.M.A.A.C., V.A.D. (G.S. Section), W[illegible]en's Legion (Motor Drivers), Women's Forage Corps. In a number of cases, it is pointed out, it may be some time before women can be released from their engagements. The following are the benefits which will be payable from Army funds to those whose discharge is dated November 11, 1918, or later, and who are discharged with a good character:

Officials.

(a) All grades of officials of Q.M.A.A.C.; (b) all grades of officials of the V.A.D. (G.S. Section); (c) all grades of commandants of the Women's Legion (Motor Drivers) and superintendents, First and Second Class; (d) all enrolled officials of the Women's Forage Corps, Grades I. and II., including superintendents of women labour: Two months' pay and allowances, to include any pay in lieu of notice.

Members.

(1.) All mobile members enrolled for the duration of the war and all mobile members enrolled for twelve months who have actually been transferred for duty away from their place of enrolment: Twenty-eight days' furlough on full pay and allowances. This amount will include or be taken in aid of any pay in lieu of notice.

(2) All mobile members enrolled for twelve months who have not actually been transferred for duty from their place of enrolment, and all enrolled immobile members: Seven days' furlough on full pay and allowances, to include any pay in lieu of notice.

With regard to out-of-work donation it is laid down that:

Officials will not be eligible for military or civil out-of-work donation benefit. Members enrolled on a mobile basis for the duration of the war will be entitled, if unemployed and unable to obtain suitable employment, to claim military out-of-work donation, payable at the rate of 25s. a week for a maximum period of twenty-six weeks, in the year following discharge. Other members will be entitled to claim out-of-work donation, if unemployed and unable to obtain suitable employment, on the ordinary civilian basis, viz., at the rate of 25s. a week for a maximum period of thirteen weeks during the period November 25, 1918, to May 24, 1919, if they were employed contributors under the National Health Insurance Act prior to August 25, 1918.

WOMEN'S WORK IN THE WAR.

PRESENTATION TO SISTER KATE WORGER.

On Tuesday the members of the Radstock Red Cross Working Party met in the Council Chamber, Victoria buildings, when Mrs. McMurtrie, on behalf of a few of the women of Radstock, presented Sister Kate Worger with a suit-case, containing ebony brush, comb, and mirror, in appreciation of valuable services rendered by her in the East during the great war.

In making the presentation, Mrs. McMurtrie stated that the special object of the meeting that day would be a fitting ending to the Workers' Party. Speaking of women's work during the war, Mrs. McMurtrie said that their latent powers had been brought out by necessity. The part they had taken during the last few years ought to sweep away the idea of women being the "weaker vessels," and give them the right to be considered at all events equal with men folk, and good comrades rather than those needing protection; a far more satisfactory position. When a few months ago affairs in France were looking so terrible, women came to the rescue, and without them and their work they hardly dare think what the result would have been. Munition and railway work, motor driving, agriculture, and last but certainly not least, hospital nursing, had called forth the best that was in women, and when they looked back upon the work done by them during the past four and a half years, the hardships they had endured, which to a large extent it was impossible for them to realise, they were filled with pride and admiration for their own sex. Mrs. McMurtrie then asked Sister Kate Worger to accept a suit-case, with ebony brush, comb, and hand-mirror, from a few women of Radstock, to whose names should be added those of the Countess Waldegrave and Mrs. Heppel, to show their appreciation and admiration of her work as a nurse in the East for the last three years. The names of the subscribers were handed to Sister Worger at the same time, and in asking her acceptance of the gifts, Mrs. McMurtrie expressed the hope that she may long be spared to use them, and that they might remind her of the pride felt by her fellow townswomen in the distinction (Royal Red Cross, 1st Class) conferred upon her for work of nursing in the Eastern theatre of war.

Miss Worger, to whom the presentation came as a great surprise, thanked the subscribers present for their beautiful and useful gifts, saying she was sorry to be unable to thank all personally as she was leaving Radstock at once to resume her duties.

It is hoped that later on a welcome will be given to the Radstock men who have done their share, but this presentation was essentially a women's affair, although to prove the rule of exception two men subscribed toward the present, one because he had met Miss Worger in Mesopotamia.

Miss Worger, Mrs. Worger, of the Hewletts, and several members of her family were then entertained to tea by the Working Party in the Urban Council Chamber which had been tastefully decorated for the occasion.

The suit case presented to Miss Worger, is being exhibited in the window of Mr. H. Hall, Wells hill, during the week-end.

Times · 24 · 9 · 19

Women's Military Corps.

We doubt whether Ministers have any comprehension of the intense indignation which prevails among the public because many thousands of women are still wearing uniform and are in military employ. If they were in any way in touch with popular sentiment, they would make the further discovery that feeling on the subject is strongest among women themselves, some millions of whom now possess the vote. For a long time to come issues of this kind, upon which most women hold strong views, may do much more to determine the way they vote than the fiercer political controversies. In this question of the prolonged retention of the women's military organizations the public instinct is entirely right, and the Government are wholly and very stupidly wrong. Of all the novel expedients produced by the war, that of the putting of women into military uniforms was the most abnormal. When the war ended, the women should have been demobilized first. There is no excuse for the existence of a single women's unit to-day, nearly a year after the Armistice. The public resent the continuance of the women's military units for a very natural reason. There is widespread anxiety about the failure of the Government to reduce expenditure, and—another thing the Government do not realize—anger at the waste visible in all directions is probably keenest among women voters. To male and female electors alike the spectacle of thousands of women still retained in the Army and the Air Force is a daily advertisement of the Government's extravagance. The very natural trend of popular thought is that if the War Office cannot even demobilize their female auxiliaries, it is hopeless to expect the beginning of an era of rigid economy. We know no more striking instance than this of the failure of the Government to maintain contact with the public mind.

The attitude of the public is not in the least inconsistent with the pride and gratitude felt regarding the work of the girls and women who responded to the unusual calls made upon them during the war. The memory of their services will always remain, though it might have been warmer if they had all reverted to civil life at the earliest possible moment. Unhappily resentment is being most unfairly turned against the women themselves. Because in some areas hundreds and even thousands of women in uniform are seen wandering about with little to do, they are occasionally being subjected to unmerited and regrettable insult. It cannot be too clearly understood that the fault does not lie with the members of the women's military corps, many of whom are eager to be demobilized. In large numbers of cases, especially in France, the women are being detained against their will. It is unjust that they should be blamed because they are compelled to abide by the terms of their enlistment. The blame rests entirely on the shoulders of the military authorities and the Government, and in a lesser degree with some of the heads of these corps. The conduct of the controllers of the Royal Air Force, who are detaining thousands of women who might have been released long ago, is conspicuously blameworthy, and is in keeping with the traditions of reckless expenditure already unfortunately created in a corps which in other respects has rendered such incomparable services. The Women's Royal Naval Service has already come to an end, because it was wisely and sensibly directed throughout. If the Government have any regard for their own position, they will see to it that the Women's Royal Air Force is now promptly disbanded. Total abolition is the only course open.

Portsmouth Evening News. 18 · 9.

WOMEN'S WORK.

PORTSMOUTH CONFERENCE ON DEMOBILISATION.

A well attended meeting of members of the W.R.N.S. and Q.M.A.A.C. was held in the Banqueting Room, at the Portsmouth Town Hall, under the auspices of the Portsmouth and District Employment Committee's Women's Sub-Committee.

Miss E. H. Kelly, O.B.E., who presided, referred briefly to the splendid assistance rendered by the women who had joined the Services, and urged them to display the same spirit of patriotism during the readjustment of industrial conditions, in order that the majority might be quickly absorbed into the avenues of employment awaiting them. She stated that the Mayor (Councillor John Timpson, J.P.) was extremely interested in the welfare of the women, and it was only owing to his having been called away on urgent business that he was not present at the conference.

Miss Deane, O.B.E. (Chief Woman Officer, South-Western Division, Ministry of Labour Employment Department) opened by making a forcible effort to direct the attention of the women to the necessity of carrying throughout life, and particularly whilst engaged in industrial work, the spirit of comradeship which had arisen during their tenure with the Services, and which was indispensable to the life of the country. She counselled her hearers not to delay in accepting employment, but to return to normal industrial life as early as possible after being demobilised. It was advisable, she said that they should consider an alternative vocation to that in which they had been employed in the Services, in order that employment may be found at the earliest possible moment. Continuing, Miss Deane emphasised the fact that better prospects and better conditions had been secured for women workers during the past few years, and, by virtue of the Trade Board Acts, minimum rates had been established. Whilst this was beneficial to the workers, a higher standard of efficiency was necessary, and it was therefore incumbent upon all workers to aim at acquiring the fullest knowledge of the trade or occupation in which they were engaged or which they desired to enter.

Domestic Employment.

Touching on domestic employment, Miss Deane appealed to those present to show no reluctance in returning to this field of duty, as without the highest form of home life it would be impossible for the State to progress. She assured the meeting that better wages and conditions and greater opportunities were now established for domestics, and in no sense could the work now be deemed to be drudgery.

Mr. Ernest Bassett, secretary to the committee, and manager of the Employment Exchange, pointed out the possibility of women securing training in lieu of out-of-work donation benefit, and urged them to consider their ability and relationship to the present industrial requirements. He said applications for training could be made at any time. Mr. Bassett further informed the meeting that the members of the Women's Sub-Committee and himself were anxious to assist in the re-settlement in civil life of those about to be demobilised, and they would be prepared, on application to the Employment and Exchange Women's Department, Lake-road, to interview anyone who desired to seek advice. They would also welcome any suggestions as to schemes of training.

Miss Wharton, Divisional Director of the W.R.N.S., moved a vote of thanks to Miss Deane, Miss Kelly as chairman, and the officers and members of the Portsmouth and District Employment Committee. The vote was carried.

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Northampton Journal 17 · 10 · 19

ARMY PAY CLERKS.

PROBLEM OF FINDING WORK FOR DEMOBILISED GIRLS.

The problem of finding work for the Army Pay Corps girl clerks at present being demobilised is a pressing one, and the Women's Department at the Nottingham Employment Exchange is busily engaged in placing them in local industries. The task is the harder in that most of the girls are unskilled.

Most of the newly-demobilised girls are anxious for clerical work, but as Miss Macarthur, chief of the Women's Department, points out, the chances of clerical work are small, and as clerical experience in Government offices is not necessarily the experience needed in a business office, she advised the girls to take up other work.

Some have become shop assistants, others have gone into wholesale millinery, but the majority are going into the lace trade as pattern girls, jenniers, net folders, packers, &c.

While local employers were quite willing to experiment in the matter, some feared that the girls would leave after a short time. But as the girls are paid a set wage by the employer during the three or four weeks which elapse before they are efficient, this difficulty has been overcome. This set wage during the probation period covers in most cases the cost of the girl's maintenance.

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Times - 23-9-19

WOMEN IN UNIFORM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—As an organization which has come into very close touch with the women's services during the war, we should like to try to remove certain misunderstandings which seem to have arisen with regard to the position of "uniformed women." We are in utmost sympathy with those who are anxious for economy with efficiency in the public service, but we must confess we are at issue with your correspondents and others who reproach women for remaining on war service, and who state that "every uniformed woman is a waste."

We should like to point out that women often joined up during the war at considerable self-sacrifice, and we have plenty of evidence of their desire to return to civil life. It is not fair play, therefore, to blame the individual members of a corps for loyally remaining at their work as long as the Government considers their service essential, which will be until next spring at least. The Q.M.A.A.C. in France are largely engaged in cooking and clerical work in connexion with the great salvage operations of the battlefields. As long as recruiting does not produce men to replace them, it is obvious that their services must be retained, unless we are to waste the enormous stores still remaining in France and elsewhere. It must also be remembered that the employment of women in the Army as cooks has resulted in great economy. It would therefore seem unwise to revert to the old and extravagant methods.

In England also, although the process of demobilization can be, and is, much more rapid, there are certain duties which must still be carried out, and it is more expeditious to retain the services of those women whose experience makes them familiar with the work in hand than provide men as substitutes. It is therefore clear that for the present the retention of some women on war service is essential in the best interests of national economy, and the Y.W.C.A. Blue Triangle intends to maintain huts in France and elsewhere as long as there is a definite need for them.

Yours faithfully,
B. M. PORTSMOUTH, National President, Y.W.C.A.

26, George-street, Hanover-square, W.1, Sept. 22.

Times - 24. 9. 19

WOMEN IN UNIFORM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—In a recent issue you drew attention to cases where Q.M.A.A.C. were being replaced by civilians at a higher rate of pay. Do you not overlook the fact that, although the civilians' pay may be higher, their cost to the public is considerably less? Civilians—or, as they are known in the Service "civil subordinates"—are paid by the unit or formation employing them, so that, with the payment of their wages, N.H.I. stamps, and an infinitesimal amount of work in the Pay Office the matter is ended. Not so, however, with Q.M.A.A.C. These are attached to camps or units, and are clothed and housed at the public expense. The pay, clothing, and housing necessitate the employment of a large number of officials and forewomen. Assuming that 40 Q.M.A.A.C. *personnel* are actually working with a unit, the forewomen, assistants, and domestic servants will bring the total to over 50, thereby necessitating the employment of two officials, one of whom could easily do the work. The higher formation usually has an official and clerk for passing on correspondence, &c., while at the Command Headquarters, are to be found a Controller, with six or seven officials to assist her, and innumerable clerks. All this is again multiplied in the branch of the War Office known as "A.G.11."

In addition to all this, there is a large number of Q.M.A.A.C. *personnel* supernumerary to requirements in various centres, and particularly at Connaught House. These girls are ostensibly on the waiting list for drafts. They have nothing to do. On any morning of the week they can be seen leaning out of the windows at Connaught House, and in the afternoons and evenings they perambulate Oxford-street and Edgware-road in comparatively large numbers, and this at a time when there is a considerable shortage of domestic servants. I am afraid that the higher officials of the Corps are not exactly expediting demobilization. Recently two officials applied to be allowed to resign their appointments, for very excellent reasons, these applications being submitted in writing through the usual channels. After considerable delay a reply was received by telephone, to the effect that on instructions from A.G.11 the two officials could be granted "unpaid indefinite leave." Their resignations could not be accepted, as "A.G.11" was anxious to maintain as many as possible on the strength of the Corps.

Every obstacle was placed in the way of members being demobilized; on a particular occasion a member applied for discharge on account of the serious illness of her mother, and the necessary certificates were produced; approval was delayed for over two months, with the result that the unfortunate girl only reached home in time to see her mother die. Large numbers of girls who are only too anxious to be demobilized are being retained in camps, doing at the most two hours' work per day.

Incidentally, each member on demobilization becomes eligible for out-of-work donation for six months. A suggestion has been made that the Q.M.A.A.C. should not be demobilized until April. This means that for six months beyond that date these women will be a charge on the country.

Yours faithfully,
LIEUT.-COLONEL.

London, W.1, Sept. 25.

Daily Telegraph 25. 10. 19

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WOMEN'S KNOWLEDGE

CIVIL SERVICE QUESTIONS.

Our Civil Service Correspondent writes: "Either explain how to make a knitted jumper, or show how you would provide a hot supper for three people at a total cost (excluding cooking and service) of not more than 2s 9d." This was one of the questions set at the record examination—so far as numbers are concerned—held last week by the Civil Service Commissioners, when 5,000 W.A.A.C.'s, W.R.A.F.'s, W.R.N.S.'s, Government typists, and Whitehall flappers met in fierce strife for 200 vacancies as women clerks in the public departments. One irreverent and flippant flapper remarked: "If I have hit his favourite dish I shall appeal to his 'Little Mary' and be all right." But that knitted jumper, known now all over Whitehall! Of course, it has been said by a cruel Press that the Whitehall girl really did spend most of her time knitting, and the question is being asked, Was this a sly, underhand method of the Commissioners—nasty things—to find out?

But all the questions do not bear this domestic, feminine stamp. Indeed, as a matter of fact, very few are what might be called women questions. Listen, you men scoffers, to this: "What is the present relation between England and India? Outline the story of its development." This, indeed, is a terrible jump from the jumper, and it will be asked, Does there exist in modern England any one girl who would answer these two questions? There may be such many-sided girls, but it would be decidedly interesting to find one discussing the government of India to the click of her knitting-needle. But we had better give the rest of the questions on "general knowledge," twelve in all, the candidates being warned that accuracy and order in exposition will have weight in valuation, and that accuracy in fact will not be less important.

What do you know of any four of the following: Darwin, Socrates, George Washington, Marie Antoinette, Tolstoi, Beethoven, John Nicholson, Lister, Michelangelo, Martin Luther, St. Francis of Assisi?

What events led to England's declaration of war against Germany?

Describe the position and show the importance of the Suez and the Panama Canals.

What is the use of possessing a vote?

Sum up the advantages and drawbacks of communal kitchens.

What is the Civil Service, and what are its chief functions? How are its members appointed? What are your reasons for wishing to become a permanent Civil Servant?

Write a short sketch of any one of the more important characters in Shakespeare's plays.

Give some of the causes of the general rise of prices since 1915.

Write short notes on three of the following: (a) The Income-tax; (b) Free Trade; (c) the Coal Industry Commission; (d) Conscription; (e) the League of Nations; (f) the Ministry of Health; (g) Bolshevism.

What are the best means of checking the spread of consumption?

The subjects in English composition were (one of which was to be selected):

Discuss the causes of the high price of clothing at the present time.

Write a letter to a friend comparing life in a woman's hostel with life in lodgings. Sign the letter with a fictitious name.

What woman character in fiction do you admire most? Describe her and the part she plays.

TRAIN PUZZLES.

The arithmetic paper was comparatively easy. Perhaps the Civil Service Commissioners were indulgent to woman's well-known weakness on this subject. The first question was merely an addition of columns £ s d. In Section II. the questions were a little more difficult, of which the two following are typical examples:

In the time-table the 11.30 a.m. train from Paddington is timed to reach Exeter at 2.45 p.m., a non-stop journey of 174 miles. How many minutes would the journey take if the train was punctual? What would be the average speed of the train in miles an hour to the nearest tenth of a mile an hour? On a certain day the train started punctually, and travelled at this average speed as far as Taunton (143 miles from Paddington), where it was stopped for twenty minutes. It then completed the journey at an average speed of sixty miles an hour. How many minutes late was it at Exeter.

The volume of water in a tank, measured in cubic feet, is found by multiplying the area of the base of the tank measured in square feet by the depth of water measured in feet. Find, to the nearest tenth of an inch, how much the level of the water in a tank whose base measures 72 square feet will fall when 100 gallons are drawn off. [A cubic foot=6.23 gallons.]

In addition, there was a précis paper on a story from the French—"The Finding of Mademoiselle Perle"—in which it was requested that attention should be paid to neatness, handwriting, spelling, grammar, punctuation, and style.

Owing to the large number of candidates impossible for the Commissioners to acco them all on one day, so another examinatio be held on Friday, though the Albert Ha People's Palace, Mile-end-road; the Queen's Hall, Harrow-road; the Medical Examination and the Civil Service Commission were utilised. the examination on Friday the questions on gen knowledge were:

What do you know of any four of the following: Dant Wilberforce, Alexander the Great, Goethe, Newton, Joh Hampden, George Eliot, Machiavelli, Wiclif, General Botha, Voltaire?

Give, with explanations, five of the principal conditions of the Peace Treaty with Germany.

How and when did Canada and South Africa become parts of the British Empire?

What are our principal sources of supply of sugar, tea, and coffee? Could any of these be produced at home? Give reasons.

Write brief notes on the following: Parliament, Cabinet, Party System.

How do you account for the existing shortage of houses?

Describe the functions of the Government Departmen in which you have been employed, and point out an defects which you may have observed in its methods.

Write a short sketch of any one of the famous women either of the Old Testament or of English history.

Mention some of the ways in which the State might reduce its expenditure with advantage.

Write short notes on three of the following: (a) The Budget, (b) Profiteering, (c) the Ministry of Transport, (d) Liquor-trade Prohibition, (e) Co-operative Societies, (f) Unemployment Donations, (g) Home Rule.

What are the benefits of fresh air?

Either—(a) Sum up the advantages and drawbacks of uniforms for women; or (b) Suggest any labour-saving improvements which might be introduced into the houses of the future.

THE PEACE TREATY.

Some lucky hits were made. We have heard of one of the candidates, at the evening class which she attended, being specially coached on the principal conditions of the Peace Treaty with Germany, and naturally she selected this question. We wonder how many men—so fleeting is memory—could answer this question. I asked the editor of a well-known scholastic paper this week, and he confessed it was too much for him. The subjects of English composition, time allowed one and a half hour, were:

Give some account of the steps which have been taken, since the outbreak of the war, to keep down the cost of food to the consumer, and discuss their effect.

Write a letter to a friend giving your views as to the kinds of work (other than domestic work) for which women are best suited. Sign the letter with a fictitious name.

Give an account of some modern book of light fiction. Have you met counterparts of any of the characters in the book amongst your acquaintances?

The arithmetic questions were not more difficult than those set on Thursday. Two typical examples were:

To go from a place A to another place B a man can either walk the whole distance of 10 miles or go part of the way by train. In the latter case he has to walk ¾ mile to the station at one end and 1½ mile from the station at the other. If the train takes 12 minutes, and he walks 3½ miles an hour, find to the nearest minute how much time he can save by going by train.

If the train leaves A at 11.17 a.m., can he reach B by noon?

A field has four sides, which are 287, 255, 220, 250 yards long. What is the cost of putting a fence round the field at 3s 6d a yard?

The area of this field is equal to half the product of the lengths of the diagonals. If the diagonals are 388 and 326 yards long, find the area to the nearest tenth of an acre.

In the notice printed at the back of the time-table candidates were required, before proceeding to their seats, to lay aside "their hats, umbrellas, and any books, papers, or other appliances," obviously to prevent irregular and surreptitious assistance from outside sources. It would be hard on the girls if vanity bags were included in the term "appliances," though we have a suspicion that in these modern days that would be the most correct description of their primary use. The Civil Service Commission were reluctant to shed much light on this delicate subject, but replied that a large bag or satchel would not be permitted. And yet, if ever there was an occasion when a girl needed the refreshing assistance of the secrets of her vanity bag, it was in the fierce scrum of a competitive Civil Service examination.

FUTURE OF THE W.A.A.C.s.

A REPLY TO MR. JOHN MURRAY, M.P.

(BY ONE OF THEM).

Evening Standard 27.9.

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After the many criticisms to which women who have not hastened out of uniform have been submitted, it is somewhat of a relief to know that we still have the sympathy of at least one member of Parliament, Mr. John Murray. He has seen and realised that just as the country has profited by women's work, so the women themselves have profited and have gained, as he says, a knowledge of discipline and a standard of their work, which only an organisation similar to the Q.M.A.A.C. could teach them.

In one point, however, we differ from him. The organisation of these girls could *not* have thriven as well under the auspices of some philanthropic institution. The only thing that produced the *esprit de corps* of the W.A.A.C.s the willingness to work, the steadiness, reliability, and voluntary submision to discipline was the fact that they were inspired by an ideal of helping their country when it was in danger—like everyone else. They were, no doubt, assisted by the stimulation of communal life and by the definite nature of their work—though I have known cases where W.A.A.C.s of the domestic category have worked all day and most of the night for a week on end—but the mainspring of their reliability and excellence was their ideal of "helping to win the War."

Not the Same Conditions.

Now I question very much if the girls are anxious to remain in organised bodies, living together with very little privacy and under any chance administration that is not, and cannot be, controlled by the War Office or any State body; for one must remember that there were not only twenties or thirties, but thousands of girls in the Q.M.A.A.C., all subject to precisely the same form of military discipline and all receiving the same pay and wearing the same uniform.

The suggestion that the Administrators of the Corps should try to carry out the same kind of organisation is a good one as far as it goes. But it cannot entirely meet the case because the conditions are bound to vary according to locality, amount of initial capital, etc. Therefore dissimilarity rather than similarity of conditions will be fostered and the W.A.A.C.s, perhaps, split up into small sections without cohesion. Moreover although the Administrators were undoubtedly in love with their work, it is not certain that they would enjoy similar work under very different conditions. Discipline would be much more difficult to maintain without the backbone and support of Army Council instructions! And again, the demand for such organisations is not indefinite.

Working for an Ideal.

Perhaps our study of psychology leads us astray. We are apt to think that, because the girls have been under discipline, lived a communal life worked hard and been happy, they therefore want to go on doing these things for the rest of their lives. A deeper insight will make us realise that these were merely external signs of the real reasons for their happiness, which were two: Firstly, they were working for an ideal; secondly they attained the status, almost unconsciously, but nevertheless entirely by their own efforts, of self-respecting individuals, able to control their own lives (within certain limits) at all events, subject only to rules and regulatons to which they chose to submit.

Many of these girls, before they joined up, had had no such opportunity. Sometimes they had only been one of a large family at home at the beck and call of their mother or their small brothers and sisters all day. Sometimes they had been in private service, perhaps on duty from 7 a.m. till late at night, perhaps only getting into the fresh air once or twice a week.

These girls, and thousands like them, were transformed in physique and in brain after their time in the corps. But the transformation was due, partly certainly to the fact that they were in the fresh air every day instead of twice a week, partly to the regularity of their lives, but mainly to the state of mind of being their own mistresses, responsiible for their own particular job, entirely free to dispose of their own time w' n off duty.

That is, surely, the key to the whole present position. Orgonisations of large numbers, similar to the W.A.A.C.s, will not solve it. There is no big demand in any sphere of work whatever except domestic service. Moeover, that is what the girls understand and can do. But we must realise that they have experienced the stimulating effect of being mentally free, and at the same time sensibly controlled—and there is nothing more stimulatng—and we must adapt ourselves to their new mental attitude.

Household Service.

A scheme has been on foot for the past six months, under the auspices of the Women's Legion, for assisting the "Service Women." The legion foresaw the organisation of the W.A.A.C.s when it provided the first batch of Army cooks as early as 1916. It has also foreseen the difficulties of the girls on demobilisation.

The scheme provides that every girl who goes into Household Service as a Legionary shall have definite conditions of service. These are very simple. She must have two hours off every day, a half-day once a week, a whole day once a month, and part of every alternate Sunday. During her time off, she is absolutely her own mistress. A minimum wage is fixed.

Realising that domestic service differs from factory work or other daily occupation, the Legion scheme is one for "living in," and the girls do realise that the certainty of being housed and fed is a great advantage nowadays. The main value of the Legion lies in the fact that its members may wear their uniform (W.A.A.C. or whatever it may be) when off duty, and they will be, in the near future provided with club rooms where they may meet their friends and spend their hours of recreation. The scheme has been running now for six months and the proof that it is efficacious lies in the fact that hundreds of letters of appreciation have been received from both employers and workers.

A Good Foundation.

We hardly think that more training is necessary for these girls. They have the mental foundation, as it were, on which everything else can be built up. Employers are quite willing to take them with the experience they have had, and they have proved themselves to be adaptable and quick learners.

They have been content in their work, because they still preserve the high standards they have learnt, and also because they feel the Legion is behind them. Many of them have said that they do not want to accept the unemployment pay because it is bad for the country, which shows a steady patriotism that might well be emulated by others. They are determined, and rightly, not to go back to domestic service under the old conditions. But, given good conditions and some organisation to support and assist them, they are quite content. That is our considered opinion, after six months of experience.

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Morning Post
15.10.19

DISPLACED WOMEN LABOUR.

The Women's Industrial League, which has been investigating the conditions of women's employment throughout the country, states that in many large industrial centres, the question of women's unemployment is a serious problem, and is likely to become more acute in the near future.

"Thousands of women workers," a circular issued by the League remarks, "have been turned out of well-paid occupations at the dictation of reactionaries, and this action has preceded the Restoration of Pre-War Practices Act, which comes into force this week. The operation of this Act means that many more thousands of women may find themselves unemployed, while, added to these, will be the women from the disbanded State services, such as the W.A.A.C.S., W.R.E.N.S., W.R.A.F.S., and Land Army, as well as women from the much abused class of worker, known as the "temporary clerk," in Government offices.

"What is to become of all these women workers unless the Government shoulder their responsibility, and find them work. The method of displacing one class of worker to place another is illogical and absurd, while its effect must be to cause a considerable amount of discontent."

Spectator 22.11.19.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

[Letters of the length of one of our leading paragraphs are often more read, and therefore more effective, than those which fill treble the space.]

WOMEN'S WORK.

[To the Editor of the "Spectator."]

Sir,—I enclose herewith my cheque for £20 towards the fund you propose raising at Mrs. Kinnell's suggestion in aid of the London Society for Women's Service. I cannot imagine a more deserving cause than that of the women who, as men return from the war, are becoming unemployed after doing the nation's work in the days of our need and stress. As a small employer of labour it gives me pleasure to pay my tribute to the whole-hearted devotion that women gave to the work they were so unexpectedly called upon to do. In common with others, I have during the last few years watched and registered the relative value of male and female labour, and it occurs to me that it may be desirable to utilize the experience gained in this period in coming to an equitable agreement of the rate of their wages as compared with those given to men. My experience has shown me that exceptional women are equal to good men, but that the majority are less productive, and I have in my field gauged this productiveness as low as two to one, although three to two may be a fair average valuation. In suggesting the utilization of such experience I assume, of course, that the hope you express in your leading article will be realized, and that the Trade Unions will quickly remove the stigma resting on them in the suggestion that they are an unconditional bar to the employment of women in any of the trades they control. My experience teaches me that female labour is a most desirable alloy to male labou , and that, even if their capacity is at times inferior, their devot n to and love of their task can only act as a desirable stimulus to men and help towards efficiency.—I am, Sir, &c., W. Heinemann.

20-21 Bedford Street, W.C. 2.

[We have pleasure in acknowledging also the receipt of a cheque for £10 from Mr. G. G. Playfair, and a cheque for £1 from Mrs. Gertrude A. Traill, for the Women's Service Bureau, the objects of which were described by Mrs. Kinnell in last week's *Spectator*. Moreover, the London Society for Women's Service gratefully acknowledges the following donations to the fund:—Edward F. Balwin, Esq., £4 4s.; "Orielensis," £1; Miss E. M. Hall, £1; Miss L. Yates, £1 1s.; Miss Mackie, £2; Mrs. H. S. Gladstone, £1 1s.; Colonel C. V. Turner, £5 5s.; Miss D. Webb, £5; Messrs. Hillabys, Ltd., £5; Mr. and Mrs. H. H. Worthington, £50.—Ed. *Spectator*.]

Times Dec 17. '19.

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WOMEN'S LEGION.

PLANS FOR PERMANENT STATUS.

The demobilization of the motor section of the Women's Legion and the first occasion on which its Reserve has been called up (during the railway strike) were celebrated by a gathering held at the invitation of the president, Lady Londonderry, at Londonderry House, Park-lane, yesterday. General Sir John Cowans (the former Q.M.G.) and his successor, Lieutenant-General Sir Travers Clarke, sat at tea with Lord Londonderry, Lady Londonderry, Lady Maureen Stewart, Miss Christobel Ellis (commandant of the motor section), and Lady Grey.

At the other tables were the members of the Legion in service dress. Those who had helped during the railway strike had been given silver match-boxes by the commandant of the section, with the inscription "W.L. reserve. Special Duty, Sept., 1919—Oct."

Lady Londonderry paid a tribute to the foresight and resolution of Sir John Cowans in deciding to give the women a chance to help in feeding the Army; to the help given by Sir Travers Clarke and the staff of the Q.M.G.'s Department; and to the services of Miss Ellis, Miss Ward and other members of the staff. They were, she said, busy with plans for the future of the Reserve, which it was hoped might come to have a definite status.

Lady Londonderry read the following message from Mr. Winston Churchill:—"I wish very much that the heavy pressure of my work had allowed me to be with you to-night and to meet in person the representatives of the Women's Legion, to whom the country owes so large a debt of gratitude for their work during the war. For many years the old-fashioned idea that the capabilities of women were limited to the domestic sphere had been losing ground; but, even so, there are few who would not have been incredulous if, at the outbreak of war, the picture of the part that women would come to play in it before the end had been suddenly unrolled before them. There is hardly a form of activity, short of actual fighting, in which women did not develop special gifts and energies; and the share which they took in the achievement of victory can scarcely be put too high. You will, I know, be anxious to hear something of the future, but here I am afraid that I cannot at present hold out any definite prospect. Until final decisions can be reached as to the numbers of the permanent Army and Territorial Force nothing can be settled. But I think I am safe in saying that it is generally agreed that the splendid spirit of patriotism and loyalty and the high standard of efficiency which the Women's Corps have displayed are an asset of national value, and that in some form or other the organization which has come into being should be perpetuated."

This message, Lady Londonderry added, was most encouraging. Whereas in the past they were an unknown quantity, now they were known as "Legion," and she felt confident that they would not be overlooked. Miss Ellis and she had not forgotten the need of a club, and she hoped to be able to do something for them in the near future. It might be perhaps a club not only for the Women's Legion, but a service club which would eventually be run by the members themselves.

Sir Travers Clarke thanked the motor drivers on behalf of the War Office, speaking of the efficient assistance given by the motor section of the Legion to a harassed Q.M.G. in maintaining the transport of a great Army.

Sir John Cowans said that in the early days of the war the greatest need of the Army was trained cooks. Lady Londonderry started the Women's Legion by providing 500 cooks in 1915 and later between 80,000 and 100,000 men were trained for the Army camp kitchens. These cooks were the first verse of the first chapter of the genesis of the Women's Legion and the women's services. The organization of cooks started the idea of the Q.M.A.A.C. They had a tremendous fight with the War Office over the cooks. They were such a success that the Adjutant-General wanted to control them, but he (then Q.M.G.) would not give them up.

Times. Nov 12. '19.

W.R.A.F. INQUIRY FINDINGS.

GRAVE ACCUSATIONS REFUTED.

NO EVIDENCE OF CAMP IMMORALITY.

The inquiry by a Select Committee of the House of Lords into the dismissal of Miss Violet Douglas-Pennant from the Women's Royal Air Force was ended yesterday, Lord Wrenbury presiding. The last sitting of the Committee was on October 31.

Miss Violet Douglas-Pennant was represented by Mr. J. A. Hawke, K.C., Mr. Stuart Bevan, K.C., and Mr. J. N. Buchanan (solicitors, Messrs. Coward and Hawksley, Sons, and Chance); the Air Ministry by the Attorney-General, Mr. Rigby Swift, K.C., and Mr. G. A. Branson (solicitor, the Treasury Solicitor); General Sir W. S. Brancker by Sir Charles Russell, solicitor; Lieutenant-Colonel Bersey by Mr. Patrick Hastings and Mr. Thomas Carthew (solicitors, Messrs. Simmons and Simmons); Mr. S. Janson by Mr. Curtis Bennett, K.C., and Mr. Tristram Beresford (solicitors, Messrs. Kenneth Brown and Co.); Miss Gwenda M. Glubb by Mr. Harold Morris (solicitors, Messrs. Hyde, Mahon, and Co.); and Mrs. Beatty by Mr. J. H. Evans-Jackson (solicitor, Mr. Ames). Mr. Leonard appeared in person. Mr. Tristram Beresford, on the instructions of Messrs. Ashley, Tee, and Sons, held a watching brief for Major D. G. Nairn, and Mr. Cockburn also watched the case. Mr. Barrington Ward, K.C., with Mr. Roland Thomas, appeared for Lady Rhondda.

Mr. Barrington Ward, upon the Committee entering the room, said that he desired at once to call Lady Rhondda as a witness on her own behalf.

Lady Rhondda then entered the witness chair, and said that in January, 1918, she accepted the position of Chief Controller of Women's Recruiting at the Ministry of National Service, which at that time had complete control of recruiting both of women and men. Lady Rhondda recalled two meetings with Miss Douglas-Pennant during the time Miss Douglas-Pennant was Commandant, and said that she had read the evidence given by Miss Douglas-Pennant. "My recollection does not exactly tally with Miss Douglas-Pennant's," added Lady Rhondda, who said that her recollection was that both interviews took place on her initiative.

On the first occasion they had lunch at Miss Douglas-Pennant's club and discussed general matters. She asked to see Miss Douglas-Pennant because she was anxiosu to discuss a scheme just being mooted in regard to a Common Selection Board for the Women's Corps.

On August 5, 1918, a question was asked by Sir Willoughby Dickinson and answered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer?—Yes. Sir Auckland Geddes asked me to prepare a report dealing with women in camps generally.

Lady Rhondda said that forthwith she began the compilation of her report. About August 13 Miss Strachie, the head of the Women's Service Bureau, a voluntary bureau which had done very good work placing women in various branches, came to see her. Miss Strachie came to the witness because she was very much upset and her Committee felt so worried that they did not feel justified in recruiting further officers. The witness knew before that that the position was bad, and she thought she would take some action, and went to see Sir Auckland Geddes. She saw Dame Katharine Furse before she went to see Lord Weir.

She tried to see Mrs. Leech, the head of another corps, but she was away, and she only saw Dame Katharine. Her report of August 22 dealt with about nine different corps, but rather specially with the affairs of the W.R.A.F. She said to Sir Auckland Geddes that she was worried about the position there. Her report was honestly prepared on facts in the course of her duty. She had no animus against Miss Douglas-Pennant, and no desire to hurt her feelings. When Lord Weir had received Sir Auckland Geddes's communication, the witness went on the Monday morning with Miss Strachie to Lord Weir, who said to them that he had already made up his mind to dismiss Miss Douglas-Pennant, and in the rest of the interview they did not discuss that at all.

They discussed, however, the best way to get the drafts in some state of organization. Miss Douglas-Pennant was dismissed on the 28th. The witness went to see General Brancker after she had seen Lord Weir with reference to the disorganization.

Have you ever been a party or privy to any intrigue or anything of that kind against Miss Douglas-Pennant?—No.

Either to out her from her office or do her any other injury?—No.

What has animated you throughout?—Simply that it was my business to get the thing right.

Have you ever engaged in any conspiracy?—No.

"Have you always acted in a perfectly straightforward manner towards Miss Douglas-Pennant?" asked counsel. "Yes, perfectly straightforward," replied Lady Rhondda, who added, with indignation, "I object to the insinuation."

LORD WRENBURY referred to one of counsel's questions, remarking. "The W.R.A.F. appears to have sprung into existence on the 1st of April." Lady Rhondda.—I really never could understand why they chose that date. (Laughter.)

Lady Rhondda, replying to questions by Mr. Hawke, said that she had not the least idea whether in her interview with him Lord Weir used the word "dismissal" in connexion with Miss Douglas-Pennant. Miss Douglas-Pennant told her she had been "shot out."

Asked whether she did not make inquiries of Miss Douglas-Pennant in reference to her report, Lady Rhondda said that she felt something must be done about the W.R.A.F., and she went to see Sir Auckland Geddes, who told her to see Lord Weir. "I could not have thought of going to see Miss Douglas-Pennant while I was waiting to see Lord Weir, so the possibility never occurred to me," replied Lady Rhondda.

In reply to Mr. Barrington-Ward, the witness described the qualifications of Miss Pratt and Miss Andrew, and said that she rightly attached importance to what those ladies reported.

The CHAIRMAN asked if anyone wanted to address the Committee. An ex-sergeant-major at the back of the hall got no farther than "My Lord."

LORD STANHOPE ON HURST PARK.

The Committee adjourned for a few minutes, and on their return the CHAIRMAN announced that before the matter was closed the Committee thought it right that he should read two letters received this morning. The first was from Lord Stanhope, as follows:—

"I intend fully to withdraw and to apologize in the House for my statement in regard to Wormwood-Scrubs, but I shall be unable to withdraw my statement in regard to the condition of affairs at Hurst Park. Had the Committee seen fit itself to call Mrs. Kitto she would have substantiated my statements. I have now seen Mrs. Kitto and also three other witnesses who worked at Hurst Park, who corroborate and amplify Mrs. Kitto's evidence. I think the Committee should know this before they conclude their last public sitting in case they should wish to call me. As you know, I gave an undertaking to the Committee to do nothing until its report had been made public. I understood this only to refer to my action in the House of Lords, and that it would not preclude me from sending a letter of apology, &c., to the solicitors representing Miss Glubb and Colonel Janson, but before doing so I shall be glad to know if the Committee has any objection."

The CHAIRMAN.—The Committee see no objection with regard to the latter part of that letter to Lord Stanhope sending such a letter if he thinks proper.

A second letter read by the CHAIRMAN was from Stanley Fuller, dated from 52, Recreation-grove, Holbeck, Leeds. It ran as follows:—

"I wish to make known to you some circumstances connected with the case under investigation which, after following the Press reports, I feel to be more important than any evidence already heard by you. My duties as sergeant-major in charge of the equipping of women's hostels at Hurst Park brought me nightly into touch with the W.R.A.F. I have many unique opportunities of examining for my own opinion what I shall call the perpetuation of administrative irregularity to the detriment of the good name of the depôt. I had never met the lady chiefly concerned in the case, but in order to assist in giving the Committee some information, and to get at the truth, I have offered myself as a matter of honour and duty to those who are at present unable to produce ample facts. I have carefully weighed the probable results of my action, but remain convinced of its necessity. I hold no personal animosity against my late officer commanding, and would as gladly meet his counsel as that of the opposite side. Trusting some opportunity may be accorded me."

The CHAIRMAN asked if any parties desired to take further action.

After lengthy consultation with Miss Douglas-Pennant, Mr. Hawke asked the Committee to call ex-Sergeant-Major Fuller.

The CHAIRMAN.—The Committee certainly shall not call him. It is for you to say.—I don't know whether he will support my case or not.

The CHAIRMAN.—Neither do I. (Laughter.) You have had weeks and weeks to prepare, and we have offered you great indulgences, and now we offer you a still greater indulgence.

Mr. Hawke requested leave to take proofs of evidence of ex-Sergeant-Major Fuller and Mrs. Kitto.

The CHAIRMAN assented, but only on condition that Miss Douglas-Pennant would personally bear the whole of the subsequent costs of the inquiry for all parties from that moment. This condition was refused.

IMMEDIATE CONCLUSIONS.

The CHAIRMAN.—In the circumstances I have simply to state that the Committee will report to the House. I desire, however, just to make this statement. The Committee will report in due course. We are going, however, to take the unusual step of announcing at once some of our conclusions. Grave accusations have been hanging for months over the heads of several persons. They are entitled to have our conclusions upon them at the earliest possible moment. We therefore state as follows:—

We find the accusation of immorality between Colonel Janson and Miss Glubb to be untrue.

We find the accusation of general immorality at Hurst Park Camp to be entirely unsupported by any evidence; further, there has come before us no evidence of immorality at other W.R.A.F. camps.

We find the accusation that Colonel Bersey desired that immorality should continue at Hurst Park Camp to be untrue.

We find the accusation that General Livingstone and Colonel Bersey desired by improper means to allow to continue a state of things under which night passes were given to young girls by, among other persons, Colonel Janson, under which they were taken to London in Government cars and brought back, often drunk, in the early hours of the morning, and the accusation that such a state of things ever existed, to be supported by no evidence whatever.

LORD WRENBURY added:—"All the above are the unanimous findings of every member of the Committee. We shall report not only upon the question as to whether Miss Douglas-Pennant was rightly suspended, but also upon all the accusations made when our conclusions and our reasons on the whole case are reported."

The Committee adjourned for report.

Times 8. 11. '19 682.

STILL NEARLY 400,000 CIVIL SERVANTS.

12,000 WOMEN GONE IN TWO MONTHS.

Official figures contained in two Parliamentary papers issued yesterday [Cmd. 379 and 380] show that since the Prime Minister wrote directing heads of Government Departments to reduce their staffs there has been an appreciable reduction in some offices, but the total saving does not amount to 10,000 in two months—a percentage of less than 2½.

As was recorded in *The Times* of September 22, few offices reduced their staffs during July, and in that month the number of Civil servants actually increased by 2,267 to a grand total of 409,561. The changes during the three months July, August, and September are shown in the following table:—

—	Men.	Women.	Total.	Change.
Aug. 1 ..	242,247	167,314	409,561	+ 2,267
Sept. 1 ..	244,872	163,162	408,034	— 1,527
Oct. 1 ..	244,741	155,211	399,952	— 8,082

It will be seen that, although during August and September there was a net reduction of 9,609 in the staff, the number of men employed increased by nearly 2,500. The female staff was reduced by more than 12,000.

The Labour Ministry contributes towards the reduction about 3,500 and the Ministry of Munitions nearly 4,000, but each of these Departments still retains a staff of nearly 22,000 persons. The War Office, which had a staff of 13,277 on August 1, succeeded in reducing it by only 420 during that month, but improved its record in September, when 1,359 employees were discharged. The Pensions Ministry, which added more than 1,000 to its staff during July, further increased it by 555 in August, making the total over 18,000. The explanation given is that the increase was due to additional work in connexion with the reassessment of pensions and to a general increase of work in the Department as a whole. In September, however, the staff was reduced by 283.

The Admiralty staff was brought down during the two months by over 1,100, but still numbered nearly 17,000 on October 1.

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Morning Post 20. 12. 20.

THE CIVIL SERVICE.

Joint Committee's Report on Reorganisation.

STATUS AND PAY OF WOMEN.

The report of the Special Committee, appointed by the National Council for the Administrative and Legal Departments of the Home Civil Service, on the reorganisation of the Service was issued last evening. The Committee was composed of members nominated by the official and staff sides of the National Council, and the terms of reference were:

To consider the scope of the duties at present allotted to the clerical classes in the Civil Service; to report on the organisation most appropriate to secure the effective performance of these duties; and to make recommendations as to scales of salary and method of recruitment.

The Committee held its first meeting on November 25, and it is worthy of note that this is the first occasion on which a body composed entirely of present or past Civil Servants, possessing among them a wide and varied experience of the public service, have been given the opportunity of framing a scheme for its reconstruction.

All the scales of salary referred to in the report are assessed on a pre-war basis, *i.e.*, exclusive of war bonus.

STATUS AND PAY OF WOMEN.

In dealing with the recruitment and status of women in the Civil Service, the report says Parliament has laid down the principle that a person shall not be disqualified on grounds of sex from the exercise of any public function. The Committee are agreed that within the parallel classes of the Civil Service women should be given a status and authority identical with that accorded to men; that promotion for men and for women should proceed separately as vacancies occur in the higher establishment reserved for either sex; that the principles of training and of promotion recommended for men should be applied equally to the parallel women classes; and that it should be the duty of Departments to see to it that women are regarded as available for employment on the same work as men within the several classes, and that women are given the widest opportunities of proving their administrative capacity.

Whether the interests of efficiency will best be served by segregation, or by the employment of women and men side by side, is, the Committee states, a matter on which experience varies, and they suggest that the requirements of Departments in this respect might appropriately be discussed at the Departmental Councils. It may fairly be argued that in order to obtain the full value of the experiment every opportunity should be given for men and women to work side by side.

As regards pay, the Committee are agreed that the minimum of the basic scale in each class should be the same for women and for men, and that the incremental rates should be identical up to a point.

With regard to the recruitment of the Administrative and Executive grades the official side of the Committee, while desiring to retain for men the method of open competition by written examination, advocates in the case of women, at the present stage, a system of selection by impartial and authoritative boards. The staff side attaches great importance to the principle of recruitment by open, competitive, written examination, and is prepared to assent to selection by boards only on the condition that the question of recruitment will be reviewed by the National Council within a period of five years.

ADMINISTRATIVE AND CLERICAL.

The administrative and clerical work of the Service may be said, broadly, to fall into two main categories. In one category may be placed all such work, as either is of a simple mechanical kind or consists in the application of well-defined regulations, decisions, and practice to particular cases; in the other category the work which is concerned with the formation of policy, with the revision of existing practice or current regulations and decisions, and with the organisation and direction of the business of Government.

After the most careful consideration the Committee agree that, in order properly to provide for the work falling within those two main categories, it will be necessary to employ not less than four different classes, namely:

(a) A writing assistant class for simple mechanical work.

(b) A clerical class for the better sort of work included in the first main category defined above;

(c) An executive class; and

(d) An administrative class, for the work included in the second main category.

The Committee recommend that the class of writing assistants should be recruited by local competitive examination of a simple character, and they consider that the scale of salary should start at 18s. a week, rising to 20s. a week, at the age of seventeen and 22s. at eighteen, and should proceed from that rate by annual increments of 2s. a week to a maximum of 36s. a week. Recommendations were also made on hours of duty and holidays.

For the clerical class recruitment is recommended by open, competitive, written examination, with age limits of 16-17 for boys and 16½ to 17½ for girls. The salaries recommended are: For males, £60 a year on entry, rising to £80 a year at the age of 18; thence by annual increments of £5 to £100 a year (at the age of 22); and thence by annual increments of £10 to £120 (age 24); and by £15 to £150 (age 26); and thence by £10 a year to a maximum salary of £250 a year (attainable at the age of 36). For women, £60 a year on entry, rising to £80 a year at the age of 18, thence by annual increments of £5 to £120 a year (at the age of 26); and thence by annual increments of £7 10s. to a maximum salary of £180 a year (attainable at the age of 34).

THE EXECUTIVE CLASS.

To this class the Committee would assign the higher work of Supply and Accounting Departments and of other executive or specialised branches of the Civil Service, work covering a wide field and requiring in different degrees qualities of judgment, initiative, and resource. They are of opinion that in so far as it may be desirable to appoint men from outside the Service to the staffs of these Departments and branches recruitment should be by open competitive written examination between the ages of 18 and 19, but they do not recommend the immediate extension of this mode of recruitment to women, and agree that women candidates for the staffs of these Departments and branches should, during the period of experiment, be recruited by means of authoritative and impartial Selection Boards, between the ages of 18 and 25. Entrants of both sexes so recruited should be regarded as members of a Training Grade, and they should be given the widest possible training in all branches of the work of the Department or branch to which they are assigned.

The following are the scales of pay set out: For men, £100 a year, rising by annual increments of £10 to £130 a year, and proceeding thence by annual increments of £15 to a maximum of £400 a year; and for women, £100 a year, rising by annual increments of £10 to a maximum of £300 a year.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE CLASS.

The duties appropriate to this class are those concerned with the formation of policy, with the co-ordination and improvement of Government machinery and with the general administration and control of the Departments of the Public Service. For the effective performance of these duties the Committee propose that officers should be obtained partly by selection from inside the Service and partly by recruitment from outside the Service.

Experience, they say, has shown that the higher administrative work of the Public Service requires for its discharge a proportion of men recruited at the University leaving age, and they recommend that provision should be made for the continuance of the present system by which men are selected for appointment by means of an open competitive examination in the subjects embraced by the various honours courses of University institutions. They agree that during the period of experiment this mode of recruitment should be limited to men—present age limit 22-24—and that women directly recruited to the Administrative Class should be chosen between the ages of 22 and 30 by an authoritative and impartial Selection Board—with or without qualifying examination. They hold the view that the class should be open to all men and women already employed in the Service who show early proof of real ability and promise of being able to discharge higher administrative functions.

For men cadets the scale of salary suggested is £200, by £20 to £240, and thence by £25 to £500 a year. Women cadets would be placed on a scale of £200 a year, rising by annual increments of £20 to a maximum of £400 a year.

The Committee recommend that artificial barriers to promotion should be removed, and that all those recruited for the Service at different ages and by different tests should be placed on an equality for the purpose of opportunity of promotion to higher posts. They condemn the employment of temporary clerical staffs on permanent work.

The report of the Committee is to be printed and should be on sale through his Majesty's Stationery Office in a few days.

Times . 24.2.20.

Reform of the Civil Service.

The Report issued yesterday by the Whitley Council of the Civil Service deserves respectful attention, both on the ground of the circumstances attending its preparation and on account of its intrinsic merits. The Civil Service has grown, is growing, and will continue to grow rapidly in size and importance. We hope that it will not grow quite so rapidly as is desired by some enthusiasts, who would like it to embrace the entire occupied civilian population of the country, or even so rapidly as it did in an emergency form under the stress of war. But continued growth of a less exuberant kind is quite certain ; and with its growth the efficiency of the Service becomes a matter of increasing national concern. There would, therefore, in any case be need to overhaul the system at the present time with a view to improving it. But the need is rendered urgent by the fact that the present organization is quite obsolete and the methods of recruiting and promotion not conducive to the highest efficiency, to put the case mildly. It is an open secret that the Service is honeycombed with discontent, very largely due to these obsolete methods. In such circumstances it was the plain duty of the Whitley Council to investigate the conditions and determine the reforms calculated to remove defects and increase efficiency. The Council accordingly at its second meeting appointed a special committee to consider the duties of the clerical branches of the Civil Service and report on the organization best fitted to secure the effective performance of these duties, with recommendations about salaries and recruitment. It was a joint committee of twenty-five, representing departmental heads and staff. The Whitley Council of the Civil Service, it should be remembered, differs from an ordinary industrial council, because there are no employers in the usual sense ; their place is taken by the chief officials. The present Report is the result of this joint committee's labours, and it is unanimous. It would be impossible to imagine a more weighty document of the kind, emanating as it does from the Service itself and representing all grades.

In our humble opinion, it demands attention no less for its intrinsic merits. The committee lay down clearly the principles that have guided them and the conclusions to which they have been led ; and unless we are much mistaken these will command general assent. They began their inquiry by analysing the different kinds of work required for the Service and defining the qualifications needed for each main class of duties. The work falls into two main categories—the first of a mechanical or routine character, the second involving questions of policy, organization, and direction. For the first kind of work the committee propose two classes of clerks, a higher and a lower, and for the superior work an executive and an administrative class. This reduces the number of grades from a score or more and simplifies the whole problem. It facilitates the adoption of a new principle in recruitment, which is to place the doors of entry opposite the educational grades of the country. For instance, the lowest class, or writing assistants, is intended for boys and girls of 16-17 years of age in the stage of half-completed secondary education. They would be recruited by local competitive examinations of a simple character. The next class would take boys and girls at the end of the intermediate stage of the secondary school course by open examination ; and the executive class would correspond with the end of a secondary school course. But it is proposed that provision should be made for promotion from the class below as well as by recruitment from outside ; and this is one of the essential features of the reformed organization. The objects are both to open the way to promotion by merit and at the same time to secure to the service the benefit of capacity in the ranks while it is still young and vigorous. A training [illegible] proposed to be open to men and wome[illegible] from the grade of clerks—the second [illegible]ndicated above—in an early stage of the [illegible]eer, and on account of proved ability. The highest grade, corresponding to a University degree, is also to be filled partly by selection from within the service and partly by recruitment from outside by examination. Candidates for promotion to this class would be selected by a special board and would form a "cadet corps." It is evident from these points, to mention no others, that the proposed reorganization is conceived in a new spirit and would have the effect of rejuvenating the whole service. It is to be presumed that the scales of pay and other conditions are satisfactory, since they have been drawn up with the assistance and approval of representatives of all grades. Altogether this is a very hopeful and inspiriting Report, and we have no doubt that effect will be given to it. Let it be done without undue delay.

Daily Mail 24-2.20

WOMEN'S BATTLE HALF WON

For the first time a body composed entirely of past and present members of the Civil Service have been given the opportunity of framing a scheme for its reconstruction. Whitehall's Whitley Council is neatly balanced by official and staff "sides," and its proposals, as might be supposed, are progressive without being revolutionary.

Women's position in the Civil Service is still hedged round with compromise Their admission into all branches is conceded—with safeguards. For instance, they are to be segregated from the men in "parallel" classes, although the report admits "it may fairly be argued that in order to obtain the full value of the experiment every opportunity should be given for men and women to work side by side." That sounds like a generous concession—to the future—from an official "side" that had got its own way.

In regard to pay, too, Civil Service women are to get less than men for the same work. If this recommendation is upheld it will distinguish Civil Service employment invidiously from the accepted practice in industry, commerce, and the professions. Women's exclusion from the highest grades of salary is doubtless a special recognition of man's status as bread-winner—an assumption which women are more and more disposed to contest.

Broadly, however, the report establishes women firmly in all branches o the Civil Service.

Daily Telegraph 3.3.20.

WOMAN CLERKSHIPS.

The Civil Service Commissioners announce that a competitive examination for not less than fifty higher grade woman clerkships in the Ministry of Labour will be held in July, commencing on the 6th of that month. The examination is open only to persons who have rendered two full years' approved service prior to March 1, 1920, in an established or temporary post in one or more of his Majesty's Civil departments, or as an enrolled member in the clerical sections of Queen Mary's Army Auxiliary Corps, the Women's Royal Naval Service, the Women's Royal Air Force, or the Voluntary Aid Detachments General Service; or in a temporary clerical post in the War Department establishments, or in national factories, stores, bonds, depôts, &c. Limits of age, 25 and 35 on March 1. Regulations and forms of application will be sent in response to requests by letter addressed to the Secretary, Civil Service Commission, Burlington gardens, W. 1, on or after Monday next.

Daily News 25.2.20 — 682

WOMEN IN THE CIVIL SERVICE.

Insufficient Opportunity for Higher-Grade Posts.

The scheme for throwing open all branches of the civil service to women, the most important feature of the report of the Sub-Committee of the Civil Service Whitley Council, found a good many critics among Government clerks yesterday. The women say that it marks a step in the right direction, but that the recommendations are not as far-reaching as they had hoped.

Miss Maguire, an organiser of the Women Clerks and Secretaries' Association, said: "The recommendations for the lower grades are excellent, but they offer few advantages to the higher-grade women.

"For the first time in the history of the employment of women in the Civil Service, they, if the recommendations are adopted, will have the chance of promotion from the lower to the higher branches. In the classes A and B, viz., writing assistants and clerks, I believe it is proposed to employ men and women in about equal proportion. The proposal to promote women who excel in the clerical branch to executive positions offers for the first time opportunities to the younger women who are qualified for better work than that of a purely routine character.

"Our chief objection to the report is that it does not propose to admit women by competitive examination to the executive and administrative positions. Favouritism is always bound to play a big part where promotion depends on selection."

One of the official reasons given for refusing to open the higher posts corresponding to the first class Civil Service to women, said Miss Maguire, was that University women were less broad-minded than University men, and must first show their capability in lower grade work.

At present a small number of women hold well-paid administrative positions in the offices of the Board of Education, Ministry of Health, Home Office, Public Trustee, and Ministry of Labour.

The Sub-Committee's report must be passed by the full National Whitley Council for the Civil Service, before it is submitted to the Cabinet.

682/44

Times Feb. 24. 20

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CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

WHITLEY COUNCIL PLAN.

REGRADING: PAY: STATUS OF WOMEN.

Important recommendations for the reorganization of the Civil Service are contained in a report presented to the Civil Service National Whitley Council by a Special Joint Committee representative of both the official and the staff sides of the Council. Sir Malcolm G. Ramsay (official side) was Chairman of the Committee, and Mr. G. H. Stuart-Bunning (staff side) was Vice-Chairman. The report, which proposes a regrading of the Civil Service, a revision of salary scales, and changes in methods of recruitment, is signed by all the members of the Committee. It will be discussed at the next meeting of the Council, provisionally fixed for March 19. The following is a summary of the main recommendations of the Committee:—

The administrative and clerical branches of the Civil Service should consist of four classes:—

(A) WRITING ASSISTANT CLASS, for simple mechanical work.

(B) CLERICAL CLASS, for the better sort of work of the semi-mechanical kind, or of the kind which consists in the application of well-defined regulations, decisions, and practice in particular cases.

(C) EXECUTIVE CLASS, for work which is concerned with the formation of policy, the revision of existing practice or current regulations and decisions, and the organization and direction of the business of Government.

(D) ADMINISTRATIVE CLASS, for work of the kind described under (C).

RECRUITMENT, GRADING, AND SALARIES.

Class "A" (Writing Assistants) should be recruited by local competitive examination, with age limits of 16-17. The scale of salary (exclusive of the present war bonus of 30 per cent. and £60) should start at 18s. a week and reach a maximum of 36s.

There should be recognized machinery for the selection of Writing Assistants who show potential capacity for better work, and for their promotion to the Clerical Class.

Class "B" (Clerical Class) should be recruited, in so far as it is recruited from outside the service, by open competitive examination, with age limits of 16-17 for boys and 16½-17½ for girls. For males the salary (exclusive of war bonus) should begin at £60 a year and rise to £250 a year at 36. For women the starting salary should be the same, but the increments smaller, and the maximum £180 at 34. There should be an "efficiency bar" in both scales, at £180 and £135 respectively, beyond which advance would be dependent on a special certificate of competency.

A higher grade, with a scale of salary ranging from £300 to £400 for men and £230 to £300 for women, should be created for supervisory or higher individual clerical work.

Class "C" (the Executive Class), should deal with the higher work of Supply and Accounting Departments and other executive or specialized branches of the Service. So far as this class is appointed from outside, recruitment should be by open competitive examination with age limits of 18-19, the syllabus of examination being framed with reference to the standard of development reached at the end of a secondary school course. Women should be allowed to enter this class only by process of selection, between the ages of 18 and 25.

It is contemplated that a considerable proportion of the Executive Class posts will be filled by promotion from the Clerical Class, by way of a special "Training Grade." The salary for this grade (exclusive of war bonus) would begin at £100 a year for men and women, and rise to £400 and £300 respectively. The salary for the first grade in the Executive Class would range from £400 to £500 for men and from £300 to £400 for women.

Class "D" (the Administrative Class) should deal with the formation of policy, the co-ordination and improvement of Government machinery, and the general administration and control of the Departments of the Public Service. It should be appointed partly by selection from inside the service and partly by recruitment from outside. The present system of open competitive examination in the subjects embraced by the various honours courses of University institutions should be continued, the age limits being 22-24. Women should be eligible for this class only by selection, between the ages of 22 and 30.

This class should be open to all men and women already in the Service who show early proof of real ability and promise of being able to discharge, in course of time, higher administrative functions. Heads of Departments should submit names of candidates to a central authority. Candidates so recounted should be regarded as a "Cadet Corps" from which selection should be made to substantive administrative rank. The salary (exclusive of war bonus) for men Cadets should range from £200 to £500, and for women from £200 to £400. The report does not deal with salary scales with maxima over £500 a year.

For all classes the Committee recommend that the normal hours of attendance should be seven a day, with a half-holiday each Saturday.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN.

"NOVEL AND COMPLEX PROBLEMS."

Discussing the question of the employment of women in the Civil Service, the Committee report:—It must be noted that Parliament has laid down the principle that a person shall not be disqualified on grounds of sex from the exercise of any public function. We appreciate that it is not possible at this stage to attempt a final solution of the novel and complex problems involved in the employment of women, side by side with men, throughout the several classes of a graded Service of the Crown. We are by common consent breaking new ground. But it has been our earnest endeavour, while realizing that we are working in a field of strictly limited experience, to ensure that the opportunities afforded to women of proving their fitness to discharge the higher administrative duties of the Civil Service shall be full and liberal.

In the application of this principle we were met at the outset with the claim, which has the support of a number of members of your Committee, that in recruitment, status, pay, and general conditions of service there should be no differentiation between the sexes. In the direction of meeting this claim the Committee are agreed that within the parallel classes of the Civil service women should be given a status and authority identical with that accorded to men. Further, whilst we propose that during the experimental period there should be separate Establishment Lists for men and for women within each class of the Civil Service, and that promotion for men and for women should proceed separately as vacancies occur in the higher establishment reserved for either sex, we are of opinion that the principles of training and of promotion that we have recommended for men should be applied equally to the parallel women classes, and that it should be the duty of Departments, under the general guidance of the Establishments Department of the Treasury, to see to it that women are regarded as available for employment on the same work as men within the several classes, and that women are given the widest opportunities of proving their administrative capacity.

Whether the interests of efficiency will best be served by segregation, or by the employment of women and men side by side, is a matter on which experience varies, and we suggest that the requirements of Departments in this respect might appropriately be discussed at the Departmental Councils. It may fairly be argued that in order to obtain the full value of the experiment every opportunity should be given for men and women to work side by side.

As regards pay, we are agreed that the minimum of the basic scale in each class should be the same for women and for men, and that the incremental rates should be identical up to a point.

EXAMINATION AND SELECTION.

We are agreed that in the case of the clerical class we are no longer in the experimental sphere. Experience has established that women are fully capable of discharging the clerical work of the Civil Service, and we recommend that women should be recruited to the clerical class proposed by us by the method of open competition by written examination. The higher examination age-limit required for girls (16½-17½), as compared with boys, together with the need for a separate seniority list, makes it necessary that young women who are candidates for entry to this class should be recruited by a separate examination—though the subject-matter of the examination should be of the same standard as that prescribed for male candidates.

With regard, however, to the recruitment of the administrative and executive grades, hereafter proposed, the official side, while desiring to retain for men the method of open competition by written examination, advocates in the case of women, at the present stage, a system of selection by impartial and authoritative boards. The staff side attaches great importance to the principle of recruitment by open, competitive, written examination, and is prepared to assent to selection by boards only on the condition that the question of recruitment will be reviewed by the National Council within a period of five years.

On the question of recruitment for the higher administrative posts, the Committee report:—Experience has shown that this work requires for its discharge a proportion of men recruited at the university-leaving age, and we recommend therefore that provision should be made for the continuance of the present system by which men are selected for appointment to the public service by means of an open competitive examination in the subjects embraced by the various honours courses of university institutions. The present age-limits are 22-24. Some of us are of opinion that the lower age-limit should be reduced to 21, but as the information before us is not sufficient to enable us to make a recommendation, we suggest that this point should be further explored. We are agreed that during the period of experiment this mode of recruitment should be limited to men, and that women directly recruited to the administrative class should be chosen between the ages of 22 and 30 by an authoritative and impartial Selection Board—with or without qualifying examination.

A CENTRAL AUTHORITY.

The special requirements of the administrative work constitute a clear justification for bringing into the public service persons possessing the high educational qualifications described above. We do not, however, contemplate that recruitment to the Administrative Class should be solely from outside the Service. On the contrary, our view is that the class should be open to all men and women already employed in the Service who show early proof of real ability and promise of being able to discharge, in course of time, higher administrative functions. In order to meet such cases, we recommend that a central authority should be established to investigate and decide on the qualifications of candidates recommended by the heads of their respective departments, and that it should be an instruction to heads of departments to submit to this authority from time to time the names of young men and women having, in their judgment, the necessary qualifications for admission to the Administrative Class.

Men and women so recruited should be regarded as a cadet corps from which selection should be made to higher administrative posts, and members of this corps should be treated, so far as practicable, as a body available for service in any department in which the Administrative Class is employed.

THE IDEAL IN VIEW.

The Committee, in some general observations on their task, point out that it is only six months since the first meeting was held of the National Council which embodied the application of the Whitley method to the administrative and legal departments of the Civil Service. That a group of persons drawn from every part of a graded Service of the Crown should be able to present an agreed report upon the form and shape their Service should take is a notable and hopeful achievement. . . . But we desire to emphasize the truth that forms are lifeless things without the spirit that animates them, and that no rules or regulations have any value apart from the broad and sympathetic treatment with which they should be handled and interpreted. Administration is at least as much a matter of heart as of brain. Throughout our deliberations we have striven to promote what we conceive to be the best interests equally of the State and of the Civil Service; we have endeavoured to remedy what has appeared to us to be defective, while at the same time not impairing what experience has shown to be good; and in all that we have proposed we have kept steadily in view the ideal of an efficient and contented public service.

53 JOINT COUNCILS.

The third meeting of the National Council for the Administrative and Legal Departments of the Civil Service was held at Montagu House, Whitehall, last Friday. The CHAIRMAN (Sir Malcolm Ramsay) announced the following changes in the membership of the Council:—Sir Warren Fisher has withdrawn; Sir W. A. Robinson has succeeded Sir Edmund B. Phipps; Mr. A. Woodgate, C.B.E., will act as a member during the temporary absence of Mr. H. E. Dale; Mr. F. P. Robinson, who has succeeded Mr. F. W. Leith Ross, has been appointed Joint Secretary to the official side in the place of Mr. R. B. Howorth, who remains a member of the Council. On the staff side Mr. H. E. Shayler has succeeded Mr. F. H. Norman; Mr. W. E. McConnell has succeeded Mr. A. E. Killick; and Miss M. C. Bray has succeeded Miss E. H. Howse.

The report of the Committee set up to consider and approve individual constitutions for Departmental Councils was received. Fifty-three joint councils for Government Departments have been established. The report of the Reorganization Committee (dealt with above) was presented to the Council and its publication authorized. The printed report will be on sale to the public on Friday next. Discussion of the report was postponed until the next meeting of the Council, the date of which was provisionally fixed for Friday, March 19.

The Council agreed to the appointment of special committees with the following terms of reference respectively:—(*a*) To consider and report upon the principles and methods of promotion; and (*b*) to explore the question of the encouragement of the further education of Civil Servants and their training in higher administration and organization. It was announced that the temporary adjustment of subsistence rates, recently agreed with the Civil Service Alliance is being applied generally throughout the Civil Service.

Daily Telegraph 6.3.

THE CIVIL SERVICE.

STATUS OF WOMEN.

By A WOMAN.

Rather more than a week has passed since the report of the Civil Service National Whitley Council became generally available, and in that time it has been considered by two or three of the leading organisations of women. The resolutions that they have adopted concerning it have been frankly deprecatory. At the best, all that can be said is that the committee has provided its own best summary as to the equal opportunities that women have demanded. "Up to a point" there are concessions and amendments. And it is over a very important detail indeed that this phrase is employed. "As regards pay, we are agreed that the minimum of the basic scale should be the same for women as for men, and that the incremental rate should be identical up to a point." That "point" appears to be indicated in Class B (Clerical Class), where the official attitude on the subject may be judged. Here the rule is laid down that

For males the salary (exclusive of war bonus) should begin at £60 a year and rise to £250 a year at 36. For women the starting salary should be the same, but the increments smaller, and the maximum £180 at 34. There should be an "efficiency bar" in both scales, at £180 and £135 respectively, beyond which advance would be dependent on a special certificate of competency.

A higher grade, with a scale of salary ranging from £300 to £400 for men and £230 to £300 for women, should be created for supervisory or higher individual clerical work.

Again, as to the Executive Class, to which promotion will be made through a "Training Grade":

The salary for this grade would begin at £100 a year for men and women, and rise to £400 and £300 respectively. The salary for the first grade in the Executive Class would range from £400 to £500 for men and from £300 to £400 for women.

There is another rather inexplicable recommendation. While the age limit of examination for boys is to be 16 to 17 years, it is 16½ to 17½ years for girls. Now the average girl at 16 to 17 is usually more advanced; is, in fact, generally "older for her years" than the lad of that age. She has reached that stage in her development when she is assimilating most rapidly the instruction given to her. The argument may be that it is full young for a girl to enter upon her career much before she is 18, but it is quite possible later on that the loss of that six months might militate seriously against her in the matter of promotion. In any case, it puts off the possibility of beginning her wage-earning career until six months later than her brother commences his.

The committee admits that it is not possible at this stage to attempt a final solution of the novel and complex problems involved in the employment of women side by side with men throughout the several classes of a graded service of the Crown. But how far the university woman, the woman bringing some highly specialised qualifications into that service will consider that her claims have been met is another matter. Examination in itself may not be the ideal means of selection, and everyone at all cognisant of results due to it can point to instances where it was not entirely satisfactory. But it is at least a fair and open door, and it is certain that not one in a thousand of women would not prefer it to the method of selection suggested on their behalf. "We recommend," say the Committee, "that provision should be made for a continuance of the present system by which men are selected for appointment to the public service by means of an open competitive examination in the subjects embraced by the various honours courses of university institutions. We are agreed that during the period of experiment this mode of recruitment should be limited to men, and that women directly recruited to the administrative class should be chosen between the ages of 22 and 30 by an authoritative and impartial selection board—with or without qualifying examination." That way lies patronage and influence, which is wholly out of keeping with present ideas, and the question of the salaries in this matter are among those that the associations concerned with women's advancement condemn most unsparingly.

Men and women who thus enter through their separate doors are to be regarded primarily in the light of a kind of cadet corps, from which the higher administrative posts are to be filled. What is perhaps the most satisfactory statement as far as women are concerned, is that this class of appointments should also be open to those already in the service and giving signs of real ability. The proposal is put forward that there should be some central authority to whom heads of departments could send any member of their staff that they deemed worthy of promotion. Heads of departments, however, are but human, and imagination foresees cases where this dignitary might be loath to send on, even for advancement, the particularly efficient secretary who always had the right information to be given in reply to questions in the House of Commons. Probably there are further reports to follow. There is still that vexed question, raised more than once on this page as to the retirement of women upon marriage, which is not touched in these findings. But on the whole, the present report maintains the old angle of vision, and still says to women, "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther."

WAR SERVICE ASSOCIATION.

Since the Marchioness of Londonderry, in conjunction with the heads of the different War Services of Women, outlined the scheme earlier in the week for founding an association which should keep together these workers for their mutual benefit, there has been ample demonstration of approval of it. The offices of the Women's Legion, 115, Victoria-street, S.W. 1, have been made the headquarters of the enterprise, and Lady Londonderry, together with Dame Florence Burleigh Leach, was able yesterday afternoon to state that applications for membership have poured in from all parts of the kingdom. It is hoped to hold a meeting in London shortly to which former members of these organisations would be invited, while in the provinces similar gatherings are to be arranged. In the "Old Comrades' Associations" of Queen Mary's Army Auxiliary Corps, the Women's Royal Naval Service, and the motor-drivers of the Women's Legion, there exists already a strong nucleus, and there are indications that members of the Women's Land Army and of the Voluntary Aid Detachments will be glad to come in also.

The idea of providing more residential hostels for ex-Service women especially commends itself to them. It was mentioned yesterday that two ladies who had held good rank in Q.M.A.A.C. had secured on favourable terms from the Government two houses in Belgrave-road that during the war had been occupied by war workers, and no sooner were they ready for their new purpose than they were full to overflowing, girls even appealing to be allowed to make "shake-downs" for themselves on the corridor floors. The necessity for more hostels is fully recognised in the project, while other useful forms of help are promised in loans for special training, and a fund to assist overseas settlement. There is every reason to think that with such useful objects in view, the association may hope for the assistance and support of Lord Byng's United Services Fund. In the various women's services something like a quarter of a million were enrolled. Naturally, they are now widely scattered, but the prompt response they have begun to make to the suggestion of uniting for their own welfare shows that they feel it to be a desirable step.

682 682 682/47

A GREAT STEP FORWARD.

The women in the Civil Service have gained a great victory securing the rejection of the report of the Sub-Committee on the Organisation of the Civil Service as far as it regards women, and in inducing the main Whitley Council to reserve that part of it for further and, we believe, better consideration. To call this event a great step forward is no exaggeration, for upon the success of the women directly employed by the Government depends the position of all other classes of women workers in this country. If women civil servants cannot achieve equality of opportunity and equality of pay no other women can hope to do so. And the fact that they realise both the power and the importance of their position is of great encouragement.

The history of their effort, which has taken barely four weeks, is very instructive. It will be remembered that the Government took power under the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act to regulate by Orders in Council the conditions of entry and employment of women in the Civil Service. This matter was delegated, not without astuteness, to the newly-formed National Whitley Council for the Civil Service, and it was understood that upon the report of that body the Orders in Council would be framed. The National Whitley Council referred the matter in its turn to a special Sub-Committee on the Organisation of the Service, and this Sub-Committee consisted of eleven representatives of the official side and fifteen representatives of the staff side, one official and three staff representatives being women. This body reported on February 17th, and their report, while a distinct advance on present conditions, fell very far short of actual equality.

Meetings both of Associations of Civil Service women and outside organisations immediately took place, and the objections to the Report increased from day to day. At first the obvious step forward indicated by the Report somewhat dazzled those who looked at it with a pre-war mind. The foolishness of compromise at the outset, however, soon became clear, and before ten days were over practically every Association of women inside the Civil Service had called for the amendment of the Report.

A somewhat difficult situation then arose, since the majority of the women's Associations formed part of the larger mixed Civil Service bodies whose representatives were responsible for the Report. The women's groups and societies attempted, but unsuccessfully, to influence the decision of the joint organisations, and finally it became clear that the women, though perfectly solid a d united themselves, formed a minority within Associations which approved the Report. It is the essence of Whitley Councils that the staff side and the official side should present unanimous reports, and it was therefore impossible for the staff side to give any indication of the large minority which it had, or rather had not, behind it.

In looking upon the two classes of Civil Servants, men and women, it is only right to remember that the apparent opposition between the men and the women arose not on the question of principle, but upon the expediency of pressing at the present time for the full demand for equality. This difference, while not so serious as one of principle, can nevertheless give rise to grave difficulties, and it is certain that by the time the Sub-Committee's Report reached the main Whitley Council the position of the staff side was almost impossible.

While this was going on within the Service, outside organisations were not idle, and the importance of the question, as it affects the whole problem of women's employment, was very widely discussed. Letters of protest and appeals for amendment reached not only the members of the Whitley Council, but also the Parliamentary heads of great Government Departments. From many quarters the women interested in University education, no less than the societies interested in equality, took active steps, and it is not surprising that the pressure of outside public opinion reached the official side of the National Whitley Council. There are some who say that outside opinion should not influence the decisions of the Whitley Council. That it did so on this question is but a proof that the Council is being called upon to perform a function that is not within its province; for the conditions of entry and status and position of women in the Civil Service is a matter of general public interest that should never have been referred to the Whitley Council at all. On Friday, March 19th, when the National Council met, the Report of the Sub-Committee as regards men was adopted and that concerning women was reserved for further consideration. We trust that in the further consideration that is given to this question the opinions of University women and others representing the outside public will be obtained.

In the course of the campaign the Federation of Women Civil Servants organised a great mass meeting in the Central Hall. Their case was there most ably argued, and the response given to each point as it was made by that large gathering of young women was a most interesting sign of the times. In the old days we can remember almost despairing of women civil servants. They, the teachers and the nurses, used to be more difficult (in the mass at any rate) than even the antis themselves, for though they cared they did not dare to express their opinions. Enfranchisement and the changes that the war have brought has made a great difference, and it is to the stand that the teachers and the civil servants are making that all women workers are looking to-day for their salvation. The nurses, too, are moving, and a very good thing it is; and when these professional women succeed industrial women cannot help but benefit. As one of the speakers at the meeting said, women's employment is like a long chain hung from a height. The top links are the doctors, the artists, and the independent professional women; next to this come teachers, civil servants, secretarial workers, and so on from link to link till at the bottom there are the sweated women workers dragging in the dirt and the dust. To raise the bottom links is difficult, and if done they do but fall back, and the only sure way is to raise the whole chain from the top. The simile is a true one. And we are glad indeed that the women civil servants should use it.

It is very strange to see the new spirit that is abroad amongst women wage-earners. We used in the old days to be thankful for anything. To-day perhaps we go to the other extreme, and we do certainly shock and pain many of our more gentle well-wishers. But, after all, we have votes to-day, and it is small wonder if we make the most of them. In the matter of the Sub-Committee's report we have certainly been victorious, and being so we can regret that we seemed ungenerous. We can admit now that the old report was not all bad; that it did much that would have been thought impossible even a few months ago, and that the men and women who prepared it fought hard and thought hard over a difficult problem. But the new spirit has held of us at last, and we cannot be content to compromise.

Evening News
5 3-17

WOMEN FOR FRANCE.

Arrangements for Them to Live in Hotel "Barracks."

Some of the women who are to be attached to the Army in France will live in hotels.

Colonel Leigh-Wood and Mrs. Chalmers-Watson, M.D., heads of the Women's Army Department, have returned from France, where they have been making arrangements for the reception of the women-soldiers.

They have seen some suitable hotels, which will be furnished and turned into comfortable "barracks." In some localities where hotels are not available the women will go into huts. These are to be built for the purpose.

It is hoped that the housing arrangements may be complete for the first battalion of women in a few weeks' time. They will go over as a complete unit.

An important section will be the cooks, who are to be supplied by the Women's Legion.

Daily Express
7 3-17

RUSH TO JOIN THE WOMEN'S ARMY.

OFFERS FAR IN EXCESS OF PRESENT NEEDS.

The number of offers for service in the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps—the pending formation of which was announced in the "Daily Express" on February 20—is, we are officially informed by the War Office, already far in excess of the probable immediate requirements.

The Director-General of National Service desires, in order that disappointment may be avoided, that no more applications should be made until further notice is given by the authorities.

The period of preparation in England will include elementary instruction in hygiene and discipline.

It has been decided, therefore, on grounds of expediency, that the first detachment of women shall be drawn from the London district, and applicants living in the London area only will be enrolled in the first instance. Applications from other areas will be dealt with later.

Evening News
7 3-17

5,000 WOMEN FOR FRANCE.

Others to have Similar Opportunities for Enrolment.

Only London women will be called up for the first unit to be sent to France to join the Army, but as soon as accommodation is ready for them other women will have the same opportunity of enrolment. At present sufficient applications have been received.

The Selection Board which Mrs. Tennant is setting up will probably consist of a representative of the War Office, Miss Wilson (Commissioner for the London district), and Miss Clapham (principal officer).

Five thousand women will form the first battalion and they will be sent over in units of 200. The majority will be trained clerks.

A training centre (for military drill) is to be established in London, where the recruits will spend two or three weeks.

Daily Mail
7 4-17

WOMEN ARMIES.

35,000 FOR WORK ABROAD AND 2,400 FOR THE LAND.

Mr. S. Walsh, as representing the Ministry of National Service, states that 35,000 women have registered at the National Service Department for the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps. The War Office authorities are selecting women for service abroad, for which at present they require 5,500, as rapidly as they can make arrangements for their accommodation, and at present 146 women have been selected. For the Women's Land Army 2,473 had enrolled up to last Tuesday.

Evening News
24 3-17

PETTICOAT ARMY.

First Battalions of Women in Khaki Ready for France.

The two first battalions of the Women's Auxiliary Army are awaiting orders to cross to France.

They are to be known as the Women's Auxiliary Aid Corps, and are made up of clerks, waitresses, and housemaids. The cooking for the first corps is to be done by the French people. Later it is hoped to send cooks over with each unit.

Girls who have been working with the Army at home as waitresses, under the Women's Legion, have been selected for the first corps, with the addition of trained women clerks.

Officers from the Women's Legion, Miss Atkinson and Miss Findlay, are in command. The two battalions are going to different places in France, and will live in hostels.

For the past fortnight most of the recruits have been staying at Ingram House, Stockwell-road. This house, which before the war was a hostel for men, was turned into a lady-workers' club to accommodate the overflow from Bedford House of young women workers in Government offices.

The members have all to be under 25 years of age, and many are only 17 years. Eighty rooms have now been taken over by the War Office for the use of women going to the Army in France until a special hostel is secured.

Hopkinson House, a large women-workers' club in Vauxhall Bridge-road, was one of those selected for a hostel by the Army authorities.

The women now ready for France have been vaccinated and inoculated while at Ingram House. They have also been undergoing military drill in the large gymnasium in the house in order to give them some idea of Army discipline. Women officers from the Women's Volunteer Reserve are the instructors.

The recruits are given squad drill. They are taught to march in fours and to move easily in large numbers.

Lectures are also given on First Aid and personal hygiene. The women have been supplied with khaki uniforms by the Women's Legion, the War Office making a grant of £4 for each recruit.

This covers an overcoat and hat, skirt and blouse and boots, overall and cap.

Daily Mail
26 3-17

WOMEN FOR FRANCE.

TWO BATTALIONS AWAITING ORDERS TO CROSS.

Two battalions of the Women's Army are awaiting orders to cross to France.

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The Gentlewoman
14. 4. 17

682a/2 682a

The SORT of WOMEN NEEDED

AN IDEA OF ST. ERMIN'S ACTIVITIES.

With the Army pushing forward in all directions, and every despatch from Sir Douglas Haig bringing news of further British victories, women are proud indeed that they are being asked to help their men folk near the field of battle. It is felt an honour to be thus called upon to work side by side with the gallant men who have, for all those long and weary months of war, been fighting to keep the women at home in safety and comfort. Now that the National Service Department (Women's Section) has undertaken to recruit for the War Office an army of women to release fit men who are now doing civilian work in the Army, there will be a continued response from women as further need arises for recruits.

The feeling of pride inspired by working under the War Office as an auxiliary corps may be a trifle sentimental, for, in the nature of things, women cannot expect for one moment to be able to join their husbands or sweethearts at or near the firing line! But sentiment, which is not a thing to be sneered at, goes hand in hand with enthusiasm and courage.

There are typists and clerks needed, cooks, waitresses and domestic staff, motor transport service, telephone and postal workers, checkers and unskilled workers. The pay will vary according to duties, the minimum wage being £1 weekly, for a week of forty-three working hours; beyond that, overtime will be paid for at the rate of 7d. per hour.

The general conditions have been most thoughtfully planned. No woman under twenty years of age is eligible for employment. A short form of agreement will be entered into, and a medical examination by a woman doctor will be necessary.

There will be a period of preparation in England, which will include elementary instruction in hygiene and discipline. Free conveyance to and from France on appointment and termination of engagement, and uniform will be provided.

A fortnight's leave will be given during each year's service.

An allowance of £4 will be paid to provide uniform at the beginning of service, with a further grant of £1 at the end of six months.

A grant of £5 will be made for the second year's service, and slightly different grants in the case of the motor transport section.

In all cases other than cooks, waitresses, domestic staff, storehouse women, unskilled labour, and miscellaneous services, a deduction not exceeding 14s. per week will be made to cover cost of board and lodging and washing.

In the case of storehouse women and unskilled labour and miscellaneous services, when the pay is less than 21s. per week, the deduction will not in any case exceed 13s. a week.

The above conditions and terms of pay apply only to service in France.

The women will be accommodated, while abroad, in hostels and hotels which are under the care of lady superintendents. Every possible provision has been made to safeguard the women and ensure their best welfare. No woman need hesitate to come forward because she fears the unusual conditions which must, of course, hold sway across the Channel, for no contingency has been overlooked by the capable women in charge of this matter, which so closely affects the wellbeing of our women war workers.

It is to be understood that those who enrol will be asked to hold themselves ready for service at home as well as abroad. Where a special desire to go abroad is expressed, every possible effort will be made to meet the wish, but women will realise that the really patriotic thing is to work wherever work is most urgently needed.

The response made, as a result of the War Office statement on February 28th of the proposed conditions and terms, has been so far in excess of the probable immediate requirements, that it was found necessary to give notice on March 7th that no more applications should be made for the present. For reasons of economy, the training of the first batch of recruits is to take place in London, and it follows that those nearest London will be called first. Mrs. Tennant is anxious that women who are not communicated with at once shall not think that they are left out, and disappointment will be avoided if it is realised that enrolment will follow in other areas as and when necessity arises.

No woman should leave her present employment at the time of making application, nor even when actually enrolled. She is, upon enrolment, exactly in the position of the man who is waiting to be called up, and who continues quietly in his civilian occupation until the latest possible moment. It is the aim of the authorities to dislocate employment as little as possible, and women offering for service either in France or at home are asked to make no hasty change, but remain at their ordinary work until the moment comes for them to be called up.

WOMEN ON THE LAND.

The authorities at St. Ermin's are at present making all arrangements to assist the Board of Agriculture by arranging to regulate supply to meet demand. Milkers, shepherdesses, plough-women, haymakers, horse-keepers, cow-keepers, market gardeners, harvesters, all must be forthcoming. The land calls—our own homeland, for whom our men are risking their lives hourly—and this call of the land is not to be denied. Within the next few days the scheme will be issued officially; application forms will be obtainable at every post office; enrolment will begin, and the work be put in hand with expedition.

Mrs. Tennant feels that it would be beneficial that all women in the provincial towns should know what excellent work has been done in certain villages to augment the autumn food supply. Under a scheme of the Board of Trade and the Board of Agriculture, a registrar was appointed in most village centres last year to keep a number of girls and women willing to work on the land. In the course of February, for instance, the registrar of one small village canvassed a hundred of the cottagers, urging them to plant as many potatoes as they could make room for, before April, in their gardens and allotments. The whole order for the village was sent to one grower, and the costs advanced by the registrar. There is now, then, a prospective supply of at least 670 pecks of home-grown potatoes for next winter in that one village. Given a simple plan like this in all villages, and a horse and cart for distribution in each district, and the addition to next winter's food supply would be a most important asset.

The need for women's work upon the land is now extremely urgent. Much can be done to help to win a victorious peace if women will put their energies into this National Service. The provincial towns of all sizes, and the outlying villages can help in this work. Any healthy willing woman can be taught. Milk for the babies, bread for the children, food for the soldiers and sailors and for all, must be ensured, and only by the patriotic and whole-hearted service of Great Britain's women can this result be guaranteed and the harvest saved for us.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

Women Commissioners have been appointed whose duty will be to assist with measures for increasing the supply of labour within their respective areas, and to consider questions of substituting women for men in various trades, closely co-operating with the men commissioners for inducing both employers and employees to facilitate substitution, and facilitating and maintaining good relations between the two.

One important work undertaken by the Woman Commissioners will be to see that proper steps are taken for the welfare of the workers in each centre of employment, and also to see that the women workers in National Service are properly paid and housed.

Miss Mona Wilson is the Commissioner for London, and is well known all over the country as one who has devoted her career to the investigation of the problems of industrial life, especially as touching women. She is a daughter of Canon Wilson, formerly Archdeacon of Manchester, and has been associated in her public work with such widely known people as Mr. Charles Booth, Mr. Seebohm Rowntree, Miss Gertrude Tuckwell, Lady Dilke and Miss Mary Macarthur.

Miss Mary Paterson is the Commissioner for Scotland, and has transferred her energies from the National Health Insurance for Scotland to the wider field of National Service. She has a very thorough knowledge of the conditions under which women work, and her knowledge of procedure and her organising ability qualify her for work of distinction in the post she has now undertaken.

Lady Mackworth, the Commissioner for Wales, is the daughter of Lord Rhondda, and wife of Sir Humphrey Mackworth, of Caerleon, Monmouth, President of the Local Government Board. She is a woman of remarkable ability, and a director of many influential companies, chiefly connected with coal and shipping. Recently Lord Rhondda took over the assets of a business formerly in the hands of enemy aliens, and Lady Mackworth was elected to the chairmanship.

Daily Mail
9.5.17

WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS.

LIFE IN BARRACKS FOR RECRUITS.

A detachment of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps left yesterday for France, trim, soldierly young women in khaki, carrying suit-cases and ready to serve behind the lines in the capacity of clerks, typists, postal sorters, housemaids, cooks, store women, and motor-drivers. Yesterday's batch were cooks, as the red insertion on their shoulder straps indicated—red for cooks, brown for clerks, claret for motor-drivers.

The headquarters of the corps are at the Connaught Club, near the Marble Arch. At present about 350 women are quartered there undergoing the three weeks' training, which is all they are given before proceeding abroad.

Bedrooms contain from one to four beds, but just now the supply of bedsteads is not sufficient and bedboards are being used, of the same pattern as those furnished to the British Army. It is hoped to keep an establishment of 500 always in training at the barracks, sending out from 150 to 180 per week.

Many of the recruits are from the Women's Legion, and have already two years' experience of Army work. The clerks are all new to the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps, and more are needed. Selection boards sit at the National Service Department, St. Ermins Hotel, S.W. 1, three times a week and at various centres all over the country.

The Christian
1.5.17

Our Warrior Girls.—2.

THE formation of the Women's Auxiliary Army, drafts of which proceed to France week by week, is not the first call that has come to girls to be "behind the gun," for all over the country there have sprung up "Women's Colonies" and Hutments of Girls' Hostels near the munition factories which have been erected in many quiet districts, in order that the danger zone of munition-making may be far removed from the crowded cities where most of our factories exist. Miss V. Tritton, with her band of Y.W.C.A. fellow-workers, have been leaders in this enterprise, and our readers would be thankful to enter with them daily into the little chapel. Here the girls turn in sometimes, in their munition clothes, after a twelve-hour shift, to commit to God their brother-workers at the Front.

The Guild of Helpers has sent its girls, who feel that call of the War to spiritual as well as material work, to live amongst munition-workers and help them to meet the dangers to which they are exposed. When Government or an employer confides to the Y.W.C.A. the running of a hostel, or the management of a canteen, it gladly accepts it because of the opportunity it gives to add a club-room and a quiet room where the girls can turn in for solitary or united intercession. Six Huts have been recently opened in Scotland, the outcome of the appeal-effort made last summer and autumn, when munition works were being started with great rapidity over the Border. "We shall not feel so homesick if you stay with us," was the remark made by a young girl who was feeling lonely amid the 120 girls in her hostel, instead of in her native village.

Many problems arise in this sudden herding together of thousands of women, and the Y.W.C.A. is ready to enrol any number of voluntary workers as week by week new centres have to be opened.

Miss Campbell, Secretary of the Munition Workers' Welfare Department, will be glad of help at 24, Park-lane, W.; and the Hon. E. Kinnaird to receive letters with reference to voluntary help at 26, George-st., Hanover-sq., W.

Daily Mail
14.5.17

THE GIRLS' ARMY.

OFF TO THE FRONT.

WOUNDED SOLDIERS' SALUTE.

Tramp, tramp with even steps; heads erect, shoulders back, and joyous bearing, a detachment of khaki-clad troops with haversacks slung on their backs swung round from Seymour-street into Edgware-road on Saturday morning and marched away to entrain for France. But they were women. All of them, including the smart subaltern who led them, were bright faced, lithe limbed, athletic-looking girls.

To the passers-by in Edgware-road it might have seemed merely some spring day pleasure jaunt upon which they were engaged. But there was a glow of enthusiasm in their cheerful faces and an air of purpose in their brisk steps, to tell the onlookers that the girls were doing the country's work, and that there was a thrill of pride in the pleasant spectacle of their enjoyment. It was one of the first detachments of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps, which is gradually taking over the vast office work of the Army in France that hitherto has occupied the energies of thousands of men who are needed at the fighting front.

Already some hundreds of girl clerks have been enlisted, trained, and sent over to release men who have had to be kept at the bases to do the clerical work of the Army Pay Department. Almost daily now fresh detachments are marching away en route for France.

THE SPIRIT OF THE GIRLS.

Most of the girls in Saturday's detachment that marched gaily away from the Connaught Club, which is the training centre and hostel of the amazon corps, were London girl clerks. They had received a little elementary drill for mobility and discipline, but required very little training for the work they are to do. That is all in the nature of their accustomed clerical employment. They have been instructed in household economy and among them is one section which is specially trained for the conduct of the hostels in which they are to be housed in France.

There is as keen and fine a spirit of service among these girls as in any branch of the nation's war organisation. They have given up their employments and joined the Women's Corps because they are as keen as their brothers in "doing their bit." One of the girls before the detachment paraded for the march expressed the spirit in a few sentences:

"We are going to be the finest corps in the British Army," she said, "and that means the finest corps in the whole world. The 'old man' at my office didn't want me to go, but I told him I was going because I wasn't going to stand by doing nothing particular when all the boys were giving up everything. Why, the work I was doing in the office wasn't doing any good and any fool of a man could do it. So here I am and to-night I shall be in France. Just think of it; every one of us women in the corps is as good as two men because every one of us makes two men of some use who were doing no good before.

SMARTEST OF SMART OFFICERS.

"First there is the man at the base who has only been doing the work we are going to do and now will be able to go and fight, and next there is the man at home who has been doing nothing at all and will now have a chance to do the work we have been doing."

The detachment was paraded in the Lecture Hall at the Connaught Club by their draft-conducting officer, Miss Monica Harcourt-Browne, the smartest of young subalterns, who, if she does not hold the rank of lieutenant, ought to. When their kits had been found in order there came into the hall with quick, athletic stride as fine a figure of an inspecting officer as any regimental parade ground could show. She was Miss Blanche Ireland, their drill instructor. She was taller than the rest and a leather belt of the Sam Browne colour girdled her khaki tunic.

Command was in her eye, confidence and competence in her quick movements and easy bearing. She had the "snap" of the Brigade of Guards, and if she has not the rank of captain there is still red tape in Whitehall. She did not keep them waiting while she talked about the weather. She had them formed up in double line, numbered them, and put them at the "'shun" in no time, turned them half-right into boarding-school formation, and then with a smart "By y'r left! Quick! March!" had them out of the place and half-way down the street before they knew they were starting. They marched to the Marble Arch tube station on the way to Waterloo and the port of embarkation.

ABASHED SLACKERS.

Wounded soldiers stood at the salute as they marched down the Edgware-road, boys cheered, and young civilians and "flappers" stood abashed. They looked so eager and so fit, and their short-skirted khaki uniforms with felt hats were so neat and becoming that the "flapper" smartness of the shopping women on the pavements seemed dowdy by comparison.

And their enjoyment of the great adventure upon which they were embarking was the cheerful spirit of their soldier brothers. It was a sight to set off against the gloom of the stay-at-home slackers. The girls love the life, love the drilling and the khaki and the discipline. Like the boys, they

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Financial Times
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THE WOMEN'S ARMY.

RECRUITING OFFICE FOR THE CITY

By permission of the Lord Mayor an office was opened at the Mansion House yesterday for enlistment in the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps, under the auspices of the National Service Department. The office is in charge of Mrs. Grew, who has a number of lady assistants, including Mrs. Curnock, Press manager. Women ranging in age from 20 to 40 years commenced to apply as early as eight o'clock in the morning, and there was a constant stream of applicants throughout the day. Printed particulars of service were handed to the volunteers and other information was verbally imparted. It was explained that the women were required as clerks, typists, shorthand writers, etc., in France, and as domestic workers in England. Each accepted applicant will receive a khaki uniform, differentiated by shoulder colours, brown for clerks, red for cooks, purple for motor drivers and green for domestic workers. The office will remain open from day to day so long as recruits continue to come in.

Evening News 22.5.17

GIRLS FOR FOREIGN SERVICE.

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The girls, mostly City workers, came with a very firm idea of the work they wanted to do, and each seemed to know the limit of her own capabilities.

The age limit is 20-30, and many girls of 18 expressed regret that they would not get to France now because the war would be over before they reached the mature age of 20!

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And their enjoyment of the great adventure upon which they were embarking was the cheerful spirit of their soldier brothers. It was a sight to set off against the gloom of the stay-at-home skirkers. The girls love the life, love the drilling and the khaki and the discipline. Like the boys, they find themselves growing and putting on weight, and they accept the authority of their officers even more readily than the men do. Those who have reached France have taken most kindly to their life and work there, and write happy, grateful letters to their training officers at the depot.

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Daily Express
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SPECIAL LAWS FOR WOMEN ONLY.

CODE FOR WORKERS IN FRANCE.

By Our Parliamentary Representative.

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"The women are normally subject to the Army Act," he stated. "It is clear that it would be undesirable to maintain discipline in such organisations by enforcing he penalties which the Army Act provides, and in consequence a code has been introduced under Defence of the Realm Regulation 42c, which is intended to secure the discipline of women's organisations.

"This regulation provides for the appearance of an offender before a court of summary jurisdiction. A court-martial would only be competent to award a sentence of imprisonment as a minimum, whereas a court of summary jurisdiction can impose a fine.

"Owing to the fact that the members of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps are neither commissioned nor enlisted, the power of requiring obedience to command within their own organisation does not exist under the Army Act, and it is, therefore, necessary to secure obedience by a code of another description."

Christian
7-7-17

Our Warrior Women.—4.

THEY are in France now setting free men who have been tied doing women's work in offices and kitchens. The spirit of these girls who have gone out from the Y.W.C.A. is shown in these words: "We are proud to have been sent out in the first unit in order that we may try and set the example to those who will follow; you may be sure we are doing our best. . . . The English boys are glad to have us; they have not had English girls for so long: they treat us as sisters." The ideal of the Y.W.C.A. War-time Clubs since they were started is to carry out the Divine plan when God placed man and woman in the first garden; and now away in the destroyed gardens of France we may hope that Y.W.C.A. Huts will stand for this Christian comradeship between our warrior men and women. "My window looks out on the Y.M.C.A. When will *our* hut be here, and will you come out and open it?" writes a girl to her camp-mother of the Y.W.C.A. "I always think of our Club on Monday evenings." These huts are urgently needed and there is no time to be lost, as the women's Army in France is growing every week. One Hut is already open, and a Club is being opened in the town; others will follow as soon as Club-leaders and money to erect them come in.

If the Y.M.C.A. has been necessary for our soldiers in camp in out-of-the way places, there can be no doubt that the Y.W.C.A. Hut is needed when women go to the lonely moors, vast camps, or crowded towns to take their share of a nation's burdens at this time of anxiety.

During the summer months it will be possible to hold Evangelistic meetings in many centres if we can have the further help of those willing to go into the out-of-the-way places where girls will be found this season.

The Hon. E. Kinnaird, 26, George-street, Hanover Square, London, W., will be glad to receive offers of service.

Daily Mail
19-7-17

THE QUEEN WITH THE WOMEN'S ARMY.

CURTSEYS IN UNIFORM.

DRIVERS' PARADE.

From W. BEACH THOMAS.

FRANCE.

The Queen's visit to France had many golden moments, as when she received from the French people an almost ecstatic welcome in Rouen, where she was visiting hospitals and where under the guidance of the cardinal she spent a happy hour in the glorious cathedral. One day she visited the field of Agincourt and of Crecy with the Prince of Wales, who stood on the spot where the Black Prince first received his feathers. She made an exhaustive tour of the bases, and at intervals saw something of the terror and mechanism of war.

She enjoyed every moment of her 12 days in France, where she lived in some of the most comely of old French châteaus, and no visit could have been more popular. Her journey also had the highest historic importance. It gave a date and a ceremonial sanction to the arrival of women in new domains of work and influence.

One forgot even the war in watching the Queen's successive reviews of these ranks of strong, happy, capable women workers who have streamed over to France to release soldiers and assuage their suffering. We have in France many thousands of women, mostly in uniform—some blue, some grey, some khaki—engaged in a score of different works. They drive cars, ambulances, even lorries. They act the mechanic to their own cars. They are an ordnance department in themselves and prove as good with the plane and chisel as with the sewing machine and needle. They practise every kind of clerkly work and every kind of domestic work.

WOMAN CHEMIST AS DRIVER.

The scene that more than any other appealed to me as marking a stage in social history was her Majesty's inspection of a woman's motor-ambulance convoy on July 6. The convoy contains just over a hundred women drivers alone. As many of them as could be spared from their proper work stood to attention before their cars drawn up in a long avenue. The simple, dark blue uniform became the company singularly well, and looking along the line one saw how many classes and many accomplishments were represented. One I knew as a skilled chemist. Three down the rank was a runner-up for the ladies' golf championship. Nearly opposite was a lady famous here for her skill as a driver, famous everywhere just for her name and family.

The presentation of the head of the group to her Majesty offered a pretty little sign and symbol of—what shall I say?—the integrity of feminine grace. She was in uniform, a little more conspicuous than others by reason of the mauve tabs that indicate staff, and she stood at attention. We watched almost anxiously to see whether she would salute or curtsey. She did curtsey and all was well!

From the ambulance the Queen went to visit two of the most perfect of our new hospitals, the Liverpool Merchants' and St. John Ambulance, both built for the war on almost desert land but now surrounded and intersected with brilliant gardens containing standard roses, herbaceous borders, and the rest, and with their long loggias and sunny wards as pretty and gay as Italy. The Queen spoke with every soldier in one of the fullest wards; and it was interesting to note her continuous interest in the women workers. For example, she asked one of the nurse cooks whether she and the others liked the work, whether they could stand it, whether they kept good health throughout it.

VISIT TO U.S. HOSPITAL.

One incident not included in the original programme was a visit to an American hospital, where her Majesty

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During the morning of July 7 the Queen visited a large casualty clearing station and inspected a motor-ambulance convoy, afterwards lunching with the Deputy-Director of Medical Services. In the afternoon her Majesty saw a collection of tanks, some new, some battered. A variety of manœuvres were carried out, and the Queen saw these queer-looking monsters march past in procession at quite a respectable speed and climb and descend apparently insuperable obstacles.

Throughout her tour the Queen was chiefly occupied with the inspection of the hospitals and in visiting women workers, but she saw, too, something of war. On the very day of her arrival she met by accident a battalion about to en-

Daily News
16.1.19

WOMEN CARPENTERS FROM FRANCE.

Lighter Side of Their Life in Camp.

From Our Own Correspondent.

WEYBRIDGE, Wednesday.

A number of girl carpenters home from France were hard at work when I called to interview them. They were cheery damsels, and were not in any way loth to tell of their experiences abroad. One of the "originals," who crossed the Channel exactly two years ago, acted as chief spokesman.

"The first few months were the worst," she said. "Our billet on the hill above Calais was a quagmire, but we didn't expect all honey, so we stuck there, and by the time the second batch arrived we had put up huts suitably named, 'Ritz,' 'Better 'Ole,' 'Kiora,' and so on.

"Our works were situated on the canal banks. We were on one side, and the men who worked the saws on the other. The men simply cut lengths of wood which we trimmed and made into sections of Tarrant portable huts, which were taken forward.

"The work was monotonous, but we had ample recreation and concerts. We were allowed out each evening until nine o'clock. Some of us found this time limit irksome, and often was the wire fence surrounding our encampment snipped through by our gallant escorts to let us in when we were late.

"We had more than a taste of warfare. For a long time we were bombed by enemy planes night after night, but after the first visitation we built a 'dug-out,' and there we adjourned when our parties were interrupted. Now we're demobilised quite a lot of us want to carry on."

I saw some of their work, and considering they have not served a long apprenticeship the doors and frames they have made are excellent. Their assistance will certainly be utilised in the housebuilding era which is about to commence.

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Daily
19 7

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"Owing to the fact that the members of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps are neither commissioned nor enlisted, the power of requiring obedience to command within their own organisation does not exist under the Army Act, and it is, therefore, necessary to secure obedience by a code of another description."

Christian
7.17.17

Our Warrior Women.—4.

THEY are in France now setting free men who have been tied doing women's work in offices and kitchens. The spirit of these girls who have gone out from the Y.W.C.A. is shown in these words: "We are proud to have been sent out in the first unit in order that we may try and set the example to those who will follow; you may be sure we are doing our best. . . . The English boys are glad to have us; they have not had English girls for so long: they treat us as sisters." The ideal of the Y.W.C.A. War-time Clubs since they were started is to carry out the Divine plan when God placed man and woman in the first garden; and now away in the destroyed gardens of France we may hope that Y.W.C.A. Huts will stand for this Christian comradeship between our warrior men and women. "My window looks out on the Y.M.C.A. When will *our* hut be here, and will you come out and open it?" writes a girl to her camp-mother of the Y.W.C.A. "I always think of our Club on Monday evenings." These huts are urgently needed and there is no time to be lost, as the women's Army in France is growing every week. One Hut is already open, and a Club is being opened in the town; others will follow as soon as Club-leaders and money to erect them come in.

If the Y.M.C.A. has been necessary for our soldiers in camp in out-of-the way places, there can be no doubt that the Y.W.C.A. Hut is needed when women go to the lonely moors, vast camps, or crowded towns to take their share of a nation's burdens at this time of anxiety.

During the summer months it will be possible to hold Evangelistic meetings in many centres if we can have the further help of those willing to go into the out-of-the-way places where girls will be found this season.

The Hon. E. Kinnaird, 26, George-street, Hanover Square, London, W., will be glad to receive offers of service.

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things that matter, she asked them first about the weight of their packs and accoutrements and herself lifted the haversacks to test their burden.

And the Queen saw pictures of war almost realistic enough to appear real. She saw in epitome all the mechanical frightfulness that this war has bred. With a very small group of officers she watched it all for an hour at close quarters and saw more of one side of war than many soldiers, though away from the battlefield nothing designed by Brock was ever more picturesque than flame and boiling oil and gas and smoke as used in modern war.

The Queen had scarcely stepped out of her car or had time to glimpse at a country view singularly rich and spacious even for France when just in front of her a gush of the reddest flame wreathed in the blackest smoke hissed out from an ambushed machine. The jet had breadth and volume and speed and reached a great distance, and nothing within its touch could have lived a moment, however well protected. The machine was a trench flame-thrower, a variety of the infernal machine specially recommended by General von Armin, who commanded the enemy on the Somme. This spectacle was no more than the beginning of the mechanical and chemical terrors presented before the Queen. She saw a bombardment with gas; she saw a projection of flame more vivid than the flame-thrower; and most spectacular—perhaps most useful of all—was a full-dress smoke "barrage."

AIR GYMNASTICS.

Half an hour later the Queen, who had already inspected with great interest the repairing and building of the machines, was standing in front of a great rank of aeroplanes, watching the antics of two which had left the ground. It was a stormy day, with some clouds not more than 1,000 feet high. One young pilot shot into the ambush of the storm-cloud and was lost to view for perhaps half a minute, when he reappeared in a spinning nose-dive so like a genuine fall as thoroughly to frighten more than one member of the party. He spun round and round, checked and reversed his spin, tumbling continuously till he was quite close to the ground, when he straightened, lifted, and shot upwards again. Presently both machines tore past a hundred feet or so off the ground, while the general of the Royal Flying Corps explained to the Queen what speed these machines could attain.

All the later part of the Queen's stay was spent, as I have said, in Rouen or in Army depots or bases. That part of the tour which coincided with the King's has already been described. It was fitting that when the royal party left a group of the first women's unit to work by themselves in France was drawn up on the quay to join in the parting cheer.

CAPTURED HUN SHIPS.

COMICAL GERMAN ADVICE TO HOLLAND.

From CHARLES TOWER.

THE HAGUE, Monday.

One of the crew of the German steamship Renata Leonhardt, which formed part of the German convoy from Rotterdam, has given the following account of the capture of the ships to-day:—

"We left Rotterdam at 11 p.m. last evening (Sunday), and at 6.30 were sailing off Egmond (on the Dutch coast just on the edge of the British danger zone), when we sighted 19 British vessels. We were sailing in two groups, four ahead and three astern.

"The British destroyers ran past the four leading ships, cut them off from the shore, and probably captured the lot.

"We were warned by shots to heave to, but refused. The crews were ordered on deck and we ran at full speed for the shore.

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have been made for maintaining discipline were explained in the House of Commons yesterday by Mr. J. I. Macpherson, Under-Secretary for War.

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(*Voss's Gazette* finds it convenient to forget the innumerable occasions on which German warships have been in action in neutral waters.)

COUNTESS'S SOAP.

ATTEMPT TO SMUGGLE GOODS INTO GERMANY.

The *Lausanne Gazette* quotes the following from the *Echo of the Rhine Falls*:—

"Countess Khevenhüller, née von Fürstenberg, who arrived at Schaffhausen from Zürich, presented a letter to the customs authorities signed 'U. Wille, Commander of the Swiss Army,' requesting them to deal gently with her luggage. Two of her five trunks were, notwithstanding, opened, and there was found a quantity of articles, such as cloth, chocolate, and soap, which it is against the law to export. The lady was going to the German town of Konstanz Bechingen, 17 miles from Constance, and she [illegible]

Daily News
16.1.19

WOMEN CARPENTERS FROM FRANCE.

Lighter Side of Their Life in Camp.

From Our Own Correspondent.

WEYBRIDGE, Wednesday.

A number of girl carpenters home from France were hard at work when I called to interview them. They were cheery damsels, and were not in any way loth to tell of their experiences abroad. One of the "originals," who crossed the Channel exactly two years ago, acted as chief spokesman.

"The first few months were the worst," she said. "Our billet on the hill above Calais was a quagmire, but we didn't expect all honey, so we stuck there, and by the time the second batch arrived we had put up huts suitably named, 'Ritz,' 'Better 'Ole,' 'Kiora,' and so on.

"Our works were situated on the canal banks. We were on one side, and the men who worked the saws on the other. The men simply cut lengths of wood which we trimmed and made into sections of Tarrant portable huts, which were taken forward.

"The work was monotonous, but we had ample recreation and concerts. We were allowed out each evening until nine o'clock. Some of us found this time limit irksome, and often was the wire fence surrounding our encampment snipped through by our gallant escorts to let us in when we were late.

"We had more than a taste of warfare. For a long time we were bombed by enemy planes night after night, but after the first visitation we built a 'dug-out,' and there we adjourned when our parties were interrupted. Now we're demobilised quite a lot of us want to carry on."

I saw some of their work, and considering they have not served a long apprenticeship the doors and frames they have made are excellent. Their assistance will certainly be utilised in the housebuilding era which is about to commence.

Daily Telegraph 24.2.20

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THE CIVIL SERVICE.

SUGGESTED REFORMS.

PAY AND STATUS OF WOMEN.

The secretaries of the National Council for the Civil Service (Administrative and Legal Departments) issued yesterday the report of the special committee on the reorganisation of the service. The terms of reference to the committee were "to consider the scope of the duties at present allotted to the clerical classes in the Civil Services, to report on the organisation most appropriate to secure the effective performance of these duties, and to make recommendations as to scales of salary and method of recruitment."

In the general observations the Committee mention that the five years of war have left their mark upon the Civil Service. They add: "Perhaps the most important feature that distinguishes our inquiry from any that have gone before it is its recognition of a new principle of co-operation in the public service. It is only six months since the first meeting was held of the National Council, which embodied the application of the Whitley method to the administrative and legal departments of the Civil Service. That a group of persons drawn from every part of a graded service of the Crown should be able to present an agreed report upon the form and shape their service should take is a notable and hopeful achievement."

With regard to the employment and status of women in the Civil Service, the report states: "We appreciate that it is not possible at this stage to attempt a final solution of the novel and complex problems involved in the employment of women side by side with men throughout the several classes of a graded service of the Crown. We are by common consent breaking new ground. But it has been our earnest endeavour, while realising that we are working in a field of strictly limited experience, to ensure that the opportunities afforded to women of proving their fitness to discharge the higher administrative duties of the Civil Service shall be full and liberal. In the application of this principle we were met at the outset with the claim, which has the support of a number of members of your Committee, that in recruitment, status, pay, and general conditions of service, there should be no differentiation between the sexes. In the direction of meeting this claim the Committee are agreed that within the parallel classes of the Civil Service women should be given a status and authority identical with that accorded to men. Further, whilst we propose that during the experimental period there should be separate establishment lists for men and for women within each class of the Civil Service, and that promotion for men and for women should proceed separately as vacancies occur in the higher establishment reserved for either sex, we are of opinion that the principles of training and of promotion that we have recommended for men should be applied equally to the parallel women classes, and that it should be the duty of departments, under the general guidance of the Establishments Department of the Treasury, to see to it that women are regarded as available for employment on the same work as men within the several classes, and that women are given the widest opportunities of proving their administrative capacity. Whether the interests of efficiency will best be served by segregation, or by the employment of women and men side by side, is a matter on which experience varies, and we suggest that the requirements of departments in this respect might appropriately be discussed at the Departmental Councils. It may fairly be argued that in order to obtain the full value of the experiment every oportunity should be given for men and women to work side by side. As regards pay, we are agreed that the minimum of the basic scale in each class should be the same for women and for men, and that the incremental rates should be identical up to a point."

With regard to the clerical class, it is agreed that experience has established that women are fully capable of discharging the clerical work of the Civil Service, and it is recommended that women should be recruited to the clerical class by the method of open competition by written examination. As to the recruitment of the administrative and executive grades, the official side of the committee, while desiring to retain for men the method of open competition by written examination, advocates in the case of women at the present stage a system of selection by impartial and authoritative boards.

FOUR CLASSES.

As to the manner in which persons recruited to the administrative and clerical branches should be classified and graded, and at what rates of remuneration and under what conditions of service they should be employed, the committee state: "The administrative and clerical work of the Civil Service may be said broadly to fall into two main categories. In one category may be placed all such work as either is of a simple mechanical kind or consists in the application of well-defined regulations, decisions, and practices to particular cases; in the other category the work which is concerned with the formation of policy, with the revision of existing practice or current regulations and decisions, and with the organisation and direction of the business of Government. For work so different in kind it is clearly necessary to secure more than one type of agent. Qualifications adapted to the performance of the simplest kind of work would be unequal to the discharge of the highest kind of work; and it would be impossible to justify the employment on simple mechanical duties of persons capable of performing the highest duties. After the most careful consideration we have agreed that in order properly to provide for the work falling within those two main categories, it will be necessary to employ not less than four different classes, namely:

(a) A writing class for simple mechanical work;
(b) A clerical class for the better sort of work included in the first main category defined above;
(c) An executive class; and
(d) An administrative class for the work included in the second main category defined above."

"Our anticipation is that the total number of writing assistants employed in the service as a whole will not be more than one-fourth of the total number of the staff employed in the clerical class, hereafter proposed (i.e., one-fifth of the total number of the two classes combined), and we propose that if at any time a material increase in this proportion appears likely, the whole question of the employment of writing assistants should be reviewed as a matter of principal by the National Council."

To the clerical class the committee would entrust all the simpler clerical duties in public departments in so far as these are not assigned to writing assistants. It is recommended that direct recruitment to this class should be by open, competitive, written examination, with age limits of 16-17 for boys and 16½ to 17½ for girls.

To the executive class the committee would assign the higher work of supply and accounting departments and of other executive or specialised branches of the Civil Service. "We are of opinion that in so far as it may be desirable to appoint men from outside the service to the staffs of these departments and branches, recruitment should be by open competitive written examination between the ages of 18 and 19. The sylabus of examination should be framed with reference to the standard of development reached at the end of a secondary school course. We have not been able to recommend the immediate extension of this mode of recruitment to women, and have agreed that women candidates for the staffs of these departments and branches should during the period of experiment be recruited by means of authoritative and impartial selection boards, between the ages of 18 and 25. Entrants of both sexes so recruited should be regarded as members of a training grade, and during the term of their employment in this grade they should be given the widest possible training in all branches of the work of the department or branch to which they are assigned.

TRAINING GRADE.

"Whilst we consider it necessary that provision should be made for the recruitment to those departments and branches of persons from outside the Service, we contemplate that a considerable proportion of executive class posts will be filled by promotion from the clerical class. Undoubtedly many members of this class will be found to possess qualifications for higher than clerical work. We recommend accordingly that the training grade should be open to men and women selected from the clerical class in the early stages of their career on account of proved ability, and potential capacity for the discharge in due course of higher work. A selection board should be established in each Government office to investigate and decide on the qualifications of members of the clerical class recommended by the heads of their respective branches as having the necessary qualifications for admission to the grade, and a central pooling arrangement should be provided to meet the case of those members of the clerical class who, though fit for admission to the grade, have no opening within their own office. We do not contemplate that all offices will contain members of both the clerical and the executive classes. In departments when the executive class is not employed, there should be posts corresponding in grading and pay to those of the higher grade of the executive class."

Dealing at length with the work of the administrative class, the report states that the duties appropriate to this class are those concerned with the formation of policy, with the co-ordination and improvement of Government machinery, and with the general administration and control of the Departments of the Public Service. "For the effective performance of these duties, officers of the highest standard of qualification are needed," continues the report. "We propose that such officers should be obtained partly by selection from inside the Service and partly by recruitment from outside the Service. Experience has shown that the higher administrative work of the Public Service requires for its discharge a proportion of men recruited at the University leaving age, and we recommend therefore that provision should be made for the continuance of the present system by which men are selected for appointment to the Public Service by means of an open competitive examination in the subjects embraced by the various honours courses of University institutions. We are agreed that, during the period of experiment this mode of recruitment should be limited to men, and that women directly recruited to the administrative class should be chosen between the ages of 22 and 30 by an authoritative and impartial selection board—with or without qualifying examination.

"The special requirements of the administrative work constitute a clear justification for bringing into the public service persons possessing the high educational qualifications described above. We do not, however, contemplate that recruitment to the administrative class should be solely from outside the Service. On the contrary, our view is that the class should be open to all men and women already employed in the Service who show early proof of real ability and promise of being able to discharge, in course of time, higher administrative functions. In order to [illegible] such cases, we recommend that a central authority should be established to investigate and decide on the qualifications of candidates recommended by the heads of their respective departments.

"Men and women so recruited should be regarded as a cadet corps, from which selection should be made to higher administrative posts, and members of this corps should be treated, so far as practicable, as a body available for service in any department in which the administrative class is employed. It is, in our view, important that the number of persons recruited to the cadet corps of the administrative class should be limited to the strict minimum required to provide adequately for the work of the higher administrative positions in the public service, and that the recruits so obtained should have assigned to them the responsible duties for the performance of which they have been engaged as soon as they have passed through the necessary period of preliminary training.

"We consider, therefore, that the ratio of the number of cadets to that of the higher administrative posts should be so adjusted as to secure that in practice cadets will be able to count upon promotion to substantive administrative rank as soon as they become fully qualified to discharge the duties and responsibilities attaching thereto. We believe that if departments, in co-operation with the Treasury, carefully regulate their establishments at the outset, and from time to time, so as to conform to this conception of the junior grade as a training corps, they will be enabled to give effect to the anticipations expressed above. We are of opinion that well-qualified officers of other classes who have not been chosen for admission to the Cadet corps in the early stages of their career, should be eligible for employment on work of the same kind as is entrusted to officers in the course of their service in the cadet corps.'

In concluding this section of the report the Committee state: "We have found ourselves in entire agreement with the views expressed by the Royal Commission on the Civil Service regarding the evil effects of employing temporary clerical staff on permanent work. Our intention is that all the classes proposed by us should be employed on a permanent and pensionable footing. Secondly, it will be observed that in drawing up our scheme we have been careful to propose age limits for recruitment, so as to correspond as closely as possible with the completion of well-defined stages in the educational system of the country. Thirdly, we have endeavoured throughout our whole scheme to secure that as far as possible persons recruited to the Service at different ages and by different tests should be placed on an equality for the purpose of opportunity of promotion to higher posts. We feel strongly that artificial barriers to promotion, where now they exist, should be removed, and that material hindrances must not be allowed to block merit and ability."

There is a separate section of the report dealing with typists and shorthand-typists, two grades which are intimately related to the work of the clerical and administrative classes. The Committee propose that the two grades—women typists and shorthand-typists—shall in future form two separate classes, the numbers in each class being settled on the basis of the requirements of each department. The remainder of the report treats of the principles of assimilation during a period of reconstruction, and the Committee say they are not yet in a position to make definite recommendations as to the basis on which existing rates of salary should be adjusted in consequence of transfer.

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Manchester Guardian 5 May 1917

683/1

Daily Express May 8th

683 ~~901~~ The Telegraph 24.5.

ENGINEERS' STRIKE NOT SETTLED.

PARTIAL RESUMPTION.

TO-DAY'S IMPORTANT CONFERENCE.

There was no great change in the situation yesterday in regard to the strike of engineers. ThTe decisions which were taken on SaSturday to resume work appear to have been translated into action yesterday, but on the other hand men came out on strike at Liverpool and Birkenhead in accordance with resolutions previously passed, and at Preston.

In Manchester there was no general resumption of work; in fact the proportion of men who turned up at the shops is estimated as a small one. At a meeting of the strikers held yesterday their willingness to work provided the dilution clause was dropped from the bill was again repeated, and it was decided to meet again to-morrow to hear the report of the delegates who are attending to-day's conference of the Strike Committees in London. After hearing the report a ballot will be taken, and it is expected that as a result of the vote work will be resumed on Thursday morning. Similar proceedings will take place to-morrow at Oldham, Leigh, Ashton-under-Lyne, and Bolton.

Thus the situation appears to hinge on to-day's conference in London, and until the result is known the men are marking time. The object of the London conference, it is said, is to decide on a common line of action, and the delegates are hoping to meet representatives of the Ministry of Munitions, where the points at issue will be discussed.

In the course of an interview yesterday Dr. Addison, the Minister of MMunitions, pointed out that the strike was delaying the production of very essential work, and said that the proposals for the protection of industries in the amended bill had grossly misrepresented. The Government, he intimated, would not withdraw the dilution clause.

Women and the Strike.

A statement as to the position of women in relation to the strike was issued yesterday by the Manchester, Salford, and District Women's War Interests Committee, under the signatures of Mrs. Annot E. Robinson and Mrs. J. R. Tomlinson. It draws attention to difficulties which have arisen through the introduction of women to the engineering industry and because of the liberty given to employers to pay what rates they liked to unskilled workers; and to the unrest and suspicion engendered by the introduction of women on as many processes as possible, and the wide discussion at employers' conferences of the permanent employment of women in engineering after the war. The result, the statement points out, has been a refusal by the men to allow women to be employed on permanent commercial work as distinguished from the emergency labour of the production of munitions. It continues:—

The withdrawal of the trade card scheme, by removing more men, renders dilution on private work still more necessary, so that the present dispute really centres round the further employment of women in the engineering trade. The present crisis is but an indication of what is likely to come after the war. Ill-feeling is being created between the men and the women, which cannot be good for trade unionism or for industry as a whole. So far all the dilution agreements in the engineering trade have been drawn up to safeguard the interests of men. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that any settlement which is to bring national and lasting satisfaction can be arrived at only if the women's interests are fully recognised during the emergency period, and the extension of industrial openings for women be recognised as the problem that perhaps requires the most sympathetic and skilful handling of all the many issues arising from the war.'

The Munitions of War Bill.

The Ministry of Munitions desire to point out that the Munitions of War Bill is intro-

TOO MUCH SECRECY.

On Saturday afternoon the Prime Minister personally intervened in the engineers' dispute, with the result that a settlement was speedily arrived at. The trouble is not yet quite over. The Manchester men threaten to strike again unless the arrested men are unconditionally released. These arrests have brought the Barrow men, who had not struck before, out of the shops. The muddle-headed blundering that fomented the strike and prevented an arrangement continues when terms have been settled. Very plain speaking is an evident public duty. The Ministry of Munitions, instead of taking prompt measures to bring the dispute to an end, contrived to keep the whole affair a secret, while Dr. Addison stood on his dignity and refused to meet the strikers' spokesmen. When the matter could be no longer hushed up, the refusal to listen to grievances was maintained. On Friday some of the spokesmen were arrested, and within a few hours their colleagues were in consultation with the Prime Minister. Inconsistency followed inconsistency, and but for Mr. Lloyd George the country might have been plunged into industrial chaos. It is now commonly understood that the Government has no intention of proceeding with the prosecution of the men under arrest. That at least is the opinion of the delegates. Why not say so? Secrecy is holding back the output of munitions so necessary for the troops at the front. Further, one of the delegates said yesterday that the Government has promised amendment of the Munitions of War Amendment Bill. If this is true, why not officially announce it and remove the rock of offence? What does a Minister's dignity matter at a time like this? The conference that took place on Saturday could have taken place a fortnight ago, and all the trouble would have been prevented. The conciliation effected by Mr. Lloyd George should have been effected by Mr. Hodge. We have nothing but condemnation for strikes in war time. We have equal condemnation for the want of tact and foresight that encourages strikes.

STRIKE LEADERS FREE.

CHARGES WITHDRAWN.

SIR F. SMITH'S GRAVE WARNING.

A long queue of sympathisers with the engineer strike leaders who were arrested last week in several parts of the country in connection with the strike movement waited outside Bow-street Police-court yesterday in anticipation of the adjourned proceedings before Sir John Dickinson, for charges under the Defence of the Realm Regulations. The defendants were: Thomas Walter Dingley, mechanic, Marlborough-road, Stoke; Neal Cassidy, mechanic, Oliver-street, Coventry; Stanley Burgess, turner, Empire-road, Sheffield; Walter Hill, mechanic, Coupe-road, Pitsmoor, Sheffield; Arthur M. Manns, engineer, Oak Leigh, Quebrook, Liverpool; Percy Henry Kealey, metal turner, Gorton, Manchester; Walter Foster Watson, 35, engineer, Priory-road, Acton-green; and George Peet, fitter, Abbey Hey-lane, Gorton, Manchester.

It was understood that the case would be heard at two o'clock, and the defendants were brought into court before eleven o'clock, and were told of this arrangement. When the hearing was resumed in the afternoon a large crowd was present in court, many of the men wearing badges. Mr. W. C. Anderson, M.P., and Miss Mary Macarthur occupied seats in the body of the court. There was a private conversation between the Attorney-General (Sir F. E. Smith, K.C.) and Mr. Ellis Griffith, K.C., and Mr. Slesser (for the defence), before the magistrate, Sir John Dickinson, took his seat.

After the defendants had been ushered into court the Attorney-General said the charges which it had been intended to prefer were under the Defence of the Realm Regulations (with which the magistrate would be familiar), which made it an offence to impede the supply of munitions. It had been intended to treat the offence as an indictable offence, and to prefer the charge before a jury. That course had, under the circumstances—which the magistrate would probably think would require some explanation—become unnecessary. The men had signed an undertaking which he would read, as it would be relevant to the position which the magistrate would adopt. The statement read:

"I undertake to adhere to the agreement arrived at on Saturday, May 19, 1917, between the Ministry of Munitions and the Executive Council of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, acting at the request of the Unofficial Strike Committee and on their behalf."

UNDERTAKING SIGNED.

That undertaking had been signed by every one of the defendants who appeared yesterday, and it was proper that he should state in the plainest possible language that had not that undertaking, couched in these terms, been unreservedly accepted by the defendants, the proceedings would have been prosecuted by the Government until they had reached a conclusion before a jury at the Sessions. The magistrate had justly observed that the matter was a most grave one, and if every one of these defendants was indicted he might have been subjected to a maximum penalty of penal servitude for life. In those circumstances, it would probably require on his part some explanation of the circumstances in which he undertook the responsibility for the grave course which had been adopted that day. It was well known amongst certain sections of the population that, in the main, the engineers, and those who worked with them, had been carrying on the work for the manufacture of munitions and other implements of war, and that they had laboured in the common cause of this country with our soldiers in the field, though under conditions which were safer and easier than was possible for the soldiers in the field.

There never had been any mistake in the minds of the Government of this country that the overwhelming majority of the men had been doing a great national work during the war, and doing it as loyally as the soldiers in the field. It was no doubt true, and it would be strange if it were not true, that these men, working constantly long hours and at high pressure, from time to time laboured under some grievance needing adjustment. The Attorney-General went on to say that there had never been a moment when the Government of the country were not prepared and anxious to listen with the greatest sympathy to the expression of just and reasonable demands, but it was essential that the Government should deal with the executives of the trade unions, and not with unofficial bodies of the men. Otherwise, there would be chaos. He concluded by saying that the agreement signed by the defendants on Saturday made it possible for him to withdraw the prosecution.

PROMOTING STRIKES.

The Attorney-General said if the defendants could induce their fellow members to elect them to the responsible positions in the trade union, the matter assumed a totally different aspect, and in those circumstances they would find the Government as loyal to them as the Government had been loyal during the negotiations to those who at this moment alone stood in the position of constituted authority in the trade union. Proceeding, he said he did not wish to say a single word which might breed bitterness in the future. He would address his few remaining words, not necessarily at all to the defendants; he said quite plainly that there were men who had been forward in promoting the recent strike whose motives, in the judgment of the executive, were not primarily

[illegible] period, and the extension of industrial openings for women be recognised as the problem that perhaps requires the most sympathetic and skilful handling of all the many issues arising from the war.[4]

The Munitions of War Bill.

The Ministry of Munitions desire to point out that the Munitions of War Bill is introduced merely as a war measure, and an amendment is now being put down by the Government to make it clear that dilution on private work shall cease to operate as from the termination of the war.

Since War Service badges and trade cards no longer give protection from military service, the Ministry of Munitions have arranged to give protection certificates to those who are engaged on munitions in an occupation which is scheduled as essential.

Protection certificates are now being issued by the new munition area recruiting officers to all munition workers entitled to them under the schedule of protected operations. A large number of these certificates have already been sent out by Lieutenant A. Lowe, the munition area recruiting officer for Manchester, and it is hoped to complete the issue at no distant date. Captain B. Copley is the responsible authority for the issue of the protection certificates in the Ashton-under-Lyne area.

Those who do not receive certificates, and think they are entitled to them, should lodge claims with the Enlistment Complaints Committee on forms which may be obtained at any Employment Exchange.

responsible positions in the trade union, the matter assumed a totally different aspect, and in those circumstances they would find the Government as loyal to them as the Government had been loyal during the negotiations to those who at this moment alone stood in the position of constituted authority in the trade union. Proceeding, he said he did not wish to say a single word which might breed bitterness in the future. He would address his few remaining words, not necessarily at all to the defendants; he said quite plainly that there were men who had been forward in promoting the recent strike whose motives, in the judgment of the executive, were not primarily motives of calling the attention of the authorities to grievances or hardships. He was speaking to really educated and extremely able men who could very well understand what he said, and very well understand the indications of that which he left unsaid.

"I tell them, and I tell them plainly," said the Attorney-General, "that their comings and goings, the ramifications of their society, the terms in which they have communicated with one another, the objects which they have expounded in their correspondence, I tell them they are as well known to authority as they are known to themselves. (At this point there was a laugh from among the crowd in court.) This Government cannot, if this issue be raised again, avoid the issue, however dark and perilous it may be, if that issue be again challenged during the conduct of this war. I wish to make it as plain as any words of mine can make it, that if there be a recurrence of a deliberate attempt to incite strikes with the object of impeding the supply of munitions, there will be no line drawn.

"If there be any who leave these proceedings with their hearts unpurged of bitterness I most solemnly warn them that the next breach of the law will be dealt with at the sessions by a jury of their countrymen. The decision upon that will be taken by no Government, but by that jury, and I have no doubt that those to whom these words are addressed will ask their own consciences what the result of such a trial will be. I will tell them this, that they can ask for no mercy if a verdict is given against them." The Attorney-General then formally applied for leave to withdraw the charges.

LOYAL ACCEPTANCE.

Mr. Ellis Griffith, representing five of the defendants, said his clients did not sign the undertaking as a matter of form, but intended loyally to abide by it. The defendants in what they did were not actuated by any sinister motive. They had been loyal throughout in the true sense of the word. The difficulty all through this strike had been a conflict within the ranks of the trade unions as to the best trade union organisation. That was the real substance and significance of the whole thing. It was urged, rightly or wrongly, that a grievance in the shop was a matter which could be better dealt with by the shop stewards. On behalf of his clients he said he was glad the Attorney-General had felt it his duty to take the step he had done, and he was sure it would produce a better atmosphere. He was sure that it was recognised that all stoppages and all unrest imperilled the safety of the Empire.

Mr. Slesser, who represented the defendant Kealey, spoke in a similar strain.

Mr. Arthur Neal, solicitor for Burgess and Hill, expressed thanks to the Government for the course they had taken, and said that there was no part of his Majesty's dominions more loyal than Sheffield. His client would not thank the Attorney-General and the Government for withdrawing the proceedings if they left the court under suspicion that they had been acting with the desire to interfere with the output of munitions. What they desired was the establishment of machinery for the speedy settlement of their differences. Mr. Neal pointed out that the engineers had been working at high pressure day and night, weekdays and Sundays, and something must be allowed for the psychology of the moment. The undertaking had not been given at a price. The Attorney-General had not asked a price. The signing had been a willing act of the men, who desired that their differences and that their grievances, large and small, might be speedily adjusted, so that the work of the nation might be resumed. It must not be taken that the men had admitted a moral guilt in any sense. They were not humiliated men, or condemned men, and they were not men who had purchased their liberty by the sacrifice of principle.

The Attorney-General said that the tone of the speeches of defending counsel was the best justification of the course taken by the prosecution. He accepted the tone and spirit of the speeches as representing the defendants, and he drew more comfort and more hope from them than from any circumstances of the industrial dispute.

The magistrate said, after the speeches of defending counsel and the application made by the Attorney-General, with a deep sense of responsibility, he thought he could allow the charges to be withdrawn. He then discharged the defendants.

There were outbursts of clapping in court, and an attempt by a man to whistle the tune of "The Red Flag," and the demonstration was kept up until the court was cleared.

With the withdrawal of the prosecutions against the strike leaders, the men at Sheffield and Barrow last evening decided by overwhelming majorities to start work to-day at six a.m. It is expected that the strikers at Liverpool will adopt a similar course.

Common Cause
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WOMEN'S WORK IN RELATION TO THE ENGINEERS' STRIKE.

A statement signed by Mrs. Annot Robinson and Mrs. J. R. Tomlinson, on behalf of the Manchester, Salford, and District Women's War Interests Committee, was issued on Monday, and has already been published in *The Manchester Guardian*, with reference to the position of women in relation to the strike of engineers. It draws attention to various difficulties that have arisen through the introduction of women into the engineering industry. The rates of pay of unskilled workers have not been sufficiently guarded, and suspicion and unrest have been caused by the wide discussion at employers' conferences of the permanent employment of women in many processes of engineering after the war. The result, the statement points out, has been a refusal by the men to allow women to be employed on permanent commercial work, as distinguished from the emergency labour of the production of munitions.

The statement continues :—

"The withdrawal of the trade card scheme, by removing more men, renders dilution on private work still more necessary, so that the present dispute really centres round the further employment of women in the engineering trade. The present crisis is but an indication of what is likely to come after the war. Ill-feeling is being created between the men and the women, which cannot be good for trade unionism or for industry as a whole. So far all the dilution agreements in the engineering trade have been drawn up to safeguard the interests of men. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that any settlement which is to bring national and lasting satisfaction can be arrived at only if the women's interests are fully recognised during the emergency period, and the extension of industrial openings for women be recognised as the problem that perhaps requires the most sympathetic and skilful handling of all the many issues arising from the war."

Daily Express. 6

24-6-17.

STRIKE LEADERS DISCHARGED.

PROMISE ON WHICH THE CHARGES WERE WITHDRAWN.

A WARNING.

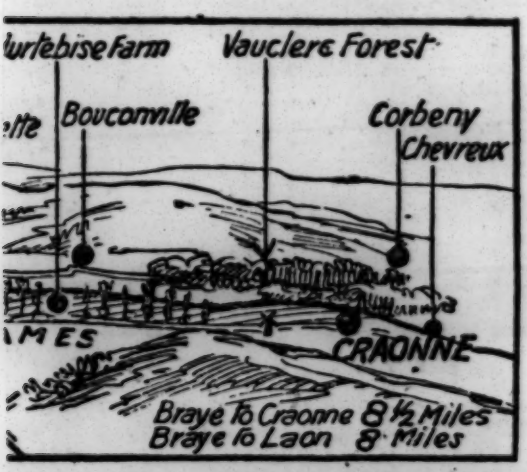
The charge against the eight shop stewards who were arrested in connection with the engineering strike was withdrawn yesterday at Bow-street Police Court by Sir Frederick Smith, Attorney-General, each of the men having signed the following declaration:—

I undertake to adhere to the agreement arrived at on Saturday, May 19, 1917, between the Minister of Munitions and the executive council of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers acting at the request of the unofficial strike committee and on their behalf.

The defendants were:—

Thomas Dingley and Neal Cassidy, of Coventry.
Stanley Burgess and Walter Hill, of Sheffield.
Arthur McManus, of Liverpool.
George E. Peet and Percival H. Kealey, of Manchester.
William Foster Watson, of London.

The eight men stood in front of the dock. At the back of the court was a small crowd



ALL THE OBSERVATION POINTS.

of their supporters—mainly men of military age—and among those present in court was Miss Mary Macarthur, the woman trade union leader.

When Sir John Bickinson gave his consent to the withdrawal of the charge—which was that of impeding the supply of war munitions—the young men at the back of the court clapped their hands joyfully, and a few of them began whistling the Socialist song, "We'll keep the Red Flag flying here."

Sir Frederick Smith, in asking that the charge might be withdrawn, gave a warning to mischief makers that any attempt to foment strikes for the purpose of stopping the supply of war munitions will land the conspirators in the dock at the Old Bailey and probably in a convict prison.

"There are men," he said, "who have been forward in promoting the recent strike, whose motives, in the judgment of the Executive, were not primarily motives of calling attention to grievances or hardships.

"I tell them plainly that their comings and goings, the ramifications of their societies, the terms in which they have communicated with one another, the objects which they have avowed in their correspondence, are as well known to authority as they are known to themselves.

"I wish to make it as plain as words can make it. If there should be a recurrence of deliberate attempts to incite strikes with the object of impeding the supply of munitions, there will be no further withdrawal. The next breach of the law will be dealt with at the Old Bailey by a jury."

The Attorney-General paid a warm tribute to the work which the engineers throughout the country have done since the beginning of the war in the production of munitions.

MEN RETURN TO WORK.

Engineers on strike at Sheffield and Barrow held meetings yesterday, and after hearing the news of the withdrawal of the charges against the eight shop stewards decided to return to work this morning.

As the Sheffield men were dispersing their leaders, Burgess and Hill, who had been liberated at Bow-street in the afternoon, arrived in a taxicab. Burgess said that the action of the men in Sheffield and other centres had determined the action of the Government. It had meant to them the difference between penal servitude and being at free. He was glad to be back and ready to return to work.

Hill said he [illegible]

termined the action of the Government. It had meant to them the difference between penal servitude and being set free. He was glad to be back and ready to return to work.

Hill said he hoped all the men in Sheffield would go back to-day.

"Whatever you may think of the result of the strike," he said, "I am perfectly sure that to go on with it at the present moment would be madness. We are not the only people concerned in the war. Whatever we think about the war it is being fought now, and our men are out yonder, and the men in the fight have to be considered. I am certain we ought to go back to work at once and reconsider the whole position. There have been mistakes all the way round, but I am sure the greatest blame is not on us, but on the men at the top."

The Liverpool strikers meet to-day to consider the position.

TRADE UNION REFORM.

LABOUR M.P. ON THE NEED FOR CHANGES.

The leading article in yesterday's "Daily Express," entitled "What is wrong with the trade unions?" has aroused interest, criticism, and support in labour circles everywhere.

Strong support for the overhauling of the trade union machine advocated in the "Daily Express" came from Mr. W. C. Anderson, M.P., an ex-chairman of the Labour party.

"The leading article in the 'Daily Express' undoubtedly touches one cause of labour's troubles," he said to a "Daily Express" representative. "There has been in various directions a growing divorce between the trade union officials and the members. Many leaders are not richly dowered with imagination, and they are often in danger of removing themselves from the life and outlook of their members.

"Trade unionism will have to be reorganised—power and responsibility more widely diffused. The national leaders will be ill-advised if they have merely a policy of blind opposition to offer to what is be. in the new forces that are at work and the new ferment.

"That would only mean years of chaos and anarchy, with disastrous consequences to labour, and to the national life."

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STRIKES SETTLED ON CONDITIONS.

ABSOLUTE IMMUNITY DEMANDED FOR ALL MEN ARRESTED.

OFFICIAL CONCESSIONS.

INEXPERT HANDLING OF A GRAVE INDUSTRIAL CRISIS.

An agreement to settle the munitions strike was reached on Saturday after the Prime Minister had personally intervened, and the executive of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers had at last been induced to accompany delegates from the Shop Stewards' Committee to the Ministry of Munitions. The settlement was achieved only just in time to avert grave consequences of the arrest of the strike leaders.

Most of the facts of importance are omitted from the official statements which have been issued, but it is announced by the men that—

The Munitions Bill will be postponed until June 4, and then revised.

An inquiry is to be held into the whole working of the Munitions Act.

The "Daily Express" understands that the prosecutions are to be completely dropped. This has not been officially announced. In consequence of the omission a strike has restarted at Barrow, and other districts are preparing to act.

The delay in the transmission and delivery of telegrams in connection with the strike is extraordinarily suspicious. The censorship was established for the control of naval and military information, and not for interference with domestic affairs.

MUNITIONS BILL POSTPONED.

PROSECUTIONS TO BE DROPPED.

There were two conferences before the agreement was announced.

The first took place at the Ministry of Munitions, and was attended by Dr. Addison, Mr. Henderson, delegates from the shop stewards, and the executive of the Engineers' Society. After the shop stewards' delegates had put the strikers' case they withdrew and left the executive to consult with the Government representatives.

The second conference was held at four o'clock at No. 10, Downing-street. Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Hodge, Minister of Labour, were present in addition to those who attended the first conference. It was announced at 6.45 that the following terms had been settled:—

The shop stewards' delegates to return to their districts and advise an immediate resumption of work. The executive of the society to issue an instruction to this effect.

Negotiations with the Government regarding existing difficulties to be left to the executive. The shop stewards to use their best endeavours to secure the continuance of this practice.

The arrested men to be released on their own recognisances. No further arrests to be made or victimisation to be practised.

The only reference in the official statements issued to the immediate causes of the strike—the withdrawal of the trade card scheme and the dilution of labour on private work—is to the effect that the shop stewards' delegates "stated the grievances of the men." It is evident, however, that important concessions were foreshadowed. Mr. J. Mills, who explained the agreement to a meeting of 3,000 men at Plumstead Baths yesterday, said:—

The Munitions Amendment Bill has been withdrawn until June 4. If the clauses we object to are left out the other clauses may be embodied.

The Shop Stewards' Committee, after a lengthy meeting, endorsed the agreement, and immediate steps were taken by the committee and the executive of the society

STRIKE RE-STARTED IN BARROW.

TROUBLE CAUSED BY CONTINUED MUDDLE.

There is no doubt that if a quick settlement had not been reached there would have been developments of the gravest character.

Everywhere public opinion was heated to fever point by the arrests. Responsible leaders who had worked against the strike at once changed their attitude, and trade unionists of all kinds expressed their intention of supporting the strikers.

What might have happened is indicated by what has actually occurred, despite the settlement, in consequence of the unfortunate omission to announce that the prosecutions would be completely dropped.

Barrow engineers, who were at work on Friday, went on strike on Saturday as a protest against the arrests. They decided yesterday, by 1,783 votes to 218, to continue the strike until the arrested men were unconditionally released.

The Sheffield strike committee advised the men yesterday morning not to go back to the shops, but later passed the following resolution:—

Having heard the conference report, we feel we must advise the men to return to work on Monday morning at 6 a.m. on the understanding that all the men now under arrest are **unconditionally released**, and that we receive a definite assurance on the trade card scheme and dilution on private work, **a national ballot to be taken on the above at an early date.**

No doubt, the remaining troubles will be overcome by announcements which might just as easily have been made in the first instance.

COVENTRY THREAT.

What happened in Coventry was typical. The strikers there had returned to work, but when the arrests were known two mass meetings were called for yesterday to decide on action. It was feared that all the many thousands of skilled and unskilled workers in the district would "down tools."

Mr. A. Doherty, president of the Coventry District Committee of the A.S.E., stated to a "Daily Express" representative on Saturday morning:—

"The Coventry District Committee con-

INSIDE THE CONFERENCE.

PREMIER'S PROMISE OF A MUNITIONS INQUIRY.

"Daily Express" Special Correspondent.

MANCHESTER, Sunday Night.

Manchester engineers will return to work at nine o'clock to-morrow morning. This was the decision of a large mass meeting of the men held at Audenshaw this afternoon.

They passed a resolution protesting against the "vindictive action of the Government" in arresting the leaders, but the net result is that the agreement reached in London on Saturday was confirmed, and work begins at once.

There is one proviso. It was agreed, although no formal resolution was passed, that the Shop Stewards' Committee which has been running the strike shall hold a meeting on Wednesday night, when the decision of the magistrate at Bow-street regarding the arrested men will be known. It was plainly intimated that if that decision involves a remand or any kind of punishment a new "down tools" demand will be made, and, judging from the demeanour of the meeting to-day, the demand will meet an immediate response.

The facts which stood out prominently at the meeting were:—

The youth of the men. Fully 80 per cent. must have been under thirty years of age.

The antagonism to the official leaders, who, as one speaker said, "Have treated us worst than the Government."

The indignation at the arrests. "We are as bad as they are," said a speaker, "and if they punish them, they must punish us all."

Interesting details were given of the proceedings in London on Saturday.

THREE DAYS' DELAY.

It was only after three days' delay on the part of the Executive Council of the A.S.E that the unofficial delegates, numbering ten, who had been appointed by the 120 delegates of the Shop Stewards' Committee, were admitted to a conference with the Ministry of Munitions. The Strike Conference at the Socialist Hall, Walworth-road, London, had on Wednesday induced Dr. Addison to consent to receive them provided they were accompanied by the Executive Council of the A.S.E., but the Executive Council boggled over the matter, and the meeting was not fixed till late on Friday night.

When the agreement had been reached on Saturday it was taken round by the

Mr. J. Mills, who explained the agreement to a meeting of 3,000 men at Plumstead Baths yesterday, said:—

The Munitions Amendment Bill has been withdrawn until June 4. If the clauses we object to are left out the other clauses may be embodied.

The Shop Stewards' Committee, after a lengthy meeting, endorsed the agreement, and immediate steps were taken by the committee and the executive of the society to get the men back to work. The executive issued a notice to members, and the stewards returned to their districts, where they addressed a number of meetings yesterday.

LEADERS RELEASED.

Five of the arrested leaders, who had been unable to obtain bail, were released from Brixton Prison on Saturday night.

Official communications state that of the ten warrants issued only two had not been executed, whereas the number of strike leaders brought up at Bow-street on Friday was seven. The apparent discrepancy is due to the fact that an eighth man, a shop steward named Watson, of London, was not arrested until Saturday morning, when he was apprehended by the police at Glasgow. He arrived in London in custody early yesterday morning, and will be brought up at Bow-street to-day.

The "Daily Express" understands that no evidence will be offered when the men appear again at Bow-street on Wednesday, and that the charges against them will be withdrawn.

"We are satisfied with the course of events," said Mr Edwards, chairman of the stewards' committee, "and with the agreement, which shows how far our action was justified."

Mr. Robert Young, secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, said he thought the situation was extremely promising, and that under the agreement there was hardly any likelihood of future trouble. He added that perhaps it would be a few days before the situation became entirely clear It was not possible, he explained, for the delegates who left London on Saturday night to call meetings of their district committees for yesterday in all cases.

ELECTRICIANS RETURN.

The subsidiary trouble among the London electrical engineers was also ended on Saturday, when a meeting of the men affected decided to withdraw their strike call and resume work.

The strikers there had returned to work, but when the arrests were known two mass meetings were called for yesterday to decide on action. It was feared that all the many thousands of skilled and unskilled workers in the district would "down tools."

Mr. A. Doherty, president of the Coventry District Committee of the A.S.E., stated to a "Daily Express" representative on Saturday morning:—

"The Coventry District Committee considered all the points raised during last week in regard to the strike. We could not find among ourselves any plank on which we should be justified in ceasing work. Dingley and Cassidy were repudiated by the committee. All the skilled men of this city repudiated them. The whole of the skilled men of Coventry, by their decision of Sunday last, agreed to resume work.

"Things went well; there was nothing to justify us in thinking there would be a cessation of work by the skilled men of Coventry. Then the Government come along and arrest two individuals from Coventry who are absolutely dissociated from the skilled men of the city—men who could not do any harm.

"We now find ourselves faced with this position—that a vital principle is at stake; free speech is endangered and individual liberty is swept away by the action the Government have taken without consultation with the local people. For myself, and on behalf of the district committee of the A.S.E., I repudiate the action of the Government We think it is most unwise and inopportune."

BITTER FEELING.

Feeling among the 8,000 Coventry men and women members of the Workers' Union was exceedingly bitter.

"Dingley is the chairman and Cassidy the secretary of the local amalgamation committee," said an official of the union, "and they merely carried out the instructions given them by the rank and file. When the mass meeting of the men decided on a resumption of work Dingley returned to his shop. When we had been working four days he was arrested."

When the meetings were held yesterday the engineers decided to demand the unconditional release of the arrested men. The Workers' Union adopted the same attitude, and resolved to prepare to strike if the men were convicted.

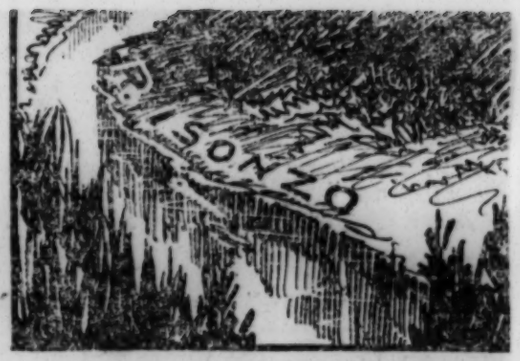
Reports from other districts include the following:—

Bolton.—A speedy resumption of work is looked for. A mass meeting will be held this morning.

Bury.—The engineers meet to-day, but have not resumed work.

Lea Valley.—Members of the A.S.E. employed at Enfield and Waltham decided to return to work at once. Several hundreds of the men returned on the night shift. At one factory they were heartily cheered at the factory gates by a large body of the general public, including several wounded soldiers.

Liverpool.—The engineers decided yesterday to postpone accepting the strike settlement until the return of their delegates from London, from whom they expect a report. Consequently, there is no prospect of the men resuming work to-day.



ITALY'S MOUNTAIN

Executive Council to Mr. Lloyd George who had not previously taken part in the deliberations. He approved of the settlement, and declared that he realised something was wrong, and **was prepared to appoint either a Select Committee of the House of Commons or a travelling commission to inquire into the whole working of the Munitions Act as it affects labour.** This proposal will probably be dealt with in Parliament during the coming week.

Bitter complaints were made at to-day's mass meeting of "broken pledges" on the part of the Government. It was alleged that a pledge had been given that no arrests should be made while the unofficial strike conference was sitting in London. It was not clear, however, by whom the pledge was given.

The net result of the whole business seems to be the necessity for some form of closer co-operation between the trade union officials and their "rank and file." Apparently there is more red tape in trade-union organisation than in Government offices. A link appears to be missing, which makes possible the lack of discipline and common working that is the foundation of trade unionism, both from the trade and the national point of view.

WOOLWICH AT WORK.

The Woolwich strikers decided at meetings held yesterday at the Plumstead Baths to return to work this morning. There were only a few dissentients.

Mr. J. Mills, speaking at one of the meetings, said that the men's conference had decided by resolution to reserve power to call the members together again in the event of certain eventualities, such as a breach of faith.

"The statement that the arrested men should be released on their own recognisances was put in at the request of the Prime Minister," said Mr. Mills. "Mr. Lloyd George agreed that there should be no victimisation whatever.

"Although the agreement, on the face of it, does not look any very great achievement, I want you to realise that in the circumstances we have achieved much more than we had hoped for. We have achieved a moral victory, and have forced on the Government the fact that, unauthorised and unofficial though we may be, we represent a body of men who have demonstrated the solidarity of labour, and have proved that they are strong enough to resist these broken pledges of the Government."

Manchester Dispatch
29-5-17

THE LABOUR UNREST COMMISSIONS.

Men Who Ought to be On Them.

AND MEN WHO OUGHT NOT!

Mr. Lloyd George is to sing a Seven-Fold Amen to all industrial strife.

With the Prime Minister as "lead," seven choirs of experts are to harmonise the situation.

It is to be hoped that in this way the instrumentalists who play upon the lathe and the anvil and the cartridge-filler will be induced to "accompany" in perfect time and tune. Thus shall the performance become worthy of the theme—a grand, swelling anthem, flooding the wakened land with the music of a new enthusiasm and striking terror into the hearts of all the German bands.

It is an excellent scheme, this appointment of seven commissions to inquire into and report upon the causes of, and remedies for, labour unrest.

There are just two things I would like to know about these commissions. I would like to know what exactly are to be their terms of reference and who are to be the inquirers and reporters. Their mission will be delicate and important. To settle the quarrels, open or veiled, of two other people is one of the most difficult tasks in the world.

The Man from Whitehall.

What I am anxious about regarding those terms of reference is that they shall include the power of investigating *all* sides of the question. It will be no use to begin with the idea that employers and employed are plaintiff and defendant—or defendant and plaintiff either—and that all that has to be done is to give a verdict for one or the other. The dullest judge in the High Court could tell you that there is apt to be a third party, who "intervenes," or "co-responds," or does some other thing equally reprehensible.

In this case there most certainly *is* a third party. He is generally called "the man from Whitehall," or "the Inspector from the Department," and he has merrily intervened in matters respecting which he pretends to be an expert, but of which he knows less than the average shop-foreman.

So it has come to pass sometimes that, while the "boss" and the "hands" are trying hard to keep tempers cool and nerves steady in the most difficult circumstances, the one thing that has come along to turn the scale and tip its contents into the fire has been the petty inquisition of some smart exponent of a glorious bureaucracy and a nasty Nosey Parkerism.

When he isn't down at the works getting in the way of people who really are doing things he is busy in London fettering the activities of men who want to get on with the nation's work. If he can run them into Schedule X, Y, Z, and block up the exit with Forms No. 007 to 9999, or tie them up in red tape until one part of the works has to stand idle because another part can't feed it, he feels that life is one round of joy.

Mr. Lloyd George's seven commissions will do well to start on this gentleman pretty early in the proceedings.

Men to Trust!

But, after all, the personnel of the commissions will be the main thing. I hold strongly that when you want to settle differences you must give the job over to somebody whom the disputants trust. That sounds a fairly reasonable and rather obvious proposition. And yet it is just the thing we don't do.

We want to control coal, or tea, or sugar, and we try to do it by putting in charge men who get their living by selling coal, or tea, or sugar—and then raise our hands in holy horror when somebody begs to remark that the price has gone up again.

So when we want to control trouble and keep it from rising I am very much afraid we shall follow a similar plan. We shall put on the commissions a few iron and steel magnates, shipowners, railway managers, Government officials, the most prominent of the Labour M.P.'s, with a sprinkling of what the Americans call corner-grocery politicians to make up the balance.

If we let it go at that it will be all wrong. That anthem will be just the worst case of syncopated discord that ever happened.

Keep out the armchair economists! Warn off the excess profits man! Let the "superior person" go on twiddling his thumbs! And shoo away everybody who wants to solve a "75" problem with a pea-shooter mind. This is a case of dealing with men. You want people who understand men.

Some Suggestions.

Suppose it is a matter of miners. These commissions will have to hear a good deal about miners. The commission may have Stephen Walsh on it; it would sound rather absurd not to. But there should be with him at least four other men—Robert Smillie, John Robertson, ex-Baillie M'Kerrell, and Vernon Hartshorn.

You are dealing with munitions factories. It may scarcely be credited, but there are names which are more highly honoured by the workers in the factories than that of any personage in the Hotel Metropole. J. T. Brownlie, chairman of the Engineers; John Hill, of the Boilermakers; and the present chairman of the Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, W. J. Davies, of the Brassworkers; and as unskilled and semi-skilled labour plays so big a part I would include such men as Tom Fox, of Manchester; Jack Beard, who knows the tube and steel men intimately; and Tom Macnamara, who could take you over Woolwich Arsenal blindfold.

These and half a dozen others know the problem, are dealing with some phase of it every day of their lives, *and the men know and trust them.*

That is the great point. There must be confidence engendered by the very composition of the commission.

What about dockers and transport? The official mind turns to Ben Tillett and Sexton, of Liverpool, and I don't blame it. But it would be fatal to ignore Harry Gosling, Robert Williams, and Albert Bellamy. And so deeply bound up with the railway section of the transport business is the clerical department that A. G. Walkden, of the railway clerks, would be most valuable.

Cameron and the Carpenters.

Nobody seems to have been noticing how important a part is played by the workers in wood during a war. They are fashioning a thousand things without which we could not go on. I want to see that Alec Cameron has a hand in their affairs. Throughout the London building strike I watched him closely, and what Cameron can't do with carpenters wouldn't hurt if you got it under the thumb nail.

I am not giving an exhaustive list of the men who could preserve industrial peace if the chance were given them. For one thing, Mr. Lloyd George hasn't told me how many commissions he proposes. I have just indicated the type of man I would appoint.

Add W. A. Appleton, J. R. Clynes, Sir George Askwith, C. W. Bowerman, Will Thorne, and a couple of the men who already have big work in hand if they can be spared, and you will have the right kind of chairmen.

Sprinkle with women representatives like Miss Mary Macarthur, Miss Susan Lawrence, and Miss Gertrude Tuckwell, and there will be a chance of getting something done.

E. P.

Glasgow Record
11-6-17

683/5

WAY OF THE WORLD

HOW THE WOMEN ARE CHANGING IT.

By ALICE J. WHITMORE.

One of the most marked, if purely incidental, results of the present ghastly struggle is the benefit resulting from the mutual intercourse of the Allied nations. All of us since 1914 have been interested in France, in Russia, and in Belgium as we never were before, and as probably we never should have been except for the war.

This interest is now extended to America. We now regard American history, the character of its people, the struggle of its women for liberty, and everything American in a new light. Especially in this juncture of our political history we women are interested in a country whose President is called Wilson, and not by some other name because the votes of women in doubtful areas carried the day in his favour. At any time the story of Mrs. Belva Lockwood whose death was announced recently, would have excited interest; but it is particularly stimulating at this moment.

Few of us knew perhaps that this great pioneer of the woman's movement was twice nominated by the Equal Rights Party in the States for the Presidency, and in several parts of the country obtained a substantial vote.

Mrs. Lockwood was eighty-seven when she died, and it is noteworthy that many of these pioneer women lived to a remarkable age. Mrs. Julia Ward Howe was nearly ninety when she died, and Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell was, I believe, over eighty. These women were Trojans for work, and it all points to the fact that healthy activity never kills. It is the stultifying, deadening atmosphere of narrowed vision which destroys youth—it is the lack of wide sympathies which poisons life and health.

MRS. LOCKWOOD'S WORK.

Mrs. Lockwood's story is of unique interest at this time, because it hinges upon that which is the crux of the present situation—the inequalities of men's and women's economic position. It was this which started this remarkable woman on her great career, and which was her guiding impulse. It is this which is now stirring the women of to-day who had never previously given the subject a moment's consideration. The woman who has recently been thrown out of work not of her own choice, but because the continuance of work depended entirely upon the choice of men, has been led to think about these things, and her thought is often tinged with bitterness.

Mrs. Lockwood was a pioneer from girlhood. At fourteen she "taught school"; at eighteen she was married; and at twenty-two was a widow with one child. Thrust upon the world and her own resources and going back to her teaching she saw things in a different light. She realised with acute poignancy the discrepancies between the salaries of men and women, and it was this which led to her championship of women's rights.

She tells how she first of all "kicked" at the injustice and endeavoured to get it remedied. But the officials to whom she applied merely laughed at her. Then she proceeded to the manse, where she evidently expected to receive light and guidance. The minister's wife told her that she was helpless and that it was foolish to attempt to alter the unalterable. "It is the way of the world," she concluded, strong in her conviction that the only thing to done was to bow to the inevitable.

But Mrs. Lockwood was not the sort of person to accept things as inevitable without a challenge. It is not in the nature of the normal American with the blood of the pioneer in his veins to do this. Especially is this true of the American farmer's wife (and Mrs. Lockwood had married a farmer—in the fifties—when farm life still savoured of the pioneer element), the woman who finds that if she hasn't a pepper box a tin with holes in the top does quite as well, and if she hasn't a cradle for her baby a clothes basket or an empty box does even better because she can stand it anywhere and is not tempted to resort to the foolish expedient of rocking.

Mrs. Lockwood's reply was an index to her character and a prophecy as to her future. "Then let us change the way of the world," was her answer. To this she proceeded with that "courage, sweet temper, pugnacity, shrewdness and alertness" which she is said to have been characterised, and until the day of her death her life was devoted to the task of its accomplishment.

ADMITTED TO THE BAR.

She continued teaching until the seventies, when she married again and gave herself assiduously to the study of law even although women were then disqualified from practice at the Court. It was part of the great business of her life to "change the way of the world" in this respect.

She succeeded in getting a Bill introduced admitting women to the Bar of the United States Supreme Court, and she herself was the first woman admitted under that Act. This and the business of securing equal salaries for men and women were the outstanding features of her work and even in her latest years she was engaged on several important cases at the Bar.

To-day the call comes to all women with startling appropriateness and insistence to carry on the great work so nobly begun and to "change the way of the world." At present the "way of the world" is still in the main the "way" ordained of men exclusively. Perhaps few of us even yet scarcely realise how entirely so this is, and unless we do realise it we shall not be stirred, as we ought, to immediate action.

Few of us perhaps realise the economic issues at stake in woman's political emancipation. Do we all know, for instance, that the Amalgamated Society of Engineers agreed to the dilution of labour which created such demand for women's work only on the specific condition that this work should cease with the war—and that this promise, signed by a Government Department, was later embodied in Acts of Parliament.

Do we all understand that men have already demanded that they shall settle exactly what trades women shall continue to follow after the war, and that the Government is already actually pledged to side with the men, and has promised to force employers to act in accordance with the men's wishes? All this is but the natural and inevitable of the present "way of the world"; but that the time has come when it must be changed is apparent even to the woman behind the washtub.

A MUNITION WORKER'S VIEW.

I was talking this week to a charwoman who has been engaged in munition work and who was "out" only because the men were "out." I realised as I talked with her how possible it is that later on, unless things are speedily changed, we may expect another outburst of militancy organised by a different and perhaps a more dangerous class of women.

"It's time the men were put in their place," said this woman. It was crudely stated, but I understood that it was her way of articulating the slowly dawning consciousness that "the way of the world" must be changed. This woman is a widow with four children and dependent upon herself for support. In spite, however, of her belligerent attitude to men, her personal appearance loudly proclaimed the instinctive feeling—uppermost perhaps in women of this class—that a woman is, or ought to be, dependent upon some man for support. She was arrayed for her day's work in a V-shaped blouse well open at the neck, a cameo brooch, a gold chain at her throat, and diamond (?) earrings!

When I suggested that we should be having the vote and it would be in our power to alter things, she appeared indifferent, until I explained how almost everything that affects the position of women is controlled in this way. The economic position of women lies at the root of much domestic tragedy and is the great question upon which the future of woman hinges; but it is not to be solved in the spirit of "putting men in their place," by anything like sex war.

The key to the situation lies largely with women themselves. The "change" must begin in her own outlook on life before it can take practical orm. The great need of to-day is to train future citizens. I believe that the working woman especially is becoming keenly alive to her own ignorance in the elementary principles of government, and would eagerly welcome definite instruction along this line.

Morning Post 683
19-6-17

DILUTION OF LABOUR.

DR. ADDISON CONFERS WITH TRADE UNIONS.

Dr. Addison, Minister of Munitions, held another conference with the representatives of Trade Unions on the subject of the Dilution Bill at the Grand Hotel, Northumberland-avenue, yesterday.

Dr. Addison said the Committee had examined with the minutest care the proposals with respect to safeguarding their position in connection with any dilution that might be necessary on commercial work. Where a class of work, or work in particular occupations, came under the provisions of the Dilution Bill the workmen could become War Munition Volunteers, which meant that when a man moved into another district where the rate of wages was less the difference was to be made up to him. On the other hand, if he moved into a district where the rate of wages was higher he was to receive the higher rate of pay. The Ministry would not give permission for employers to make any changes unless the requirements as set out in the Bill had been met. Mr. Hodge, M.P., was taking steps to speed up arbitration awards. (Applause.) As the number of guns increased the greater became the number for repair, because every gun had to go back to the repair shop eventually. The losses from defective guns and ammunition had been very small. (Applause.) The shipbuilding programme was three times as large as it was in 1916. That meant that a larger number of skilled men would be required. The war was largely a question of transport, and the Ministry had every confidence that the programme could be carried out. When the Army was given a particularly fine piece of material it quickly asked for more. So it was in regard to the "tanks," but the way in which these particular machines ate up the "spares" was simply appalling. The greater the number of "tanks" in the field, the greater was the demand for spares, and the question of supplying them was an enormous manufactory problem. High-powered aeroplanes and aeroplane parts, of which there had been a vastly increased output, were also a serious problem of supply. These problems between them presented a munition programme of enormous magnitude. Dealing with the demand for agricultural implements, Dr. Addison said the demand had been met as much as possible. The Ministry had agreed to supply the implements, including motor tractors, in a light sort of moment, but they had got to be supplied in great numbers in a short time.

WOMEN'S REDUCED WAGES.

A delegate declared that men doing crane work for some firms were being taken off because women did the work for less money. Women's wages had been reduced from 30s. per week to 25s. and less. The men did not want that to continue. (Hear, hear, and applause.) If the women did the work they should get the money. Sex was nothing whatever to do with it.

Another delegate said the same condition of affairs existed in the shipbuilding industry. Women receiving 27s. per week for working great hammers and forges were having their wages reduced to 22s. 6d. The men who did the work previously got 35s. per week and more.

Mr. Kellaway (who had now taken the chair) said the question had been the subject of negotiations between the Ministry and the Unions. Arrangements had been made which were thought to be satisfactory. If they were not the Ministry would reconsider the whole matter. (Applause.)

A delegate declared that unless the Government took every step to stop food profiteering and other scandals the men up and down the country would not accept dilution.

Mr. Kellaway—I hope the new Food Controller—more power to his elbow—will succeed in stopping food profiteering, a form of blackmail which even more than the vagaries of the recruiting officer has done so much to create industrial unrest in the country. The job is a difficult one, but Lord Rhondda has never shown fear in the face of a very big task. I believe he will succeed in putting a stop to this monstrous form of blackmail. Working men had a good sense of fair play, and they would continue to make sacrifices, because they realised that only by making sacrifices could British democracy beat German autocracy. (Applause.)

Common Cause
15.6.17

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683/6

PRICES RISE, BUT WAGES—?

Every week prices go up to points higher than the week before. Are women's wages rising in proportion? Most assuredly not. They are rising in many employments, but they rise slowly and jerkily. In the 'eighties of last century £100 a year was regarded as the salary of a highly educated and exceptionally well-qualified woman. At the present day, life on £2 a week for a worker of the professional classes needs very careful planning. Yet a member of the Canadian Parliament, on the Conservative side, has been saying that women in the Dominion Civil Service should on no account be paid more than this bare minimum. Already he considered that they were paid too much, and he adduced by way of proof that they showed no desire to get married. Poverty is hardly the happiest reason for marriage. A much wider view has lately been expressed by Lady Mackworth, who, as an experienced business woman, looks forward to the time when £300 a year will not be regarded as an exceptional salary for a woman of ability. Meantime, it is urgently needful for women of the professional and of the leisured classes to help the industrial workers to get wages which bear some fair relation to the constant increase in their ordinary expenditure.

Times
29.6.17

THE FUTURE OF INDUSTRY.

TRADE COUNCILS FOR RECONSTRUCTION.

A NATIONAL SCHEME OF COOPERATION.

The report of the Sub-Committee of the Reconstruction Committee on the relations between employers and employed has been sent by the Ministry of Labour to the leading employers' associations and trade unions, together with a covering letter from Sir D. J. Shackleton in which he states that the report drawn up by a Sub-Committee mainly composed of prominent representatives of employers' associations and trade unions puts forward certain important proposals for the better regulation of industry, which if carried out will have far-reaching effects on our national welfare.

The War Cabinet, he says, are deeply concerned that timely and effective measures should be taken to deal with these questions, for they feel that the future of industry, and indeed of the country itself, are closely bound up with their successful solution. Moreover, they feel strongly that action cannot be deferred until after the war, as it is essential that the problems concerning the organization of industry which peace will bring should be fully and frankly discussed between employers and employed before they actually arise. Further, as the trustee for the well-being of all classes of the community the Government itself is vitally interested in the result of these discussions. As the Sub-Committee states in its report:—"In the interests of the community it is vital that after the war the cooperation of all classes established during the war should continue, and more especially with regard to the relations between employers and employed. For securing improvement in the latter, it is essential that any proposals put forward should offer to workpeople the means of attaining improved conditions of employment and a higher standard of comfort generally, and involve the enlistment of their active and continuous cooperation in the promotion of industry."

FOR ORGANIZED INDUSTRIES.

It is in order to meet these views, the letter adds, that the proposals made by the Sub-Committee are framed, and before deciding to adopt them the Government desire to have the general views of employers and trade organizations upon them. It should be understood that the proposals are applicable only to well-organized industries, and are intended to deal with only one aspect of the problem of industrial reconstruction; other aspects requiring other measures remain to be dealt with, but if the fundamental questions affecting the relations between employers and employed are satisfactorily settled on a permanent basis, the solution of all subsequent difficulties becomes incalculably easier.

If it is finally decided to adopt the scheme recommended by the Sub-Committee, each of the trades affected will be invited to discuss the best method of putting it into operation. At present the report is only being sent out to the employers' associations and the trade unions in the organized industries, in order to get their general criticisms and suggestions. Specially chosen officers have been appointed by the Ministry of Labour to assist in explaining the scheme. They will be glad to give assistance in this direction and to attend conferences summoned to consider it either in London or the provinces. Any communications on this subject should be addressed to Mr. Arthur Greenwood, Ministry of Labour, Montagu House, London, W.1.

THE RECOMMENDATIONS.

PERMANENT IMPROVEMENT BY COOPERATION.

The Sub-Committee, which was composed of the Right Hon. J. H. Whitley, M.P., Chairman, Mr. F. S. Button, Mr. G. J. Carter, Professor S. J. Chapman, Sir Gilbert Claughton, Bart., Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., Mr. J. A. Hobson, Miss Susan Lawrence, Mr. J. J. Mallon, Sir Thomas R. Ratcliffe-Ellis, Mr. Robert Smillie, Mr. Allan M. Smith, and Miss Mona Wilson describes its report as an interim on Joint Standing Industrial Councils.

"The circumstances of the present time (says the report) are admitted on all sides to offer a great opportunity for securing a permanent improvement in the relations between employers and employed, while failure to utilize the opportunity may involve the nation in grave industrial difficulties at the end of the war. It is generally allowed that the war almost enforced some reconstruction of industry, and in considering the subjects referred to us we have kept in view the need for securing in the development of reconstruction the largest possible measure of cooperation between employers and employed. In the interests of the community it is vital that after the war the cooperation of all classes, established during the war, should continue, and more especially with regard to the relations between employers and employed. For securing improvement in the latter it is essential that any proposals put forward should offer to workpeople the means of attaining improved conditions of employment and a higher standard of comfort generally, and involve the enlistment of their active and continuous cooperation in the promotion of industry. To this end the establishment for each industry of an organization, representative of employers and workpeople, to have as its object the regular consideration of matters affecting the progress and well-being of the trade from the point of view of all those engaged in it, so far as this is consistent with the general interest of the community, appears to us necessary.

COMPOSITION OF THE COUNCILS.

"With a view to providing means for carrying out the policy outlined above we recommend that his Majesty's Government should propose without delay to the various associations of employers and employed the formation of Joint Standing Industrial Councils in the several industries, where they do not already exist, composed of representatives of employers and employed.

"The appointment of a chairman or chairmen should, we think, be left to the council, who may decide that these should be:—

"(1) A chairman for each side of the council;

"(2) A chairman and vice-chairman selected from the members of the council (one from each side of the council);

"(3) A chairman chosen by the council from independent persons outside the industry; or,

"(4) A chairman nominated by such person or authority as the council may determine, or, failing agreement, by the Government."

The report suggests that the council should meet at regular and frequent intervals, and should consider appropriate matters affecting the several industries, and particularly the establishment of a closer cooperation between employers and employed. Questions connected with demobilization will call for early attention. One of the chief factors in the problem, as it at first presents itself, consists of the guarantees given by the Government, with Parliamentary sanction, and the various undertakings entered into by employers, to restore the trade union rules and customs suspended during the war. The Committee take the view that while this does not mean that all the lessons learnt during the war should be ignored, it does mean that the definite cooperation and acquiescence by both employers and employed must be a condition of any setting aside of these guarantees or undertakings.

TRIPLE ORGANIZATION.

"In the well-organized industries, one of the first questions to be considered should be the establishment of local and works organizations to supplement and make more effective the work of the central bodies. The National Industrial Council should not be regarded as complete in itself: what is needed is a triple organization—in the workshops, the districts, and nationally. Moreover it is essential that the organization at each of these three stages should proceed on a common principle, and that the greatest measure of common action between them should be secured. With this end in view, we are of opinion that the following proposals should be laid before the National Industral Councils:—

(*a*) That district councils, representative of the trade unions and of the Employers' Association in the industry, should be created or developed out of the existing machinery for negotiation in the various trades.

(*b*) That Works Committees, representative of the management and of the workers employed, should be instituted in particular works to act in close cooperation with the district and national machinery.

"As it is of the highest importance that the scheme making provision for these committees should be such as to secure the support of the trade unions and employers' associations concerned, its design should be a matter for agreement between these organizations.

"The respective functions of works committees, district councils, and national councils will no doubt require to be determined separately in accordance with the varying conditions of different industries. Care will need to be taken in each case to delimit accurately their respective functions, in order to avoid overlapping and resulting friction.

"Among the questions with which it is suggested that the national councils should deal or allocate to

(Continued at foot of next column.)

district councils or works committees the following may be selected for special mention:—

(i.) The better utilization of the practical knowledge and experience of the workpeople.

(ii.) Means for securing to the workpeople a greater share in and responsibility for the determination and observance of the conditions under which their work is carried on.

(iii.) The settlement of the general principles governing the conditions of employment, including the methods of fixing, paying, and readjusting wages, having regard to the need for securing to the workpeople a share in the increased prosperity of the industry.

(iv.) The establishment of regular methods of negotiation for issues arising between employers and workpeople, with a view both to the prevention of differences, and to their better adjustment when they appear.

(v.) Means of ensuring to the workpeople the greatest possible security of earnings and employment, without undue restriction upon change of occupation or employer.

(vi.) Methods of fixing and adjusting earnings, piecework prices, &c., and of dealing with the many difficulties which arise with regard to the method and amount of payment apart from the fixing of general standard rates, which are already covered by paragraph (iii.).

(vii.) Technical education and training.

(viii.) Industrial research and the full utilization of its results.

(ix.) The provision of facilities for the full consideration and utilization of inventions and improvements designed by workpeople, and for the adequate safeguarding of the rights of the designers of such improvements.

(x.) Improvements of processes, machinery, and organization and appropriate questions relating to management and the examination of industrial experiments, with special reference to cooperation in carrying new ideas into effect and full consideration of the workpeople's point of view in relation to them.

(xi.) Proposed legislation affecting the industry.

GOVERNMENT AS ADVISER.

"The methods by which the functions of the proposed councils should be correlated to those of joint bodies in the different districts, and in the various works within the districts, must necessarily vary according to the trade. It may, therefore, be the best policy to leave it to the trades themselves to formulate schemes suitable to their special circumstances, it being understood that it is essential to secure in each industry the fullest measure of cooperation between employers and employed, both generally, through the National Councils, and specifically, through district committees and workshop committees.

"In forwarding the proposals to the parties concerned, we think the Government should offer to be represented in an advisory capacity at the preliminary meetings of a council, if the parties so desire. We are also of opinion that the Government should undertake to supply to the various councils such information on industrial subjects as may be available and likely to prove of value. It appears to us that it may be desirable at some later stage for the State to give the sanction of law to agreements made by the councils, but the initiative in this direction should come from the councils themselves."

Stating that the plans sketched are applicable in the form in which they are given only to industries in which there are responsible associations of employers and workpeople which can claim to be fairly representative, the Sub-Committee give it as their considered opinion that an essential condition of securing a permanent improvement in the relations between employers and employed is that there should be adequate organization on the part of both employers and workpeople. Such organization is necessary also to provide means whereby the arrangements and agreements made for the industry may be effectively carried out. No suggestions or opinions are offered with regard to such matters as profit-sharing, co-partnership, or particular systems of wages, the Sub-Committee considering it impracticable to make any useful general recommendations on such matters, having regard to the varying conditions in different trades. They add:—

"We are convinced, moreover, that a permanent improvement in the relations between employers and employed must be founded upon something other than a cash basis. What is wanted is that the workpeople should have a greater opportunity of participating in the discussion about and adjustment of those parts of industry by which they are most affected. The schemes recommended in this report are intended not merely for the treatment of industrial problems when they have become acute, but also, and more especially, to prevent their becoming acute. We believe that regular meetings to discuss industrial questions, apart from and prior to any differences with regard to them that may have begun to cause friction, will materially reduce the number of occasions on which, in the view of either employers or employed, it is necessary to contemplate recourse to a stoppage of work."

COUNCILS AND PLEDGES.

Questions addressed by the Reconstruction Committee to the Sub-Committee and given with the answers in an appendix to the report show that as there already exist in most organized trades joint bodies for particular purposes, it is not proposed that the industrial councils should necessarily disturb these existing bodies.

It is contemplated that agreements reached by industrial councils should (whilst not of course possessing the binding force of law) carry with them the same obligation of observance as exists in the case of other agreements between employers' associations and trade unions. A council being on its workmen's side based on the trade unions concerned in the industry, its powers or authority could only be such as the constituent trade unions freely agreed to. It is clearly intended that all pledges relating to the restoration of trade union rules shall be redeemed without qualification unless the particular trade union concerned agrees to alteration; and it is not intended that the council shall have power to decide such questions by a majority vote of the workmen's representatives from all the trade unions in the industry.

Manchester Weekly Times
23-6-17

A SANE INDUSTRIALISM.

ORGANISATION IN THE FACTORY.

THE NEED FOR IMPROVEMENT.

The Editor of the "Weekly Times" has made arrangements for the publication in these columns of a number of special articles on the War and the Worker by writers well known in different spheres of industrialism. These articles, which are appearing under the heading "A Sane Industrialism," will be found of mutual interest and advantage to both employers and employed. The first was by Mr. G. J. Wardle, M.P. for Stockport and Chairman of the Labour Party, and the second by Sir Albert Spicer, M.P. The third article, which appears to-day, is by Mr. J. M. Robertson, M.P., who, taking for his theme the fact that the war has taught us that organisation means strength, shows how the workers can benefit by organising the millions of pounds' worth of energy annually wasted.

By J. M. ROBERTSON, M.P.

"Science," discussed in the preceding article of this series, is by common consent held to apply, in industry, to the cultivation and application of the higher forms of physical knowledge of all kinds. But the spirit of science, which is simply concern for exact knowledge of causation, enters in some degree into all careful action; and there is assuredly great room for its wider activity in the management of business in general. What the commercial experts call "system" is just the method of science brought to bear in business affairs. And in thousands of businesses "system" is still very imperfectly developed.

To artistic minds, perhaps, the notion may be on some sides repellant. The principle, for instance, that in manufacture there should be no superfluous movement, that the ideal is just to make so many movements as will do the required work and no more, is apt to seem soulless. The artistic soul for which its labour is one of love would linger over some of its tasks, seeking whether or not there may be room for an added touch. But there is really no fundamental difference between art economy and trade economy in view of results. The artist is not so ready as the toiler to "down tools," because his task is for him something more than the doing of efficient work to earn his bread. But even the artist wastes no time, if he can help it, in mixing his colours; and he finds ground for some of his highest praise in "economy of effect" in line and composition in his own field. The artist who makes one sure stroke do what others do by many strokes is acknowledged to be not less, but more, an artist in doing so.

LESSON FROM "SWEATING WAGES."

Of the thousand ways in which force—and therefore Capital and Labour—can be economised I propose to speak here of one—co-ordination of work in factories. In the work of the Trade Boards, which in the recent years of peace were quietly doing so much to improve the conditions of labour in low-waged industries, it was again and again found that "sweating wages" were in many individual cases not the sign of the employer's desire to grind the faces of his workers, but the mark of his real difficulty in making profit enough to enable him to pay more. A good illustration is the industry broadly describable as that of "slop" tailoring—a technical term which, for popular purposes, I shall use in a looser descriptive sense than the strictly correct one. In that industry it was found that while some large businesses paid wages which practically put them outside of any category of sweating, others paid very low wages indeed. And the employers in the latter cases frequently protested that their business could not afford more. They produced their goods under competitive conditions; if they were undersold they lost their trade; and to pay higher wages meant to cut away all profit.

In some cases, perhaps, the only remedy was to compel a rise of wages all round, involving a rise of price. But a number of employers, on investigation, found that there were ways of cheapening production which not only [illegible] but made possible

workers as to organisation in general. Such hints actually do pass from workers to labour organisers, who sometimes pass them on to employers with beneficial results. But the price of perfect organisation, like the price of liberty, is eternal vigilance; and there should be a constant openness to new discovery in these matters. When it is realised that organisation means not only increase in wage-paying power, but the possible continuance of employment where otherwise it might be arrested, there is seen to be a new reason for habitual consultation between employers and employed.

In the cases of which I have spoken, gain has come from conference among employers who previously had not conferred. There we have one of the evidences of the importance of trade societies in general. Too often, doubtless, business men are reluctant to give information which will help their competitors; but in this, as in many other directions, the standard of public spirit is steadily rising. War at least reveals that there is a community of national interest which involves every kind of national efficiency. Weak industries are national weaknesses. A few which cannot be made really strong had better just be abandoned; but it is one of the standing lessons of trade experience that the difference between weakness and strength may just be bad organisation.

OLD FREE TRADE CONDITIONS.

The captain of industry, in short, must see to it that he not only makes the utmost use of "science" in all his mechanical processes, but that he himself is scientific in all the departments of his concern. To put it bluntly, he will have to work harder in future. In no country have business men had a larger share of leisure in modern times than in Britain—at least in none of the leading industrial countries where business is carried on on a great scale. Much of this comparative lack of stress was certainly due to the Free Trade conditions of a long past. But the best of fiscal systems cannot in future avert the need for a great increase of productive power in this country. By no other means can it pay off its debts.

To a certain extent the required increase will undoubtedly have to be secured by combinations. The large factory has, up to a certain point, inalienable advantages over the small; and in some industries—the chemical, for instance—the gain from combining a large number of modes of production is overwhelming. This has been abundantly evident in Germany. But combination is not the last word, or the only word, in the extension of production. There is a point at which a giant factory runs multiplying riots of inefficiency, just because the perfect co-ordination of everything calls for more and more stress of attention. I have known a large factory driven to abolish one of its departments and rely on outside work where before it had supplied itself. It is significant that in the past evolution of animal life the giant organisms have mostly died out; and the elephant, in its turn, seems likely to disappear. I do not press the analogy, which could easily mislead us if we followed it confidently; but it is suggestive.

HELP FROM THE "HANDS."

The measure of fitness, in any case, is the same all round—success. If a British industry is found to lag in competition with a foreign one, the sane course is not to begin to call for tariffs, but to ask first whether it is not behind in point of organisation. I could name some which have notoriously been hampered by long-protracted failure of co-operation between employers and employed. And wherever an industry is found to be paying unduly low wages, defective organisation is one of the causes first to be looked for. If employers all round will more and more exchange ideas for the general good, and further try to elicit the ideas of their "hands," a great and helpful impulse may be given.

One hopes for much in this way from the new commercial journalism, which cheerfully presumes to teach business men their business. In the United States, for years past, there have been professional advisers of business con-

Reynolds Newspaper 683
17-6-17

PIECEWORK RATES.

Important Agreement Now Under Discussion.

The adjustment of piecework rates of wages and other systems of payment based on output, necessitated by alterations in manufacturing methods, has been a fruitful source of difficulty in the industrial world. Very satisfactory results, however, are now expected to flow from the friendly discussions of the question which have been included in the negotiations on the Munitions of War Bill conducted by Dr. Addison and Mr. Kellaway, one of his Parliamentary Secretaries, with the Engineering Employers' Federation (of whose Executive Committee Mr. Allan Smith is chairman), and with representatives of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and the Federation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Trades.

An agreement on this point would probably do more than any other single amendment of the Munitions of War Act to remove suspicion and prevent misunderstandings in future, and all friends of industrial peace will share the hope that the important agreement which is being negotiated will be attended with complete success.

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In some cases, perhaps, the only remedy was to compel a rise of wages all round, involving a rise of price. But a number of employers, on investigation, found that there were ways of cheapening production which not only involved no sweating, but made possible at once the payment of better wages. The machinery of the Trade Boards brought together a number of employers who had previously known each other only as rivals. Coming together, rather distrustfully at first, they began to compare notes as to business methods, and, gradually, a number who had supposed themselves unable to spare more for labour, discovered that at some important point or points they were behind their more successful competitors in business methods. Naturally, it would be in the smaller businesses that such discoveries were most frequently made. Factories in general grow great by being well managed. But even in the larger factories, employers at times learned that they were overlooking leakages of time and labour which seriously impaired their total efficiency. Waste of time in the distribution of material and the allotment of tasks will arise in any factory where there is not as vigilant a watch over such details as there is over the financial departments; but in this, as in many other directions, the standard of public spirit is steadily rising. War at least reveals that there is a community of national interest which involves every kind of national efficiency. Weak industries are national weaknesses. A few which cannot be made really strong had better just be abandoned; but it is one of the standing lessons of trade experience that the difference between weakness and strength may just be bad organisation.

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One hopes for much in this way from the new commercial journalism, which cheerfully presumes to teach business men their business. In the United States, for years past, there have been professional advisers of business concerns, who undertake to tell a lagging firm, after close inspection, where it is lacking in point of management. It is to be feared that British firms will in general be less ready than American to resort to such guidance. Fear of disclosure will operate, as well as unwillingness to believe than any man can be competent to advise as to the management of business of every kind. One fear I believe to be ill-founded; though there are experts and experts, in this as in other walks of life. Given honesty—and as to this, business men can consult with each other—the experienced man with an eye for organisation may be quite as useful as the sanitary inspector—who is not infallible either.

Pending the development of the organising expert, however, much benefit might be had from a spirit of mutual help among the heads of business themselves. And perhaps the war may have some effect in promoting fraternity of that kind—though it is not a price that any of us would have proposed to pay.

Birmingham Post
23-6-17

INDUSTRIAL UNREST.

WOMEN WORKERS' EVIDENCE.

Evidence on behalf of women workers was heard yesterday by the Industrial Commissioners—Major J. W. Hills, M.P., Mr. J. W. White (Sunderland), and Mr. J. W. Ogden (Heywood)—who are holding sittings in Birmingham to enquire into the causes of industrial unrest. The witnesses were Miss Howarth and Mrs. Mitchell, of the National Federation of Women Workers; and Miss Varley, of the Workers' Union. Arrangements have been made for the Commission to hear numerous working women from the shops. The Commission will resume the sittings on Monday afternoon and evening. Evidence from non-official sources is to be taken, and a deputation of shop stewards from engineering establishments will be received. In the evening Mr. Solomon Hill, of the Engineering and Allied Trades' Federation, will attend before the Commission.

Manchester Dispatch
11-7-17

Latest Labour Conference

Labour delegates met in the Central Hall to-day to determine upon an amendment to the Bill now going through to supplement the original Munitions Act. Dilution of labour, substitution of women for men, of the old for the young, is going forward among trades not controlled by the Ministry of Munitions and doing private as opposed to Government and war work.

The recruiting office takes away a man from the bench or the tool and gives a woman worker in his place. The trade union agrees on condition that the job shall be restored to the man after the war or to another member of the union. But if the union has no legal guarantee of this restoration the men are at the mercy of the employers, who are not in that case liable to prosecution. Consequently to-day's delegates have decided to demand a legal guarantee of restoration of all trade union rules and conditions by employers after the war which have been suspended by agreement.

Such a guarantee has already been allowed to controlled factories and workshops where trade union rules have been suspended. What is claimed is the equivalent protection for the trade unionists in private workshops.

New Statesman
14-7-17

The Prime Minister's reading this week-end is apparently to consist of the separate reports of the eight district Commissions on Labour Unrest whose hurried peregrinations have excited much local interest, but who have been unable, in the limited time allowed, to examine more than a tithe of the witnesses who have desired to be heard. Only in a few special cases have the Commissions taken evidence in public, and no statistics have been compiled. All the eight reports are to be delivered this week at the Prime Minister's office. We gather that high prices and "profiteering," and the failure to get sugar, coal and beer, along with the various restrictions on personal liberty under the Munitions Acts and "Dora," and the manifold grievances against the wages orders of the Ministry of Munitions, form the main burden of the complaints. But there is also definite evidence of no little discontent at the working of the Military Service Acts (especially as to "re-examination" and the treatment of the Conscientious Objectors); at the very partial application of the Trade Boards Acts to women's employment; at the extensive suspension of the benefits of the Factory Acts and the very long hours of work now insisted on; and at the excessive price of lodgings in the munition areas, and the serious shortage of working-class dwellings in all districts due to the almost complete cessation of speculative building of this class during the past few years. The twenty-four Commissioners are to meet in London during the ensuing week to consider whether they cannot agree upon a united report for presentation to Parliament—at least as to the grievances discovered, if not also upon the remedies suggested.

Common Cause
27-7-17.

Industrial Unrest and Women's Wages.

The Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Industrial Unrest has just been issued. The Commission finds the main causes of unrest in two facts—that the cost of living has increased disproportionately to the advance in wages, and that the distribution of food supplies is unequal. It makes various recommendations as to regulation of wages, prices, and distribution. In the matter of prices the Government is already preparing to follow its advice.

The findings of the Commission in connection with wages is the part of the report which most closely affects women. One of these is "the inconsiderate treatment of women whose wages are sometimes as low as 13s." Another, the unsatisfactory working of the Munitions of War Act, 1915, especially as it touches female labour. So much for the hoped-for benefits of Circular L 2, which was to secure a minimum wage of £1 to every woman over eighteen! The Commission strongly supports the proposed formation of Joint Standing Industrial Councils, composed of representatives of employers and employed. It remains to ensure a proper representation of women's interests upon these Councils.

Ship building
16-8-17

Industrial Unrest.—The perplexing issues, industrially and economically, which are being multiplied because of the very serious strain that is being borne by the country, are trying the perspicuity and good sense of both employer and trade union official. The Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions, in their latest report, remark that the reports of the Commissions of Industrial Unrest contain nothing but what was known to the ordinary trade union official, but that they do offer the Government another opportunity of dealing seriously with the situation which is much more complicated and much more difficult than it was when their predecessors were in office. On the question of profiteering the Committee says it is hardly worth while for the Government to limit the rate of profit, if it takes no steps to limit the aggregate amount of profit.

Employment of Women.—The adaptability of women to men's work in war time has been remarkable, and cannot fail to raise important economic issues when the great conflict is over. In the lighter occupations women have filled almost every conceivable position, and even in the heavy industries, such as the iron and steel trades, they are serving in no inconsiderable numbers. The current report of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation urges that the unions in the industry should keep a watchful eye to see that the patriotism of the women is not exploited by employers who may be seeking to introduce cheap labour simply because it is cheap. The Confederation in the iron and steel industry recommends that before further women are introduced into the trade the unions ought to be consulted and ought to contend that wherever women are employed on work usually done by men they shall receive the same rate of pay as men. Where it took more women to do a given amount of work than was done by a lesser number of men, or where an individual woman had to be relieved of some of the heavier or more dangerous work, it might not be unreasonable that the group of women should receive among them the grouped men's rates, or have an adjustment in their wages which would bear some relation to the relief of the work granted.

Common Cause
31.-8.-17.

The Training of Welfare Workers.

The Report on Industrial Unrest, lately issued, states that there is a feeling among workers, in some districts, that the welfare supervisors selected are not of the right type, and do not thoroughly understand industrial conditions. A Committee invited to consider the selection and training of welfare supervisors has now made its report. It recommends that in addition to the social study courses now given at the London School of Economics, and in connection with several of our Universities, there should also be teaching in the industrial organisation of a factory and the special duties of a welfare supervisor. Students should gain some experience in life as a wage-earner, and bursaries or scholarships should be provided.

Morning Post
25.-6-17.

CAUSES OF INDUSTRIAL UNREST.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE MORNING POST.

SIR,—I am in direct opposition to Mr. W. C. Anderson and his associates with reference to the war. But it is useless to disguise the truth that on the National Workers' (War Emergency) Committee, and in other directions, they have done really good service to the working class. That service, not their pacifism, gives them what influence they possess among the Trade Unionists, and the mass of the people, at the present time. Moreover, your correspondent "Trade Unionist" is, I think, mistaken in not boldly admitting that the discontent and unrest among large numbers of the workers, directly or indirectly in national employment, are in part due to the continuous blundering of the Government. You yourself, sir, have pointed this out very trenchantly more than once. In dealing with great bodies of men frankness, courage, and good faith are always needed. Other qualities are required, but these are *indispensable*. They have too often been "conspicuous by their absence" among our rulers of yesterday and to-day.

The strike of the engineers need never have occurred had the Government taken account of plain facts that were constantly pressed upon them by the men, and as persistently neglected by "the authorities." In one case, I myself can bear witness that the secretary of the A.S.E. at a most important centre, wrote to the Government explaining fully the action, in contravention of official pledges, which was being taken by its agents on the spot. In spite of repeated requests for reply, that letter remained unanswered for five months! Is that the right way to treat working men upon whose loyal co-operation our victorious soldiers at the front are dependent?—Yours, &c.,

H. M. HYNDMAN.

9, Queen Anne's-gate, S.W.1, June 23.

683/9

683/10

Causes of Industrial Unrest.

THE WOMEN'S STANDPOINT.

The Reports of the Commission of Enquiry into Industrial Unrest, issued last week, show that the working-classes have many serious causes for discontent; some the inevitable consequences of war, some that might have been avoided and may still be remedied, and others the result of misconception. Unrest in the industrial world is no new thing. It existed in an acute form before the war, and though it is at present allayed, to some extent, by the necessity for united national effort, there are signs that serious trouble may be expected immediately after the war, or even before it ends, if steps are not taken to deal promptly and sympathetically with some of its causes.

To the grievances already existing, others have been added, and it is with those resulting from the war, rather than with the more permanent causes of irritation, that the Reports chiefly deal. These fall into three main headings :—

I. Interferences with the liberty of the people, both as citizens and workers.

Under this heading come the Military Service Act, which many workers feel has not been at all fairly administered, the curtailing of freedom to leave employment, liquor restrictions, and various other minor restrictions, that all tend to increase irritation.

II. Interference with trade customs, and the suspicion that these will not be restored after the war, according to pledge.

Unrest on this score is increased by industrial fatigue.

III. Interference with domestic comfort.

Discontent caused by the great increase in the price of food has been much increased by unequal distribution, the poor having suffered much more inconvenience than the well-to-do, and by the suspicion that prices have been inflated by profiteers. In many districts lack of housing accommodation has been added to the irritation caused by unaccustomed diet and liquor restrictions. Industrial workers have suffered great discomfort, and the lot of the housewife has been hard indeed. Unable to buy sugar or potatoes, told to cut down her family's consumption of bread, she has had to wrestle, in cramped surroundings, with strange kinds of food that her skill is quite unable to render palatable. In addition to her own family, she has often lodgers to feed and "do for," and if, at the end of her hard day's work, her culinary efforts were rejected with scorn, her cup of bitterness must have overflowed.

The causes of unrest enumerated under headings I. and II. have already been discussed at considerable length in the daily Press. So, too, has the question of food prices. Less has been said about the subject of housing, which is emphatically a woman's question, but reports from some of the areas into which the country was divided for purposes of this investigation show that a state of things exists which is a national disgrace. One can only be amazed at the wonderful patience of the women who can try to make a home in such conditions, and the apathy of the local councils that have allowed it to come about. This question is dealt with more fully on page 224.

The Commissioners have very little to say with regard to the special grievances of women as workers, but though these cannot be regarded as actually causing industrial unrest, they certainly require prompt remedy.

In the North-Western area—where the Commissioners seem to have taken most pains to find out the women's point of view, examining a number of women witnesses, from whom they state they received most valuable assistance—the chief cause of complaint among the female workers seems to be that the promises to pay women the same rates as men for the same work, and to give them the minimum wage which they are entitled to, have not been carried out. The illusory nature of these promises has frequently been pointed out in THE COMMON CAUSE, and it is discouraging to find that, in spite of representations to the Ministry of Munitions from various quarters, there is still cause for complaint. "Details of shop discipline, such as the closing of lavatories were also rightly complained of," says the Report, "and there seems to be an opinion among working women that the Welfare Workers are not always drawn from a class that really understand the needs and habits of the girls whose interests they are appointed to safeguard."

The Commissions for the London and South-Eastern Area lay special stress in their report on the hardship incurred by women through suspension. "Of all the suggestions offered in this Report," they state, "there is none which we desire more strongly to urge than this, that women suspended where they are not at fault should be provided with continuing pay, or furnished with sufficient means to enable them at once to return home." It is certainly a gross injustice that workers forbidden by law from leaving their place of employment can yet be suspended, perhaps for several weeks, with only a small proportion of their usual weekly wage, or in some cases none at all. Most of these women are living far from their own homes in lodgings; yet, according to a statement lately made by Mrs. W. C. Anderson, Secretary of the National Federation of Women Workers, no passes are issued to them, as they are to men munition workers, though the homes of some are at such a distance that the return fare costs £3 or more, and they have not been home since they started work. As a concession, she says, they are now to be allowed the passes that the men do not need, but this is quite inadequate.

There is urgent need for putting a stop to the practice of suspension without proper payment, the dangers of which, in the case of women and girls away from home, are obvious, and it is to be hoped that a Government order dealing with this question will be not only made, but strictly enforced. Unfortunately, no satisfactory arrangement has yet been made whereby women can obtain prompt attention for their grievances. They have not the same strong trade-union backing as the men, and they are more timid in putting forward complaints. The Commission for the West Midlands recommend that all women appearing before munitions tribunals should be allowed to see a Woman Assessor in private, and also that the Tribunals should not meet in a Court of Law, as they often do at present, and certainly not in a Police Court. The women, they state, particularly dislike this, and rather than face the publicity will submit to injustice.

With regard to the men's attitude towards the women, a certain amount of jealousy is reported on account of the high wages sometimes earned by women. Apprentices, it is stated, engaged on quite important work, may be receiving, after many years' experience, wages that "bear no proper relation to wages earned by female labour recently introduced." It also sometimes happens that a "skilled man with a life's experience behind him, sees a girl or youth, whom perhaps he himself has taught, earning twice as much as he does. The injury to his self-respect is as great as that to his pocket." Supervisors often do not earn as much as the workers whom they supervise, and often "the tool-maker and the gauge-maker, both skilled men, whose skill is the basis on which the machine operates, are still working on a pre-war rate, plus the bonuses and advances received since the war; but, taking all this into account, are receiving considerably less than the piece-workers." This inequality of wages between the skilled and semi-skilled is mentioned in several reports as a cause of acute discontent.

While there is a certain amount of resentment because women, here and there, are earning wages that seem to their male fellow-workers unduly high, there is also considerable apprehension that women will be used to lower piece rates, and the West Midlands Commission reports that they are satisfied that in some instances the employment of women is actually being used for this purpose. But if the men and women workers will only pull together they can surely make exploitation of this kind impossible. Strongly backed by the men, the women should be able to insist on equal pay for equal work. They will then, without detriment to male workers, be able to take their share in building up our industries again after the war, just as they are taking their share now in furnishing munitions.

Should employers go behind the promise of the Government and attempt to exploit women's labour to bring down rates of pay, there will undoubtedly be such a war between capital and labour as the world has never seen. The Commissioners give grave warnings as to what may happen if steps are not taken to dispel the impression, steadily gaining ground among the workers, that they cannot rely on the pledges given by the Government with regard to the restoration of pre-war customs. The Scottish Report states: "What is known as Dilution of Labour is a very fruitful source of labour unrest. This unrest appears to arise chiefly from the fear that, notwithstanding statutory undertakings to the contrary, dilution will continue after the war, either through the bad faith of employers or through industrial necessity. We believe that unrest on this score would be largely allayed if an undertaking were given publicly by a responsible Minister that if (as many people believe will happen) it should be found impossible to restore exactly certain pre-war conditions, the new conditions would be mutually arranged in conference with employers and workmen."

The Commissioners for the North-Eastern Area also urge that there must be no going back on, or varying any pledges that have been given, and that "if circumstances have shown that the pledges were given without realisation of the circumstances as they have emerged, it is better to trust to the good

and liquor restrictions. Industrial workers have suffered great discomfort, and the lot of the housewife has been hard indeed. Unable to buy sugar or potatoes, told to cut down her family's consumption of bread, she has had to wrestle, in cramped surroundings, with strange kinds of food that her skill is quite unable to render palatable. In addition to her own family, she has often lodgers to feed and "do for," and if, at the end of her hard day's work, her culinary efforts were rejected with scorn, her cup of bitterness must have overflowed.

The causes of unrest enumerated under headings I. and II. have already been discussed at considerable length in the daily Press. So, too, has the question of food prices. Less has been said about the subject of housing, which is emphatically a woman's question, but reports from some of the areas into which the country was divided for purposes of this investigation show that a state of things exists which is a national disgrace. One can only be amazed at the wonderful patience of the women who can try to make a home in such conditions, and the apathy of the local councils that have allowed it to come about. This question is dealt with more fully on page 224.

The Commissioners have very little to say with regard to the special grievances of women as workers, but though these cannot be regarded as actually causing industrial unrest, they certainly require prompt remedy.

In the North-Western area—where the Commissioners seem to have taken most pains to find out the women's point of view, examining a number of women witnesses, from whom they state they received most valuable assistance—the chief cause of complaint among the female workers seems to be that the promises to pay women the same rates as men for the same work, and to give them the minimum wage which they are entitled to, have not been carried out. The illusory nature of these promises has frequently been pointed out in THE COMMON CAUSE, and it is discouraging to find that, in spite of representations to the Ministry of Munitions from various quarters, there is still cause for complaint. "Details of shop discipline, such as the closing of lavatories were also rightly complained of," says the Report, "and there seems to be an opinion among working women that the Welfare Workers are not always drawn from a class that really understand the needs and habits of the girls whose interests they are appointed to safeguard."

The Commissions for the London and South-Eastern Area lay special stress in their report on the hardship incurred by certain amount of jealousy is reported on account of the high wages sometimes earned by women. Apprentices, it is stated, engaged on quite important work, may be receiving, after many years' experience, wages that "bear no proper relation to wages earned by female labour recently introduced." It also sometimes happens that a "skilled man with a life's experience behind him, sees a girl or youth, whom perhaps he himself has taught, earning twice as much as he does. The injury to his self-respect is as great as that to his pocket." Supervisors often do not earn as much as the workers whom they supervise, and often "the tool-maker and the gauge-maker, both skilled men, whose skill is the basis on which the machine operates, are still working on a pre-war rate, plus the bonuses and advances received since the war; but, taking all this into account, are receiving considerably less than the piece-workers." This inequality of wages between the skilled and semi-skilled is mentioned in several reports as a cause of acute discontent.

While there is a certain amount of resentment because women, here and there, are earning wages that seem to their male fellow-workers unduly high, there is also considerable apprehension that women will be used to lower piece rates, and the West Midlands Commission reports that they are satisfied that in some instances the employment of women is actually being used for this purpose. But if the men and women workers will only pull together they can surely make exploitation of this kind impossible. Strongly backed by the men, the women should be able to insist on equal pay for equal work. They will then, without detriment to male workers, be able to take their share in building up our industries again after the war, just as they are taking their share now in furnishing munitions.

Should employers go behind the promise of the Government and attempt to exploit women's labour to bring down rates of pay, there will undoubtedly be such a war between capital and labour as the world has never seen. The Commissioners give grave warnings as to what may happen if steps are not taken to dispel the impression, steadily gaining ground among the workers, that they cannot rely on the pledges given by the Government with regard to the restoration of pre-war customs. The Scottish Report states: "What is known as Dilution of Labour is a very fruitful source of labour unrest. This unrest appears to arise chiefly from the fear that, notwithstanding statutory undertakings to the contrary, dilution will continue after the war, either through the bad faith employers or through industrial necessity. We believe th unrest on this score would be largely allayed if an undertaking were given publicly by a responsible Minister that if (as many people believe will happen) it should be found impossible to restore exactly certain pre-war conditions, the new conditions would be mutually arranged in conference with employers and workmen."

The Commissioners for the North-Eastern Area also urge that there must be no going back on, or varying any pledges that have been given, and that "if circumstances have shown that the pledges were given without realisation of the circumstances as they have emerged, it is better to trust to the good sense of the workers than to raise any doubt as to the *bona-fides* of the pledges given."

Women employed on work hitherto closed to them, are profoundly hoping that the good sense of their male fellow-workers will lead them to take a broader view of women's place in industry than trade unionists have usually done in the past. They are feeling very anxious; for while some leading trade unionists have frankly admitted that the women "have come to stay," and have a right to stay, threats of "turning the women out" are heard in many quarters. It is impossible to view without apprehension agreements made between representatives of employers' associations on the one hand, and of the trade unions on the other, without any representation of women's interests; especially as some of the most powerful trade unions do not admit women to membership. Dilution cannot, of course, be continued without the trade unions' full consent. The Government's pledge on this score was quite definite; but if the scheme formulated by the Whitley Committee is adopted, there should be women's representatives on all the committees appointed. If the point of view of the women workers is put forward with tact and courage, there is hope that the trade unions will not insist on pre-war restrictions on women's labour, but will content themselves with obtaining the safeguard of a pledge that equal pay shall be given for the same unit of work. This safeguard, staunchly upheld by the unions, should allay any fear of the men being ousted by the women. Employers, as a rule, show a decided preference for male labour, other things being equal, and if slack times come the women will be the first to go. There is certainly no desire on the part of the women to oust the men, but it is to be hoped, as much from the national point of view as for the sake of the women themselves, that no hasty action will be taken to deprive them, as soon as the war is over, of all chance of using the skill they have acquired. According to many prophecies, there will be room and to spare for all in the work of building up our industries anew.

M. MEREDITH.

Wood Green Sentinel
13-10-17

A WOMAN TO WOMEN.

Miss Mary McLaren Ramsey gave a very good address to a meeting of Wood Green Liberal women in the Liberal Club on Monday afternoon.

She explained in a sympathetic and well-informed way the struggles trade unionists had made to win for themselves a measure of protection against the selfishness of private employers, and had sacrificed them at the outbreak of the war to increase production for the nation's safety on a promise that after the war they shall all be restored. She explained how "unrest" had followed upon this, and set forth the causes as discovered by the hastily appointed commissions of investigation which had recently reported, showing real causes for discontent. She stressed the fact that Government departments had given satisfaction to neither the employers or the employed, and went on to commend the suggestions of the Whitley Committee in favour of permanent organisations of employers and employed (with something like universal trade unionism), not merely to deal with disputes after they have arisen, but to settle causes of difficulty in advance.

Somebody asked how the Whitley plan would satisfy those who begin to see that industry and increased production need not depend on "private profit." To which she replied that, of course, there were some who wished to "put industry on a different basis altogether." The same questioner made reference to articles in the "Times," written to inflame public feeling against all organised labour. Miss Ramsey replied that she does not read or take her ideas from the "Times." The retort was that the "Times" articles represent the feeling of industrial magnates who are very powerful.

It is all to the good that women should be made aware of what is needed to preserve the standard of life represented by men's wages, especially that women are now likely to have votes, and we should like to hear Miss Ramsey at the Liberal Club again.

Coventry - Embargo Strike
Name + date of paper not given:

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SERIOUS STRIKE START.

60,000 Workers Idle in Birmingham.

16,000 COVENTRY MEN.

Churchill's Offer to Meet the Leaders.

The chief development in the munitions strike is the carrying out of the threat by the Birmingham men to cease work.

It is estimated that 60,000 workers in the city are idle to-day.

Several centres agreed to await the decision of the national conference, and at a Woolwich meeting it was decided to advise the Coventry strikers to return to work.

A Coventry telegram says yesterday has brought no new development in the position there, but the strikers claim that they have been joined by the United Machine Workers and the number of men unemployed raised to 16,000.

No further development is looked for till the result of the Leeds conference is known.

A meeting last night of the executive of the London District Committee of the Engineering Trade Unions passed a resolution stating that notwithstanding the various explanations of the Government they are not satisfied as to the necessity of the embargo scheme and are calling a mass meeting to consider the position.

POINTS IN DISPUTE.

Birmingham Workers' Reply to Mr. Churchill.

Many thousands of skilled workers ceased work in Birmingham at six o'clock last evening as a protest against the embargo placed upon their movement by the Ministry of Munitions.

The Joint Committee of the Birmingham and District Engineering Trade Unions sat continuously at 23, Colmore-row until six o'clock in order to be ready for any advance towards a settlement. The only communication they received up to six o'clock was a letter from the local representative of the Ministry intimating officially that the Ministry could not consent even to the suspension of the embargo.

Grave Position.

Tuesday's mass meetings in Birmingham and Smethwick had re-affirmed the decision to "down tools" unless the embargo was removed or suspended pending negotiations, and the Joint Committee, acting upon their instructions, expressed the opinion, after receiving the letter from the Ministry, that the men and women affected were left with no option but to carry into effect the decision of Sunday's mass meeting.

The position judged from all points of view, including that of the output of munitions and the general public of the city, could hardly be worse than it is. From Temple-row the Joint Committee adjourned to 15, Spiceal-street, Bull-ring, where a protracted combined meeting of the district committees of the twelve societies directly affected took place.

Reports were brought in as to the response of the twenty workers to the decision of the mass meetings. Various estimates of the number of night-shift workers were given, both officially and unofficially, but obviously this is a point which will not be [illegible] accurately until Monday, when the full effect of the decisions [illegible] should be known.

The Ministry's Leaflet.

In the course of [illegible] the Ministry of Munitions distributed in Birmingham and the district a leaflet, in the form of a letter, addressed to the National Labour Advisory Committee (who are meeting the Minister of Munitions to-day to discuss the embargo) in the following terms:—

> Responsibility for the whole position in Birmingham rests with the Minister of Munitions, as the men and women are only standing out for the original suggestion made by the National Labour Advisory Committee to his Majesty's Minister of Munitions, namely, that local committees, consisting of representatives of the local Engineering Employers' Association, the trade unions, and the Ministry should be set up at once to deal with the whole question of the embargo, and that in the meantime the embargo should be raised.

A number of Birmingham trade union secretaries and officials will, it is anticipated, attend the meeting between the National Labour Advisory Committee and the Ministry of Munitions which is taking place in London to-day.

Discharged Soldiers' Offer.

Following a meeting attended by 400 members, the secretary of the Birmingham Branch of the Discharged Soldiers' Association wired as follows last night to Mr. Winston Churchill:

> National Federation Discharged Sailors and Soldiers, Birmingham, representing 6,000 discharged men, absolutely unanimous in remaining at work, and offer their services to Government immediately. Letter follows.

Many of the men present, it was stated, are members of the A.S.E. and other skilled unions.

It was decided that a demonstration should be held in the Bull-ring to-night, and that the Toolmakers and members of the A.S.E. should be allowed to state their case.

A BALLOT VOTE.

COVENTRY'S STEP ON THE EMBARGO QUESTION.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

COVENTRY, Wednesday Night.

The Engineering Joint Committee has decided to take a ballot vote on the embargo question as follows:

(1) The Joint Committee's recommendation.

(2) The result of the National Allied Conference at Leeds.

This information was given in a statement made to the Press late in the afternoon by Mr. James Reid, secretary to the Joint Committee.

He further stated that 15 societies at the aggregate meeting decided to accept the committee's recommendation to suspend the week's notice pending a national allied conference. Five societies did not report, owing to no meetings having been held. It was then decided that a ballot be taken, and the committee also decided to recommend the members to continue work pending the result of the ballot.

Mr. Reid added that an official letter had been received from Rugby stating that the members there had agreed to fall into line with Coventry, and to suspend notices pending the result of the national conference.

In the afternoon members of the Steam Engine Makers' and the United Machine Workers held a meeting and decided to join the A.S.E. and the toolmakers in rejecting the Joint Committee's recommendation to suspend strike notices.

The factories were all working yesterday, but the absence of the skilled workers caused considerable disorganisation.

CHURCHILL'S DECISION.

READY TO MEET LEADERS AND SHOP STEWARDS.

Replying to Lord Henry Cavendish Bentinck in the Commons yesterday, Mr. Churchill said that it was open to the Trade Union Advisory Committee or any branch of it specially elected to discuss the administration of any scheme affecting labour which they desired to raise.

It was very difficult to express an opinion as to the machinery without the necessary discussion with the responsible representatives of labour and also with the representatives of the employers, but if from these bodies were received suggestions of a practical character machinery existed for the purpose, and it would be easy to carry [illegible] into effect.

Reports were brought in as to the response of the twenty workers to the decision of the mass meetings. Various estimates of the number of night-shift workers were given, both officially and unofficially, but obviously this is a point which will not be cleared up very definitely until to-day, when the full effect of the down-tools policy should be known.

The Ministry's Leaflet.

In the course of yesterday the Ministry of Munitions published broadcast in Birmingham and the district a leaflet, in question and answer form, setting forth as "Notes to Workmen," the character and meaning of the embargo. The contents of this leaflet and the statement reported elsewhere, made by Mr. Winston Churchill in the House of Commons yesterday afternoon, were considered by the District Committees at their meeting, and late in the evening Mr. Percival Bower, secretary of the Joint Committee, issued the following official rejoinder:—

"The statement made by Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons in reply to Mr. Tyson Wilson, is a gross misrepresentation of the true facts. In the first place he could, had he wished, have called the National Labour Advisory Committee together long ago. Many of the members of this body have waited patiently hourly expecting to receive a summons.

Workers' Reply.

"The negotiations in Birmingham have been conducted by the Joint Committee of Engineering Trade Unions, which is a constitutionally-elected body comprising three delegates from each society's district committee, or thirty-six delegates in all. To designate this body as an unorganised or unofficially organised body is monstrously to distort the truth.

"The Joint Committee have used every available hour and every ounce of effort to avert a stoppage, but the damaging statements made in the explanatory pamphlet issued by the Ministry of Munitions in the district this afternoon, particularly questions and answers 3 and 17, causes the officials more difficulty than ever in justifying the Ministry's attitude."

Questions and answers 3 and 17 referred to are as follow:—

3.—Is the embargo of general application?—It only applies to about 100 firms at present, and will only be extended as need is shown.

17.—Is it true that the trade unions have not been consulted?—No: they had the scheme fully explained to them this spring. They were not asked to agree to or to approve of the scheme. The Ministry expressly stated that the responsibility was the Government's.

Asked to indicate the position as it had developed since the fateful hour of 6 p.m., Mr. Bower said among other matters which the combined meeting of the District Committees had considered was the question submitted to them by a skilled union as to whether or not skilled men responsible for the maintenance of the whole of the electric current of the city should or should not cease work simultaneously with all other workmen affected.

Another question which they had to consider seriously at the request of the men themselves, was the position of a large number of Army Reserve munition workers in the district who were members of their respective organisations.

"In both cases," Mr. Bower continued, "a settlement of the matters submitted which was satisfactory to the parties putting forward the questions has been arrived at." Although pressed by several newspaper men, Mr. Bower and the other officials present declined to be more explicit.

Churchill and the Embargo.

In a statement issued during the morning on behalf of the Joint Committee, Mr. Percival Bower said a telegram had been Trade Union Advisory Committee or any branch of it specially elected to discuss the administration of any scheme affecting labour which they desired to raise.

It was very difficult to express an opinion as to the machinery without the necessary discussion with the responsible representatives of labour and also with the representatives of the employers, but if from these bodies were received suggestions of a practical character machinery existed for the purpose, and it would be easy to carry any decision come to into effect.

Colonel Sir F. Hall asked whether when the 12½ per cent. bonus was granted it was done in accordance with the representations of Labour and were the leaders consulted.

Mr. Churchill replied that the difficulties of the 12½ per cent. bonus lay in the past; he had enough difficulties in the present.

Replying to Mr. Tyson Wilson, Mr. Churchill said that the Department did their utmost to consult the representatives of the working classes as represented by the principal trade union leaders, but in this case there were unorganised or unofficially organised bodies who had put forward their point of view, and to have regard only to them would be to weaken the authority of the recognised responsible leaders of Labour.

Mr. Churchill added that if any of the trade union leaders liked to bring with them the shop stewards the Ministry would be ready to meet them.

THREAT TO STRIKERS.

SHOULD BE CALLED UP TO FIGHT, SAYS MR. ROBERTS.

Speaking at the Holborne Restaurant, Mr. G. H. Roberts, Minister of Labour, referring to the munitions strike, said if it had been a matter between employer and employed the strike might have been pursued without those engaged in it laying themselves upon to the operation of the Military Service Act.

As this was a strike against the State he was sure public opinion would agree that the strikers ought not to be exempted from the operation of the Act.

If they persisted in withholding their labour at a time of extreme national emergency it was only right that they should be called up to fight.

NEAR AND FAR.

Owing to illness being so prevalent, the schools at Earl Shilton, Hinckley, have had to be closed down.

Private H. J. Hines, whose mother resides at 22, Vicarage-road, Leomanster, Lichfield, is reported missing since 27 May. Before joining the colours he was employed by the L. and N.-W. Railway Co.

At the funeral of Private G. Corbett at Earl Shilton, Hinckley, two members of the firing party were wounded at the same time as deceased over a year ago. Discharged soldiers carried the coffin to the grave and members of the local V.T.C. followed in procession.

Acock's Green Free Churches Sewing Guild, which was formed in September, 1914, under the auspices of the Lady Mayoress's Fund to supply and make garments for sailors and soldiers and prisoners of war, has up to date made and forwarded over 1,500 garments. Eighteen special voluntary war workers badges have been awarded to date. The president of the guild is Mrs. Horton.

The Times
July 16th. 1917.

FUTURE OF CHILD LABOUR.

PLANS FOR DEMOBILIZATION AND AFTER.

The Ministry of Labour have issued the report of a conference which was recently held at the Ministry of Labour Employment Department, under the chairmanship of Mr. R. A. Bray, Chairman of the London (Central) Advisory Committee on Juvenile Employment, and which was called mainly to discuss a memorandum prepared by Mr. Bray on the problem of juvenile employment after the war. Lively discussion arose as regards the necessity of approaching employers with a view to inducing them (*a*) to notify discharges of juveniles in advance; (*b*) to notify all vacancies to Juvenile Employment Committees during the period of demobilization, and (*c*) to consider and formulate schemes of apprenticeship and training. The conference felt that some arrangement should be made which would prevent the children from wandering from one employer to another in search of work, and that every effort should be made to provide training for young people engaged in industry. It was decided that the London (Central) Advisory Committee should approach the Ministry of Munitions, the Reconstruction Committee of the Cabinet, the Ministry of Labour, and possibly the Board of Trade, in the matter, and that an urgent appeal should be made to employers.

In view of the dislocation of industry likely to occur during the period of the transfer of labour from "war" work to other work, the conference agreed that it was highly desirable that centres for unemployed boys and girls should be provided during the demobilization period. It was decided that the London (Central) Advisory Committee should refer the general question of the provision of premises and workers to the Reconstruction Committee of the Cabinet, the Ministry of Munitions, and the Ministry of Labour. It was also decided to suggest to the Reconstruction Committee that the War Office be asked to demobilize teachers immediately on the conclusion of peace. As regards the question of limiting the number of children entering the labour market, it was agreed that every effort should be made to persuade children attaining the school-leaving age to remain at school. Heated discussion took place on the proposals for the prohibition of employment for wages of children liable to attend school, and on this point it was necessary to take a vote, the result of which showed a majority of 30 in favour of total prohibition. As regards the question of the limitation of hours of employment immediately on the declaration of peace, and the raising of the compulsory age for attendance at school, a general agreement was arrived at.

Daily News
29.7.18

THE FUTURE OF WAR WORKERS.

Extensive Readjustments Foreshadowed.

RECONSTRUCTION REPORT.

Important recommendations are made in the first interim report of the Civil War Workers' Committee, of which Mr. Gerald Bellhouse is chairman.

Steps should be taken, it is urged, by the Government to assist munition and other workers discharged on the termination of hostilities to return to their former or other employment.

It is estimated that of the 5,000,000 recruitments up to July, 1917, 4,000,000 have been drawn from industrial and commercial occupations and transport. About half of the reduction in the number of males has been made good from various sources, while, in addition, the loss of men has been replaced by nearly 1,400,000 women, of whom 1,000,000 represent a net increase of women employed in occupations outside their own homes.

A MOST SERIOUS PROBLEM.

The question how many of the latter will desire to remain in such occupations after the war, and the extent to which it will be possible for them to obtain employment, will form one of the most serious problems with which the country will be faced. A further report on the subject will be prepared.

It is proposed also to deal with the position of juvenile labour, as regards which the Committee have already taken some evidence.

It is estimated that the total number of persons employed in January, 1917, in industries from which there is likely to be a considerable outflow of labour after the war was: Men, 1,380,000; women, 591,000. There is no reason to suppose that more than a proportion of these workers will be discharged, but there will be extensive readjustment, which must involve, at any rate temporarily, some abnormal unemployment.

FULFILLING THE PLEDGE.

The numbers of semi-skilled workers, and especially of women, for whom employment will be available in the engineering and certain other trades after the war will be largely determined by the arrangements made to carry into effect the pledges given as regards the restoration of trade union conditions suspended during the war. It is of vital importance to the early resumption of industrial activity on a peace basis that a settlement of this question should be arrived at before the end of the war.

1918

Times. 28.11.18.

700/3

THE NEW WAGES ACT.

POLICY OF THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR.

The Ministry of Labour issues the following statement with reference to the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act, which passed through Parliament last week :—

The Act, which repeals Part I. of the Munitions of War Act, 1915, renders necessary certain alterations in the procedure hitherto adopted for the settlement of differences as to wages. The main purpose of the new Act is to secure the maintenance for a period of six months of the minimum wages generally applicable at the date of the signing of the armistice in each trade or branch of a trade or district, to each class of workmen, except in so far as these minimum wages are varied by arbitration or by agreement.

"Workmen" includes men and boys, women and girls, and the wage elements dealt with by the Act are the recognized time rate or other basis for determining wages (*e.g.*, in the various trades, a shift rate, or piece-work price list, or scale of tonnage rates, &c.), the usual allowances for overtime, night work, week-ends, or holidays when any of these are worked, and the general war bonuses or war advances where these are paid in addition to the time rate or other wage basis. The wage resulting from these elements, ascertained with regard to classes of, as distinct from individual, workmen, is called "the prescribed rate of wages." Other elements in wages are not dealt with by the Act, nor are the wages of individuals. Such matters are for arrangement between the parties concerned.

The Act contains special provisions in the case of the wages of women and girls.

During the six months period for which the Act provides the prescribed rate of wages may be varied either as the result of arbitration or an agreement or settlement approved by the Minister of Labour. The Act provides for the establishment of a Court of Arbitration, which will deal with differences referred to it by the Ministry of Labour in cases where the parties have been unable to settle as to what the prescribed rate should be.

Freedom to Negotiate.

It will be observed that the Wages Act alters in important respects the wages position under the Munitions of War Acts. Minimum rates of wages being provided for, it leaves all other questions as to wages open to free negotiation. The Minister of Labour trusts that this freedom to negotiate will be generally exercised in a conciliatory spirit, so that satisfactory wage arrangements of a permanent character may be established in each trade before the Act expires.

Questions which do not come under the Wages Act, and which cannot be settled satisfactorily by the employers and workpeople concerned or by the employers' associations and the trade unions, may, with the consent of both parties, be referred to arbitration through the Ministry of Labour under the Conciliation Act, 1896. Requests for arbitration under this Act should, if possible, be made jointly by the parties concerned. Under this Act the Ministry of Labour can appoint an arbitrator only with the consent of both sides.

The Minister of Labour has established a Wages and Arbitration Department (under Mr. H. J. Wilson, C.B.E., Assistant Secretary) to deal with questions relating to wages, &c., under the Wages Act and the Conciliation Act, 1896. Correspondence arising out of these Acts should be addressed to the Secretary, Ministry of Labour, Montagu House, Whitehall, S.W.1.

DISCHARGES OF MUNITIONS WORKERS.

RIGHT TO WEEK'S NOTICE OR WAGES.

In connexion with discharges of munitions workers, the Minister of Munitions wishes to point out for general information that (with the exception of persons engaged in manual labour on certain building and construction work, certain classes of sea-going engineers, and workmen engaged in ship repairing, or whose employment is of a discontinuous or temporary nature), workpeople engaged on, or in connexion with, the manufacture of munitions are in general entitled, in accordance with the provisions of Section 3 of the Munitions of War Act, 1917, to a week's notice of discharge or a week's wages in lieu of notice.

If, therefore, a munitions worker (not falling within the above exceptions) is discharged with less than a week's notice or wages in lieu thereof, he or she can complain to a local Munitions Tribunal and claim payment of a week's wages in lieu of notice by the employer. All necessary particulars, together with the proper form of complaint, can be obtained from any employment exchange.

The Minister of Munitions would be glad if employers generally would give their workpeople as early an intimation as possible of any intention to discharge, and would in all cases give the employment exchanges at least a fortnight's notice of impending discharges.

Daily News. 28.11.18.

SIX MONTHS WAGES MINIMUM.

Freedom of Negotiations on Other Questions.

The Ministry of Labour calls attention to the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act which passed through Parliament last week. The Act (which repeals Part I of the Munitions of War Act, 1915) renders necessary certain alterations in the procedure hitherto adopted for the settlement of differences as to wages. The main purpose of the new Act is to secure the maintenance for a period of six months of the minimum wages generally applicable at the date of the signing of the armistice

"Workmen" includes men and boys, women and girls, and the wage elements dealt with by the Act are the recognised time rate or other basis for determining wages (e.g., in the various trades, a shift rate, or piece-work price list, or scale of tonnage rates, etc., etc.), the usual allowances for overtime, night-work, week-ends or holidays when any of these are worked, and the general war bonuses or war advances where these are paid in addition to the time-rate or other wage basis.

WOMEN AND GIRLS.

The Act contains special provisions in the case of the wages of women and girls.

During the six months period for which the Act provides the prescribed rate of wages may be varied either as the result of arbitration or an agreement or settlement approved by the Minister of Labour. The Act provides for the establishment of a Court of Arbitration, which will deal with differences referred to it by the Ministry of Labour

It will be observed that the Wages Act alters in important respects the wages position under the Munitions of War Acts. Minimum rates of wages being provided for, it leaves all other questions as to wages open to free negotiation. The Minister of Labour trusts that this freedom to negotiate will be generally exercised in a concilatory spirit

REQUESTS FOR ARBITRATION.

Questions which do not come under the Wages Act, and which cannot be settled satisfactorily by the employers and workpeople concerned or by the employers' associations and the trade unions, may, with the consent of both parties, be referred to arbitration through the Ministry of Labour under the Conciliation Act, 1896. Requests for arbitration under this Act should, if possible, be made jointly by the parties concerned. Under this Act the Ministry of Labour can appoint an arbitrator only with the consent of both sides.

G. R.

MINISTRY of MUNITIONS

OFFICIAL NOTICE TO CONTRACTORS, SUB-CONTRACTORS & WORKPEOPLE ENGAGED on WORK for the MINISTRY.

The great task before the country is the transformation of industry from war to peace. This necessarily involves the disturbance and dislocation of industries and workshops, and very large numbers of workpeople will have to change their employment, and in many cases their present abodes. This must be faced.

In order that the change may be made with the least possible hardship and the minimum of waste, exceptional arrangements are necessary. The Government intend to recognise in these arrangements the good work which has been done by munitions workers in helping to bring the war to a victorious conclusion.

The following instructions are hereby issued to all factories and firms engaged on work for the Ministry of Munitions:

1. There should, so far as possible, be no immediate general discharge of munitions workers.

2. All workers, however, who desire to withdraw from industry or to leave for any reason, and all workers who can be absorbed elsewhere, should be at once released.

3. Production on contracts for guns and gun-ammunition, machine-guns, small arms, and small-arms ammunition; trench warfare mortars, bombs and stores, pyrotechnic stores; aerial bombs; all accessories of the above stores; aircraft and aero-engines; and the manufacture of explosives, should be reduced in the following way:

(a) All overtime should be immediately abolished.

(b) System of payment by results may be temporarily suspended provided that the customs of the trade and the expediency of the case render this possible. In such cases the customary notice of the transfer from payment by results to time work should be given.

(c) When a transfer to time work has taken place a reduction of the hourly week should, wherever possible, be introduced. The reduction of hours will also apply to men already on time work, and in their case the customary procedure as to reduction of hours should be followed.

(d) Whenever reduced hours are worked on a time-work basis, the number of hours worked must not be less than one-half of the hours in the present normal working week of the establishment. If in any case the earnings of the workpeople for the full weekly number of hours on the short-time system fall below the following amounts:

	Per week.
Men of 18 years and over.....	30s. 0d.
Boys under 18	15s. 0d.
Women of 18 years and over.	25s. 0d.
Girls under 18	12s. 6d.

their earnings will be made up to these sums by the employer, who will be reimbursed by the State. Where time is lost, the amounts payable will be sums proportionate to the number of hours actually worked.

4. The adoption of half-time may cause unavoidable discharges, but every effort should be made to minimise unemployment, utilising employees for a short period on labouring and cleaning up work. In allotting this work, preference should be given to workpeople who are ordinarily dependent upon industrial employment.

5. All persons discharged, or claiming release, can obtain free railway warrants for journeys from the place of employment to their homes or to places where they have found new employment. The warrants will be issued through the Employment Exchanges. In cases where large numbers are required, warrants can be obtained by the employers from the Employment Exchanges for issue at the works.

6. Directions will be given at an early date with regard to War Munition Volunteers, Army Reserve Munitions Workers, and other special classes of workers.

7. The foregoing instructions are issued for the guidance of contractors until individual firms receive further and particular instructions from the Ministry of Munitions. The loyal and cordial co-operation of all employers is confidently invited

UNEMPLOYMENT DONATION.

To provide for the abnormal period that must immediately follow on the cessation of hostilities, the Government have adopted as a temporary measure the following general scheme of non-contributory unemployment donation, which has been laid before them by the Minister of Reconstruction in agreement with the Minister of Labour. The broad conditions of the scheme are that this unemployment donation shall remain in force for a period of six months from a date to be announced shortly by the Government, and that the benefit can be drawn for a maximum of thirteen weeks during that period in cases where unemployment cannot be avoided. The other conditions and necessary safeguards will be explained by the Minister of Reconstruction in his statement to Parliament, and he will then also deal fully with the scheme that will be applicable to the demobilised members of his Majesty's Forces. Under this temporary non-contributory scheme, which will remain in force pending the introduction of a general contributory scheme, demobilised civil war workers will receive benefits on the following scale:

(a) To unemployed men over the age of 18 years, 24s. a week. To unemployed women over that age, 20s. a week.

(Continued at Foot of Column Four.)

(Continued from Column Five.)

(b) There will be an additional allowance in respect of the first dependent child under 15 years of age, 6s. per week, and 3s. for each additional dependent child under that age

(c) There is a further provision for unemployed juveniles between the age of 15 and 18 of 12s. per week for boys, and 10s. for girls, conditional on their attending a course of instruction approved by the Board of Education or other control department concerned.

It is necessary that industry should be rapidly transformed to peace conditions in order to provide permanent and reproductive employment for the civil workers and for the fighting men returning from the war. The proposals outlined above are solely intended to bridge over the inevitable period of dislocation. It must be emphasised that the non-contributory scheme is a purely emergency measure. While it is in operation the existing compulsory unemployment insurance scheme will remain in suspense so far as benefits are concerned. Contributions will, however, still be payable in order to build up a reserve of benefits for contributors when the temporary scheme comes to an end. Thus the special interests of contributors are fully safeguarded; in the meantime the Government are pressing forward with their scheme for general contributory insurance, which will be based on permanent considerations, and must not be prejudiced by the non-contributory scheme here announced.

In all cases where discharges of Munitions Workers are in contemplation, it is necessary that the management of firms should work in close-co-operation with the Local Employment Exchanges, in order to facilitate the return of the Munitions Workers to their homes and their re-absorption in Industry.

It is, therefore, absolutely essential that the Employment Exchanges should be notified at least a fortnight in advance of the numbers of Workers to be discharged, and that, as soon as possible thereafter, they should be supplied with full information as to the individuals affected. Officers of Employment Exchanges, and Dilution and Investigation Officers of the Ministry of Munitions have been instructed to advise firms as to the order of discharge, etc., and to co-operate with them in the endeavour to mitigate hardship.

Daily Telegraph

STATE AND WAR WORKERS.

AIDING THE UNEMPLOYED.

Before the signing of the armistice the amount of unemployment in this country was negligible. There was work in plenty for all who cared to work. With peace in sight and war industries closing down on every hand the registers of the Employment Exchanges are beginning to assume a bulky appearance. Many thousands of wage-earners who have been engaged in the production of munitions are now faced with the necessity of turning to other occupations, and the Ministry of Labour is doing its best to help them to find suitable employment. The powers of adaptability possessed by British industries will, it is hoped, render comparatively brief the period necessary for changing over from war to peace activities. There is evidence that numbers of enterprising firms are already beginning to settle down to the work of production for the civil population instead of for the fighting forces. But a certain amount of dislocation is inevitable, and the task of resettling those who have been, or shortly will be, thrown out of work is one of no small importance.

The State is not unmindful of the needs of workers who are temporarily without a market for their labour. Financial assistance on a greatly increased scale, as compared with the old benefit, is now provided for all persons classed as employed contributors under the National Insurance Act. The machinery through which this relief is afforded is that of the Employment Exchanges. For a long while the Employment Exchange, or Labour Bureau as it was christened originally, was a kind of Cinderella amongst Government institutions, but the days of neglect are past, and, given the cordial co-operation of employers, the part it will be able to play in the coming industrial reconstruction should be one of ever-increasing usefulness. What is happening to-day is that at upwards of 500 exchanges in all parts of the country discharged soldiers and civilian workers without employment are required to make a regular call in order to entitle them to the out-of-work donation. They are thus kept in constant touch with an agency specially designed to find situations for them and whose officials recognise the filling up of vacant places by suitable wage-earners as their principal duty. Besides the regular exchanges the Labour Ministry thrusts out its tentacles into the rural districts and by means of about 1,000 local agencies in small country towns attempts to deal with cases of unemployment wheresoever they may arise.

THE OUT-OF-WORK DONATION.

It cannot be complained that the present out-of-work donation is niggardly. Men receive 29s and women 25s per week. In the case of persons with families there is a supplementary donation of 6s for the first child and 3s for each succeeding child. Provision for young people from 15 to 18 years of age is on an equally favourable scale, as boys receive 12s and girls 10s per week. The donation policy is valid for six months, and during that period the holder is entitled to draw unemployment benefit for thirteen weeks, or seventy-eight working days. Discharged soldiers awaiting re-employment are also paid 29s per week, but their policy holds good for twelve months, and under it benefit is paid, if necessary, for a period of twenty-six weeks—a concession to the men who have served their country under arms which everyone will agree is thoroughly well deserved.

It has been said that beneficiaries are required to keep in touch with the exchange at which they are registered. As a matter of fact, during the time they are drawing the benefit they are under an obligation to call each day in working hours, unless they live more than two miles away, when they need attend only every other day. And every day there is presented to their notice in the exchange a list of the situations available for men and women of which employers have advised the officials. So much for the system. How does it work in practice? The writer paid a visit recently to the White City, where the main entrance hall of the old exhibition premises has been converted into a commodious employment exchange capable of dealing with numbers which would cause hopeless congestion at a permanent exchange. What was seen there may be taken as typical of what is happening throughout the country. The area allocated to the exchange is North Kensington, Notting-hill, Shepherd's-bush, Hammersmith, Barnes, and parts of West Kensington. The average numbers registered as in need of employment during the last two or three weeks were given as follows:

Women	2,500 to 3,000
Men	1,000 to 1,500
Boys	150
Girls	50 to 80

TASTE FOR FACTORY LIFE.

This emergency exchange building was opened a fortnight after the signing of the armistice. That is not a long while ago; yet the organisation appears to leave nothing to be desired. The thousands of persons who attend the exchange daily are dealt with promptly and, one may say, sympathetically—for friendly counsel is never lacking. A little investigation showed that since they have "been in munitions" women have acquired to a remarkable extent a taste for factory life. Many of them, of course, might return at once to the domestic service from which they came, but, for the moment at any rate, they literally scoff at the idea. Fifty or sixty per cent. of their number, if not more, say in effect, "Factory work, and nothing but factory work." Herein lies the difficulty of speedily getting them back into employment. When the thirteen weeks are coming to an end they may, if unsuccessful in the meantime in securing a factory job, be inclined to abandon their preference and settle down to some other useful occupation. At present they are of quite a different mind. The disinclination to enter domestic service is shown by the fact that at a certain exchange only one woman out of about 3,000 voluntarily entered her name as desiring that kind of employment.

What is the opinion of unemployed workers regarding the provision made for them? The answer was supplied by an Employment Exchange official. "Generally speaking," he said, "they are quite satisfied, and no complaints are heard." No doubt the vast majority really need the money, and are not like one good lady, who, when handed her weekly donation of 25s, cheerfully remarked, "That will just buy a teddy bear for my baby." The Employment Exchanges are experiencing less difficulty just now in finding places for men than for women, and there are fewer male workers in need of places. Juveniles are accommodated fairly easily with situations, though it is recorded that a boy of 15, who had been earning £4 a week on war work, refused with great promptitude a situation at 35s. The work of the exchanges is likely to be heavy for some time to come, and the Ministry of Labour does not expect to escape without some criticism. But it has laid its plans with great care, and, in the words of an official, "it hopes in the great testing time which is now at hand to justify the best hopes that have been entertained concerning it."

Daily News
4 1 19

OUT-OF-WORK GIRLS.

Problem of Reinstating the War Workers.

One of the big problems awaiting solution is that of getting back to their ordinary duties the women factory hands, laundry workers, and domestic servants, who during the war went into munition factories and are now unemployed.

The laundries are clamouring for workers, thousands of mistresses want maids, there are many vacancies in factories, and yet there are, on the other hand, taking the whole of the country, between 150,000 and 200,000 women war workers now unemployed. At the laundries and the factories, and in private houses, the same story is told. "The girls and women will not come back to work," they say, "whilst they are being paid 25s. a week by the Government for doing nothing."

There is, however, another side to the question, as was pointed out yesterday to a representative of "The Daily News." In all the types of employment mentioned the work is arduous and exacting, the hours are long, the wages are often low, and in the case of domestic servants there is a loss of freedom. Cannot something be done, it is urged, to improve the conditions and make the work less unattractive?

With regard to the Government 25s. a week to the unemployed, it is not paid, it is pointed out, to any women who refuse what is regarded as a fair offer of employment. At the Ministry of Labour, in fact, it was stated yesterday that since Christmas there has been an increase in the rate of return to work, particularly in domestic employment.

A census that was taken in the national filling factories some little time before the war ended shows the following pre-war occupations of the women employed in them:

Domestic servants	25.0 p.c.
Dressmakers and milliners	5.9 p.c.
Laundry work	4.9 p.c.
Dairymaids and farm work	0.45 p.c.
Trade factory hands	18.2 p.c.
Clerks and typists	1.75 p.c.
Shop assistants, waitresses, and barmaids	4.2 p.c.
Home duties and sundry	39.6 p.c.

Experience is showing that where good wages and comfortable conditions are offered the girls in many cases are returning to the occupations they left during the war.

Y.W.C.A. TRAINING SCHEME.

As soon as the Y.W.C.A. (Employment and Emigration Department) can obtain a house suitable for converting into a training centre, they will put into force their scheme for training young women as household helpers. The first training centre is to be opened in the West End, to cater for the large West End flats. When recruiting starts, only educated and better-class girls will be accepted.

The Household Corps is not a domestic servants corps. The status of the members should be equal or higher than that of a nurse. After training girls will be hired out to employers by the hour. The employer pays the Y.W.C.A., and the Y.W.C.A. pays the girls. The girls must live at a hostel, where all meals will be taken. A special uniform will be worn indoors with the Blue Triangle badge, but there will be no outdoor uniform. Recreation and work rooms will be provided at the hostels. Careful inquiries will be made before placing the girls with any employers.

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THE GREAT TURNOVER FOR WOMEN.

No Need For Panic Cries: Slow But Steady Absorption Of Girls: Munitions To Milk Cans.

By MRS. HENRY FAWCETT,
President of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

AT the beginning of the war, and again in an even more vehement form at the time of the adoption of compulsory service, the cry of the pacifists was that, while we were out to destroy German militarism, we were creating a British militarism at least as formidable and dangerous to the peace of the world.

Events have proved how very wide of the mark these Cassandra-like wailings were. There has been no creation of militarism in Great Britain; the trouble arising out of demobilisation is not that the new armies are overflowing with military spirit.

MRS. HENRY FAWCETT.

Brave to the point of heroism as our men were so long as the German menace lasted, now that it has disappeared they clamour in their thousands to be demobilised now, this minute. They long to be back in their old jobs, living their own lives, wearing their familiar "civvies."

This, of course, has been the meaning of the soldiers' demonstrations in Whitehall all through last week.

The Pacifists' Blunder.

It is very easy to understand their point of view, and it shows how completely the pacifists misunderstood the whole situation in 1914 and 1916.

Probably it is only necessary for an authoritative voice such as the Prime Minister's to call once again to the men on military service and remind them that the safety and welfare of their country still demands the sacrifice from them of a few more weeks and months of the individual liberty so dear to them until the actual signing of the treaty of peace.

Meanwhile the demobilisation of women is taking place very rapidly. The Government has provided a fairly generous weekly grant in the case of unemployment, amounting at the lowest to 25s. a week, and in some cases, where there are children, rising as high as £3 per family, guaranteed, unless re-employment is secured, for thirteen weeks.

Some authorities say that the absorption of the unemployed men and women is proceeding with perturbing slowness, because however eager manufacturers and traders may be to re-open their former businesses, they are held up for lack of material and machinery.

The Lead Of Woolwich.

Other authorities give a more cheerful account of the immediate outlook. We hear, for instance, of Woolwich Arsenal applying its machinery to making milk cans instead of munitions, and retaining as many of its workers, male and female, as possible; of firms at Hull, Nottingham, Newcastle, and Glasgow having already converted their premises from the munitions needed for war to the utilities needed for peace, and employing their old staffs, men and women, on the new jobs.

There is no need for panic. We can all do something to promote the creation of an atmosphere of confidence and hope.

It must necessarily take some time for a complete transformation of all business of the country from the purposes of war to the purposes of peace; but this transformation has made a good start, and the Government unemployment grant is intended to tide the people over the uncomfortable gap which must necessarily arise in many cases.

That the need for it will be only temporary there is every reason to be confident.

The demand for all kinds of utilities which has been dammed up during the war will burst forth like a torrent the moment the war is really over.

Prophets Of Disaster.

It was a far more difficult thing to divert the industry and capital of the nation from peace to war, and there were many prophecies of disaster then; but these disasters did not materialise. Manufacturers, traders, and workers, both men and women, showed extraordinary adaptability and resource.

We are the same, exactly the same, people as we were in 1914, and the spirit which pulled us through the far more appalling crisis of 1914-15 will pull us through now.

Daily Chronicle

11/3/19

DEMOBILISED WOMEN.

OVER 476,000 STILL HOLDING DONATION POLICIES.

The total number of women who took out donation policies from the Armistice to February 14 was:—

Civilians	630,874
Forces	2,444
	633,318

Of these, 156,438 policies have been renounced by the holders, and probably represent the number of women who have found new employment, or who do not desire employment.

About 63 per cent. of these have been placed in work by the Employment Exchanges, as follows:—

Domestic Service	36,578
Commercial and Clerical	14,319
Engineering Trades	7,502
General Labourers	6,227
Textile Trades	6,027
Food, Drink, Tobacco and Lodging	5,197
Dressmaking	3,817

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MINISTRY OF LABOUR.

OUT-OF-WORK DONATION

(CIVILIAN WORKERS).

SUMMARY OF SCHEME.

I. GRANT OF DONATION.

1. In order to make provision against the unemployment of civilian workers during the period immediately following the termination of hostilities, it has been decided as an emergency measure to extend to civilian workers, who are British subjects, out-of-work donation on lines similar to those on which it is proposed to pay out-of-work donation to demobilised sailors and soldiers. The terms and conditions of out-of-work donation in respect of demobilised sailors and soldiers are described in a separate leaflet; those applying to civilian workers are detailed below. The scheme as regards civilian workers will come into operation on Monday, November 25th, 1918, and will remain in operation for six months from that date.

2. Out-of-work donation will not be paid concurrently with Unemployment Benefit under the National Insurance (Unemployment) Acts, nor with out-of-work allowances under the special enrolment and other schemes, e.g., W.M.V.'s, W.W.V.'s, W.A.V.'s Colonial workmen, etc.

II. CLASSES OF WORKERS ENTITLED TO CIVILIAN OUT-OF-WORK DONATION.

3. Civilian workers in order to be entitled to out-of-work donation must be of 15 years of age or upwards and if of 16 years of age or upwards must show that they became employed contributors under the National Health Insurance scheme at least three months prior to November 25th, 1918. If between 15 and 16 years they must show that they entered employment at least three months prior to November 25th, 1918.

III. RATE OF DONATION.

4. Out-of-work donation will be paid at the rate of 24s. a week (i.e., 4s. a day) to men over 18 years of age and 20s. a week (i.e., 3s. 4d. a day) to women over 18 years of age; boys and girls between the ages of 15 and 18 will receive donation at half these rates, viz., 12s. a week and 10s. a week respectively conditionally on their joining a Course of Instruction approved by the Board of Education or other Central Department concerned. In addition to the above-mentioned rates supplementary donation will be payable in respect of dependent children of both men and women over 18 years of age at the rate of 6s. a week for the first dependent child under 15 years of age and 3s. a week for each additional dependent child under that age, but supplementary donation will not be paid to more than one claimant in respect of the same children.

5. Out-of-work donation will be payable to civilian workers for a maximum period of 13 weeks (i.e., 78 days) during the six months for which the scheme is to be in operation.

IV. METHOD OF CLAIMING DONATION.

6. Civilian Workers desiring to claim donation for the first time should attend at an Employment Exchange, or Branch Employment Office of the Ministry of Labour and ask for an "Out-of-Work Donation Policy (Civilian Workers)." If over 16 years of age they will be required to produce a Health Insurance Record Card, showing that they became employed contributors under the National Health Insurance scheme at least three months before November 25th, 1918, and also the current Health Insurance Card. Unless both the Record Card and the current Health Insurance Card can be produced, only a provisional policy can be issued. If neither a Record Card nor a Health Insurance Card can be produced they will be asked to give the name of the approved Society to which they belong, or, if they do not belong to an approved Society, full particulars to enable the fact that they comply with the requisite conditions to be established; a policy will not be issued until the fact that the applicant became an employed contributor before the appointed date has been verified.

Applicants between the ages of 15 and 16 will not, of course, be insured under the National Health Insurance scheme, and they will therefore be required to produce a certificate signed by their previous employer to verify that they entered employment at least three months before the appointed date.

7. The Out-of-work donation policy will be retained by the person to whom it is issued, except when he is unemployed and claiming out-of-work donation, during which period it must be lodged at the Employment Exchange or Branch Employment Office. When desirous of claiming out-of-work donation for a second or subsequent time, the holder of the out-of-work donation policy should attend at an Employment Exchange or Branch Employment Office and lodge his policy.

8. On attending at an Employment Exchange or Branch Employment Office to claim donation, the applicant will be required to sign a form of declaration contained in the policy. A coupon is provided for each week and constitutes both the claim for donation in respect of each day on which it is signed and a statement that the applicant is in fact unemployed, capable of work and unable to obtain employment.

9. Whilst unemployed the applicant must in general attend daily at the Employment Exchange or Branch Employment Office in order to sign the coupon in the policy as evidence of unemployment. Attendance on alternate days will be sufficient if the applicant resides more than two miles from the nearest Exchange or Branch Employment Office, and once a week if he resides more than four miles away.

10. Applicants for donation who are workmen in the trades insured under the National Insurance (Unemployment) Acts, 1911-1918, will be required to lodge their unemployment books at the time of making application for donation and when the right to receive donation is exhausted he will be entitled to claim unemployment benefit in respect of his contributions, if any under these Acts.

700/10

V. SUPPLEMENTARY DONATION.

11. An applicant desiring to claim supplementary donation in respect of dependent children will be required to complete a form of declaration, as to the number and ages of the children in respect of whom the claim is made. This declaration will have to be confirmed by

(a) a local magistrate, or

(b) a minister of religion, or

(c) a registered medical practitioner, or

(d) a secretary of the applicant's trade union, or approved society, or branch thereof.

Supplementary donation will not be paid until confirmation of the declaration is received, but when such confirmation is lodged at the Local Office the supplementary donation will be paid in respect of the same days as ordinary donation.

VI. WAITING PERIOD.

12. Donation will not be payable for the first three days of any continuous period of unemployment; in other words, an applicant in order to become eligible for payment of donation must, in addition to satisfying the other conditions, be first of all unemployed for three consecutive working days and sign the coupons in the policy in respect of each of these days as described above. He will then become eligible for payment for each subsequent day of unemployment (subject to the usual conditions) in respect of which he duly signs the coupon in the policy, until he fails to attend and sign the coupons for six consecutive working days or more. When such failure to sign occurs a further waiting period of three consecutive working days must be fulfilled before he can again become eligible for payment of donation.

VII. ADJUDICATION ON DISPUTED CLAIMS.

13. In any case of doubt as to whether a claim to donation should be admitted the claim will be referred to a Court of Referees which sits locally and consists of an independent chairman together with two industrial members taken by rota from panels of representatives of employers and workpeople respectively. In the case of allowance of the claim by a Court of Referees payment of the donation, subject to the conditions above described, will commence immediately but the Ministry of Labour will be entitled to appeal to the Umpire, if they think fit, against the allowance. Pending the hearing of the appeal donation will continue to be paid. If the claim is disallowed by the Court of Referees, an appeal against disallowance may be made to the Umpire by the Ministry of Labour or by a trade union of which the applicant is a member, or, if leave is given by the Court of Referees, by the applicant himself.

VIII. CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH DONATION WILL BE PAYABLE.

14. In order to be eligible for donation the applicant must be capable of work but unable to obtain suitable employment. In particular he must not refuse an offer of suitable employment, but he will not be disqualified for donation by reason only that he has declined—

(a) an offer of employment in a situation vacant in consequence of a stoppage of work due to a trade dispute; or

(b) an offer of employment in the district where he was last ordinarily employed at a rate of wage lower, or on conditions less favourable, than those which he habitually obtained in his usual employment in that district or would have obtained, had he continued to be so employed; or

(c) An offer of employment in any other district at a rate of wage lower or on conditions less favourable than those generally observed in such district by agreement between associations of employers and of workmen, or failing any such agreement, than those generally recognised in such districts by good employers.

15. An applicant who has lost employment by reason of a stoppage of work which was due to a trade dispute at the factory, workshop or other premises at which he was employed is disqualified for receiving donation so long as the stoppage of work continues, except in a case where he has, during the stoppage of work, become bona-fide employed elsewhere.

Where separate branches of work which are commonly carried on as separate businesses in separate premises are in any case carried on in separate departments on the same premises, each of those departments shall, for the purposes of this provision, be deemed to be a separate factory or workshop or separate premises, as the case may be.

16. An applicant who loses employment through misconduct or who voluntarily leaves his employment without just cause, is disqualified for receiving donation for a period of six weeks from the date when he so lost employment.

17. An applicant is disqualified for receiving donation whilst he is an inmate of any prison or any workhouse or other institution supported wholly or partly out of public funds, and whilst he is resident temporarily or permanently outside the United Kingdom.

18. An applicant is disqualified for receiving donation whilst he in receipt of unemployment benefit or any sickness or disablement benefit or disablement allowance under National Insurance Acts.

IX. PAY DAYS FOR DONATION.

19. The pay week for civilian workers will be from Thursday to Wednesday, and donation will be paid on Friday of each week up to and including the previous Wednesday.

X. PAYMENT OF HEALTH INSURANCE CONTRIBUTIONS DURING UNEMPLOYMENT.

20. In order to prevent unemployed workers falling into arrears under the Health Insurance scheme it has been arranged that on presentation of their Health Insurance Cards when drawing donation they will be entitled to have the card impressed with a rubber stamp at the Employment Exchange or Branch Employment Office for the week preceding that in which the payment of donation is due, provided that they have not worked during that week and a Health Insurance contribution in respect of employment during that week has therefore not become payable.

XI. EMERGENCY CHARACTER OF SCHEME.

21. The provisions described above are solely intended to bridge over the inevitable period of dislocation immediately following the cessation of hostilities, and it must be emphasised that the non-contributory scheme is a purely emergency measure. Whilst it is in operation the existing compulsory unemployment scheme will in effect remain in suspense so far as benefits are concerned. Contributions will, however, still be payable in order to build up a reserve of benefit for contributors when the temporary scheme comes to an end. Thus the special interests of contributors are safeguarded and meantime the Government are pressing forward with a scheme for general contributory insurance and must not be prejudiced by the non-contributory scheme above described.

MINISTRY OF LABOUR,
November, 1918.

2,000M. 11/18. R. & L.

Freeman's Journal. 26.2.18. 1918

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THE PROBLEM OF THE WOMEN WORKERS

When the men seek to return to their pre-war occupations they will find nearly one and a half million women filling the places formerly held by male employes. This will be the great industrial problem after the war. In industries and transport the places formerly filled by men and now filled by women number 588,000, and, in addition, there are 35,000 such places in agriculture. Will the women workers give up their occupation to the 620,000 workingmen that formerly held these positions? This does not represent the extent to which women have encroached on male employment, for the sex have invaded in larger proportion the commercial, professional, finance, and banking occupations and the civil service, nor does it represent the extent to which women are employed in industry, because most of the 214,000 employed in Government establishments are really in industrial occupations. The number of women employed in all occupations, except small workrooms in the dressmaking trades, Government establishments, military, naval, and Red Cross hospitals and domestic service, as returned by the Board of Trade, from whose report on employment in 1917 we take these particulars, was 4,713,000 This is an increase of 1,426,000 over the pre-war figure. This great increase in women employment generally is accompanied by a small decrease in the number of women engaged in occupations that were formerly female occupations, notably in the textile, clothing, and paper trades, to the extent of 50,000.

One-third of the textile trade firms, one-fourth of the clothing trade firms, and one-sixth of the paper trade firms report a shortage of female labour. It is therefore not unlikely that the vacated places may be filled, but even if they be not filled the re-employment of 50,000 women and girl workers in their old occupations will not diminish sensibly the tension caused by the employment of 620,000 women in industrial positions formerly held by men. That situation is the first and most pressing problem of the restoration after the war. It must lead to serious industrial unrest and the position of women in factory and workshop will lead to endless labour disputes. The numbers we have quoted are those of women who replace men in old-established industry. In addition to these thousands of other women have been called to newly-created industrial work—munition workers in Government establishments, the women's army auxiliary corps, and many other workers in war occupations—many of whom will probably seek places in industry after the war. Excluding direct war-working classes who are not enumerated in the Board of Trade returns, there are no fewer than 1,413,000 women who fill occupations, industrial and sedentary, that were formerly filled by men. The Board of Trade state it is calculated that about 700,000 women are now employed on munition work, and 650,000 on other Governmental work, in addition to about 40,000 females engaged on work for the Government in commercial occupations and transport. Those figures should be added to the numbers of women in industry in order to grasp the size of the labour problem after the war.

Yorkshire Observer 26.2.18.

DISMISSED WOMEN MUNITION WORKERS.

Some thirty members, over whom Lord Henry Cavendish-Bentinck presided, yesterday saw a deputation representing women munition workers who have recently been discharged. The number affected has been much exaggerated, but it is considerable, and during the next five or six weeks will be very largely increased. The total then, it is feared, may run into some forty thousand. Primarily the deputation complained that they had received only a week's notice, and that intimation of their discharge was sent to the Employment Exchanges only a couple of days before they actually ceased work, so that it was impossible to obtain other employment, and they asked that longer notice should be given of the subsequent dismissals and for an increase of unemployment benefit under the Insurance Act. After the women had stated their case the members discussed it and decided to ask Mr. Churchill, Mr. Kellaway, and Dr. Addison to meet them to consider the claims and grievances of these workpeople.

The question is one of very wide importance, for the employees of the Government are numbered by the million, and it has long been foreseen by the observant that when the time for discharging any of them arrived almost irresistible pressure would be brought to bear on members to secure terms far in advance of any that could be conceded by private employers. Considering the very high wages most munition workers receive, it is not unreasonable to expect that they themselves shall make some provision for the inevitable cessation of their employment. Recent events have shown how dangerous it would be to leave a matter like this to the decision of Mr. Churchill—or, indeed, anybody concerned with the Ministry of Munitions.

Morning Post. 8.3.18.

COMPLETED MUNITION CONTRACTS. 8,000 WOMEN DISEMPLOYED.

Mr. KELLAWAY (Secretary, Ministry of Munitions), in reply to Mr. Anderson (Lab., Sheffield, Attercliffe), said that in the three weeks ending Saturday last, owing to completion of munitions contracts, 8,000 women munition workers had either been dismissed or received notice of dismissal. The Ministry regretted that a certain amount of hardship was inevitable, but everything would be done to mitigate it. There were openings for women in agriculture, in the shipyards, in the W.A.A.C., and other occupations. The possibility of giving priority of war work to these women was under discussion, and a departmental conference was considering various suggestions, such as giving a grant of a certain amount of wages or free railway warrants to the women's homes.

Yorkshire Observer 26.2.18.

A week ago 1,000 women workers in Leeds munition factories who had been discharged from their employment protested against being thrown aside at a week's notice, and called upon the Government to make them a subsistence allowance for the period of their unemployment. Yesterday, by which time the number of women discharged or under notice had grown to more than double, at a further meeting it was reported that no reply had been received from either the Ministry of Munitions or the Ministry of Labour, to both of whom the request of the women had been sent, and that the headquarters of the National Federation of Women Workers in London had failed to move the Departments to a response of any sort. Whatever the Government may or may not decide to do in the case of these women, the example of procrastination in the matter by the two Departments dealing with labour is unfortunate. If the question is still under consideration the polite and tactful way to have gone about things would seem to have been to have informed the women so. This would, at any rate, have stilled resentment. Sufficient attention is not paid by employers, State and private, to the avoidance of petty irritations, which are taken by the workers to imply discourtesy, indifference, and even callousness.

Morning Post. 27.2.18

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DEMOBILISING THE SUBSTITUTES.

PROBLEM OF DISPLACED WOMEN.

Appended to the final report of the Civil War Workers' Committee, now issued as a White Paper, is a remark of Dr. Addison, Minister of Reconstruction, to the effect that the principal recommendations have been adopted by the Government. The report shows that, outside munitions, replacements have taken place in labour to the extent of 878,000 females and 1,064,000 males, the figures for women substitutes in different employments being: Commerce, 354,000; the Civil Service, 99,500; transport, 78,000; Post Office, 59,500; clerks, 57,000; finance and banking, 63,000; and non-Government industries, 89,000. Since two-thirds of the male replacements have been effected by the natural growth of the male population, the employment of boys at an early age and the return of men from the Forces, while help has also been given by retired men or those on the eve of retirement, who will drop out in the normal course, the Committee does not anticipate there being any serious unemployment among male substitutes, and makes no recommendations about them. But it regards the position of the women as more critical.

The bulk of the women substitutes considered in this report are engaged in clerical and commercial occupations. The report states that:

"It is very desirable not only that the opportunities and conditions of their employment in these occupations should be considered, but also that a more definite understanding should be arrived at in regard to the standards of education and training which should be recognised as qualifications for the various branches and grades of such work. We recommend that the Ministry of Labour should be asked to set up, in connection with the Labour Resettlement Committee, a Committee to consider and advise on these problems."

Informal inquiries, conducted in a typical section, seemed to show that 58 per cent. of temporary women clerks in the Civil Service would want work after the war. Adjustment rather than serious displacement is anticipated in non-Government clerical work and commerce, more women, indeed, being likely to be employed in insurance offices and banks than before the war. In the railways there is the possibility of certain kinds of work being reserved for women, while on the land a considerable number of women will probably continue to be required for some time after peace is declared.

Committee's Recommendations.

The recommendations made, apart from that regarding women's employment in clerical and commercial occupations, suggest:

(1) That the employment exchange now set up at Burlington-gardens and working with the Civil Service Commission should, if necessary, with an augmented staff, deal with the work of demobilisation.

(2) That a complete register of temporary Government clerks should be formed and their wishes noted as to continuing in employment.

(3) That in connection with the exchange there should be an advisory committee to collect and furnish information as to openings outside the Civil Service and arrange for special courses of training when necessary.

(4) That facilities should be given for full-time intensive courses of professional training.

(5) That in case of Civil Service vacancies the claims of temporary clerks should be considered as well as those of discharged service men and established civil servants.

(6) That a decision in regard to the future position of women in the Civil Service should be reached and carried into effect, if possible, before demobilisation.

(7) That vacancies in temporary posts should be filled by transfer of clerks displaced from other departments.

(8) That the period of notice given should not be less than one month.

(9) That where necessary local advisory committees set up in connection with employment exchanges which deal largely with clerical workers should be strengthened by the appointment of members specially conversant with the needs of this group of workers, including women; and

(10) That steps should be taken without delay by railway companies and Trade Unions concerned to arrive at an agreement in regard to the conditions of the future employment of women on railways.

MUNITIONS MINISTRY'S CLERKS: A PROTEST.

The way in which the clerks of the Ministry of Munitions are being demobilised has provoked protest from the National Union of Clerks. Its general secretary, Mr. Herbert H. Elvin, in a letter to Mr. Winston Churchill, says: "I am considerably surprised to find that the clerks in your department at Whitehall are being treated differently from other clerks. As no doubt you are aware, under the orders issued by the Government, persons receiving £160 per annum or more are to have one month's warning and one month's notice, and those who are being paid on weekly salaries one week's warning and one week's pay. . . . I cannot understand how it is that whilst the clerks employed at St. Ermin's are treated in accordance with the above regulations, these do not apply to the clerks employed at the Ministry of Munitions."

Mr. Elvin has also written to the Prime Minister asking him to put right the grievance without delay.

APPLICANTS' COMMUNICATIONS.

The Secretary of the War Cabinet states that many communications are being sent direct to Sir Eric Geddes with regard to applications for demobilisation. This action shows a misapprehension of the duties committed to Sir Eric Geddes and can only result in disappointment and delay. Sir Eric Geddes' function is to co-ordinate the activities of the various Government Departments, but these Departments retain all their responsibilities and all communications regarding demobilisation should be addressed as directed in the instructions already issued to the public.

Morning Post 27.12.18.

INDUSTRY CHANGING OVER

EFFORTS TO MEET GERMAN COMPETITION.

Every day witnesses some fresh progress in the transition of industries from munitions to peace production. The seventy small private firms in the neighbourhood of Leicester which were engaged on munitions have all returned to their proper pre-war work.

Enterprising firms are in many cases not only undertaking their former manufactures, but others also which are quite new to them in an endeavour to capture trade formerly held by other countries.

One such firm at Hull, in order to meet German competition, is beginning the manufacture of cast-iron valves for both water and steam purposes. They are also laying down a plant for the making of malleable iron fittings. The firm hopes to retain a large percentage, if not all, of the women previously employed on munitions.

A Newcastle Firm and Female Labour.

A Newcastle company, changing over to general steel castings, hopes, similarly, to retain the female labour for core making and labouring. Other instances are:—

A Nottingham firm is making works additions in order to increase output of malleable castings for the motor-car trade. The bulk of them before the war were imported.

A firm of wood-cutting machinists propose to undertake the manufacture of precision grinders and small surface grinders. A firm of aeroplane makers are turning over their pre-war trade to shop fittings, and jewellers' cases, and have enough orders in for three years.

Tin plate manufacturers in South Wales are very busy, and likely to continue so for some considerable time.

A bicycle firm proposes to make motor-cycles, a new departure for them, while another company had added standard railway waggons to its pre-war productions.

A firm making seed-drills have sufficient orders to keep them busy till the end of the year, and a lace manufacturer reports a somewhat similar state of affairs.

From Bombs to Gas Pipes.

A Newcastle firm are changing over from bombs and 18-pounder shrapnel shells to gas and steam pipes and shipyard castings.

A Glasgow firm is employing the greater part of the labour formerly employed on munitions work, on boilers, cranes, stokers, etc.

Another firm has absorbed all its staff—including women—on pump making.

A firm of sugar-mill machinery makers anticipate a busy time for at least a year. They are endeavouring to capture the former German trade with Java in sugar machinery.

1918.

Sheffield Independent.
25. 2. 18.

WOMEN MUNITIONERS.

Organised Workers' Views on Possible Demobilisation.

The difficulties of finding situations immediately for discharged women munition workers were discussed yesterday in the course of an interview with Miss Mary Macarthur, secretary of the Women Workers' Federation. According to newspaper reports, said Miss Macarthur, Mr. Kellaway was alleged to have stated in the House of Commons that about 8,000 women munition workers had been dismissed or had received notices of dismissal within the last three or four weeks.

The Federation strongly controverted this statement regarding the number of dismissals. Although they quite appreciated the sympathetic attitude Mr. Kellaway showed towards the somewhat unhappy situation that had arisen. Many circumstances had brought about the dismissals. "It is notorious," remarked Miss Macarthur, "That large orders destined for Russia have been cancelled, while lack of tonnage, no less than the fact that amazing supplies of certain types of munitions have been stocked, are all factors to be considered when workpeople are discharged at the present time.

"Seeing that more dismissals are under contemplation, some of us are beginning to think that so far as women are concerned something like demobilisation on a small scale has begun. The case of organised women against the Ministry of Munitions is that, although they must have been fully aware of the situation created by recent circumstances, no adequate notice was given either to the contractors or to the labour exchanges.

"The National Federation of Women Workers, and those unions which include women workers in their membership, have demanded that all their members engaged on munition work should receive, immediately on the termination of their employment, at least a month's full wages, with a free railway pass to their homes. In addition, every effort should be made to find suitable employment for those discharged at the earliest possible moment.

"To this end we think it is necessary there should be greater co-operation between the various Government departments. The problem of the discharged munition workers has the cordial sympathy of employers, and since attention has been drawn to the matter we understand that ample notice will henceforward be given when it is proposed to terminate contracts."

Munitions Dismissals. Feb-Mch 18

New Witness 1.3.18.

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Daily News. 4.3.18.

WOMEN MUNITIONERS

Message from Ministry to Those Who Have Lost Their Employment.

The women munition workers at Leeds who have lost their employment discussed their grievances at a mass meeting called by the National Federation of Women Workers on Saturday.

A telegram received from the Ministry stated that "particulars of all vacancies for women workers can be obtained at Employment Exchange, and every effort will be made by the Ministry of Labour to find work for women discharged. Whole question under examination by Government, and Ministry of Munitions cannot express any opinion as to possibility of granting demand for special benefits to discharged women workers. Ministry meeting representatives of unions and women's trade union advisory committee Monday next, when matter will be discussed."

The message was not regarded as satisfactory by the meeting, but it was decided not to take any further action immediately pending the result of to-day's conference.

Evening Standard. 4.3.18.

WOMEN MUNITIONERS.

MINISTRY AND THOSE WHO HAVE LOST EMPLOYMENT.

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Daily News Leader. 28.2.18.

THE 8,000 DISMISSALS.

Women Workers' Federation's Claim on Behalf of Discharged Munitioners.

In an interview, Miss Mary Macarthur, secretary of the Women Workers' Federation, discussed Mr. Kellaway's statement that about 8,000 women munition workers had been dismissed recently.

She said that her Federation strongly controverted this statement regarding the number of dismissals. Owing to the cancelling of contracts for Russia, the lack of tonnage, and the amazing supplies of some munitions, more dismissals were likely.

They were beginning to think that, so far as women are concerned, something like demobilisation on a small scale had begun. In one instance women were dismissed with only two days' notice.

The National Federaion of Women Workers have demanded that all their members engaged on munition work should receive, immediately on the termination of their employment, at least a month's full wages, with free railway passes to their homes.

SIDE by side with appeals to patriotic men and women to enlist for National Service we find reports of cases where munition workers have been abruptly discharged. On Tuesday last, Mr. Anderson, M.P. for Attercliffe Division, Sheffield, obtained from Mr. Kellaway an admission that some 8,000 women munition makers had received a week's notice of dismissal during the last three weeks as the result of the termination of certain contracts. The Parliamentary Secretary for the Ministry of Munitions admitted that no arrangements had been made for the employment of these workers though he insisted that the machinery of the labour exchanges and the National Service Department was being utilised in the fullest capacity to bring them into other forms of national service. Now it is obvious that a limited exercise of that "business" capacity which, we are told, Sir Auckland Geddes possesses in so high a degree, would have realised the necessity for finding further employment for workers who must have attained a certain degree of skill, and have provided for the emergency. The Ministry of National Service could surely make it their business to discover at what periods Government contracts are likely to lapse, the corresponding number of workers who are likely to be thrown out of employment, and make arrangements accordingly. As it is, however, it would seem that 8,000 women, many of whom are stranded at long distances from their homes, have suddenly been deprived of their means of livelihood, while the country has lost their services. It would seem, however, that the task of finding work for munition makers is beyond the genius controlling the departments concerned with the making of the armaments of war, and that it is easier to remove large numbers of people from their employment and draft them into National Service than to find work for those already enlisted. If the demobilisation of the Army is to be handled in the same way as the demobilisation of munition workers there is likely to be trouble.

Daily News. 8.3.18

40,000 DISMISSALS.

Women Munition Workers' Case to be Put Before Mr. Churchill and Dr. Addison.

A private meeting of some 30 M.P.s, representing all parties, was held at the House of Commons last evening to receive a deputation of discharged women munition workers. Lord Henry Bentinck presided, and the deputation was introduced by Miss Mary Macarthur, secretary of the National Federation of Women Workers.

Remedies urged on behalf of the discharged women, who, it is stated, now number over 40,000, included the abolition of overtime work in munition factories where women are employed, a reduction of the hours, where possible, and a more equitable distribution of the available work for women; closer co-ordination between the employing departments of the Government and the Ministry of Labour; a month's pay for all demobilised women; and an improved scale of unemployment benefits for women.

The members of Parliament subsequently conferred together, and decided to ask Dr. Addison and Mr. Churchill to meet them one day next week to discuss the grievances. Those present included Mr. J. H. Thomas, Mr. W. C. Anderson, Mr. Crooks, Sir W. Cowan, Mr. Astor, Mr. R. Harcourt, Mr. Howell Davies, Mr. Aneurin Williams, Mr. T. Wing, Mr. Jacobsen, Mr. Kiley, and Col. Yate.

Daily News. 8.3.18.

On a very small scale, the country is already being confronted with the tremendous demobilisation problem which will have to be faced after the war. The case of the 40,000 discharged munition girls is sufficiently embarrassing in itself, but it is not alone. There are signs that the reduced import of paper may result in the dismissal of a good many men in the printing trades; and the same is true of the cotton industry. If it is the fact that Lord Rhondda is demanding—no doubt quite rightly—more shipping-room for food, the process is bound to extend to other trades. In a sense, of course, the absorption of labour is more difficult at the present time than it will be after the war. On the other hand, the amount to be absorbed is incomparably smaller, and the essential difficulties—illustrated in the case of the munitioner who bluntly refused to return to the domestic service she had left—are the same. It is an unfortunate complication of the difficulties of a very difficult time that this question should arise now. But it may not be wholly a misfortune if it leads to the practical exploration in good time of problems which will eventually be the supreme question of the day on which the whole future of the country will depend.

Times
5-3-18

MUNITION WORKS DISMISSALS.

WOMEN'S CONFERENCE WITH MR. CHURCHILL.

Mr. Churchill, Minister of Munitions, presided yesterday over a meeting of the Women's Trade Union Advisory Committee, at which the question of the dismissals of women munition workers was considered. We understand that the meeting ended without any definite result, and it is believed that the matter will be brought before the War Cabinet for final decision.

Arrangements are being made for members of Parliament to interview a number of the women during the present week and to discuss the position with them.

Daily News & Leader
5-3-18

DISCHARGED WOMEN W R ORKERS.

Serious Outlook in the Munition Areas.

The position of discharged women muni tion workers—estimated last week by Mr Kellaway at 8,000—is causing the graves concern to the trade unions interested i their case. The Women's Trade Unio Advisory Committee yesterday met Mr Churchill, Minister of Munitions, on th subject, and a meeting of M.P.s is also t be convened to receive deputations o women from the localities most affected b the discharges.

Meanwhile the trade unions directly in terested are pressing their demand that al the dismissed women shall be given a month's wages It is understood that the War Cabinet is considering the proposal The questions of the abolition of overtime in some factories and a reduction of hours in others are also being considered as a possible means of absorbing a percentage of the discharged women.

The anxiety of the trade unions concerned is intensified by a belief that further dismissals are in contemplation in other areas. It is stated that in one district several hundred women have been without work since Christmas owing to the termination of contracts; while in other areas there have been shorter periods of unemployment. The Munitions, Labour, and National Service Departments, with the aid of the Labour Exchanges, are now working in closer co-operation than hitherto, with a view to absorbing the women in other branches of war work, but owing to the fresh training required the joint task is proving a very slow one.

New Statesman 23-3-18

THE MUNITION DISCHARGES

To the Editor of THE NEW STATESMAN.

SIR,—The repentance of the Ministry of Munitions, in the matter of consideration for the workers to be discharged, has apparently been prompt. In one district known to me a large Government T.N.T. factory has had instructions to discharge 1,000 women. Every possible consideration has been shown to these workers, and to the Employment Exchange officers, by the factory authorities. The local Exchange has been informed of the proposed discharges, and invited to make use of the factory premises for registration, etc. The workers themselves have been informed of the pending discharges a fortnight before a fortnight's notice was actually given—practically amounting to a month's notice.

The women have been registered on the premises of the firm. Arrangements have been made to send 200 women to a shell-filling factory in the south. A representative of a projectile factory in the north-west has been brought down to interview applicants, and a good number have been accepted. Recruiting meetings have been held for the W.A.A.C. and the Women's Land Army; a Medical Board has been held at the factory, and a good number have joined up. All this has occurred before any discharges took place. In fact, very few women have yet been discharged, as the 1,000 are to be discharged slowly in small numbers. The women who do not reside in the district will have their fares paid home, and the Employment Exchange at their home will receive their names and addresses at least a fortnight before they are discharged. What can be done in one district can be done—should be insisted on—in other districts.—I am, etc.,

Political Notes
8-3-18

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DISMISSED WOMEN MUNITION WORKERS.

Some thirty members, over whom Lord Henry Cavendish-Bentinck presided, yesterday saw a deputation representing women munition workers who have recently been discharged. The number affected has been much exaggerated, but it is considerable, and during the next five or six weeks will be very largely increased. The total then, it is feared, may run into some forty thousand. Primarily the deputation complained that they had received only a week's notice, and that intimation of their discharge was sent to the Employment Exchanges only a couple of days before they actually ceased work, so that it was impossible to obtain other employment, and they asked that longer notice should be given of the subsequent dismissals and for an increase of unemployment benefit under the Insurance Act. After the women had stated their case the members discussed it and decided to ask Mr. Churchill, Mr. Kellaway, and Dr. Addison to meet them to consider the claims and grievances of these workpeople.

The question is one of very wide importance, for the employees of the Government are numbered by the million, and it has long been foreseen by the observant that when the time for discharging any of them arrived almost irresistible pressure would be brought to bear on members to secure terms far in advance of any that could be conceded by private employers. Considering the very high wages most munition workers receive, it is not unreasonable to expect that they themselves shall make some provision for the inevitable cessation of their employment. Recent events have shown how dangerous it would be to leave a matter like this to the decision of Mr. Churchill—or, indeed, anybody concerned with the Ministry of Munitions.

The Times 14-3-18

THE MUNITION DISMISSALS.

Mr. Churchill attended yesterday a meeting of members of the House of Commons presided over by Lord Henry Cavendish-Bentinck, and made a statement on the dismissal of women from munition factories. The dismissals, he said, would continue, but care would be taken to give a minimum notice in each case of a fortnight, and everything possible would be done to assist the women in obtaining employment in other forms of war work now open. It might also be practicable, he added, to lessen the hardship by reduction of working hours.

Manchester Guardian
6-3-18

The Discharge of Women Munitioners.

The difficulty caused by the dismissal of some eight or ten thousand women munition workers throughout the country is greater than appears on the surface. The proposal which is being pressed on the Ministry of Munitions by the women trade union leaders is understood to be the payment to discharged women of a month's wages at £1 a week. No agreement has been reached at present, and the matter is expected to go to the War Cabinet for decision.

If this demand is granted it is obvious that it will be impossible to confine this compensation to women workers who are discharged owing to the completion of contracts or from any other reason, and the Government may be faced with problems at least as formidable as that caused by the famous 12½ per cent. The women affected are chiefly unskilled workers employed on certain processes. Opinions differ as to whether the labour will be permanently displaced or not.

It is hoped that the abolition of overtime in some cases and the reduction of hours elsewhere may lead to the absorption of some of the displaced labour, but in any case a good deal more will be heard of this matter.

Dismissals. New Statesman. 16.3.18. March 701 of 665

A WEEK'S NOTICE

THE summary discharges of certain sections of munition workers—almost entirely women—which continue to occur weekly, in this factory or that, are raising the whole question of the relations in which the Government will stand, as soon as peace is assured, to the three millions of civil workers in war industries. It seems to have been borne in, some months ago, upon those responsible for supplies that, owing to the extraordinary increase in production and to a certain slowing down of consumption during the past nine months, the accumulation of war stores was mounting up to more than could possibly be required even for the longest conceivable duration of the war. It was therefore decided, legitimately enough, to reduce the output; and certain kinds of shells and cartridges, together with other supplies, were chosen for restriction. The necessary arrangements were made—a task which took weeks of time—with regard to the various kinds of material, the readjustment of different streams of components, the payments on account, the transfer to other work of certain supervising officials, and even, in some cases, for a new utilisation of the premises and machinery. It does not appear that, whilst this was in progress, any thought was given to what was to happen to the tens of thousands of human beings whose services were going to be abruptly dispensed with. At any rate, no intimation was given of the contemplated reduction of staff either to the local Employment Exchanges, or to the Minister of Labour, or to the Director-General of National Service, who was actually seeking in all directions to enrol additional women in various branches of work of national importance, from labour on the land and motor-car driving up to the "Waacs" and the "Wrens." No general warning seems to have been given to the women themselves of the coming discharge, in order that they might readjust their humble housekeeping, their domestic arrangements, and their agreements for lodgings. No inquiry was made of the other branches of munition work, or of the other Government Departments, whether some, at least, of these workers might not be simply transferred. No provision was made to enable such of them as had come hundreds of miles to take up the Government employment to return to their homes (railway fares having in the meantime been raised fifty per cent.). Suddenly, in one factory after another, the blow falls, and week after week has seen thousands of girls given a week's notice—not a week during which they might look for new situations, but the bare legal notice, secured to them by the Munitions of War Acts, that, whilst they would have to continue to put in the full factory day, their employment and their wages would come to a sudden stop seven days hence. Even when the notice was given, no communication was made to the local Employment Exchange (at least in one instance) until five out of the seven days had passed, so that the Ministry of Labour was apparently expected, the "day after to-morrow," to be able to find situations for some thousands of women, stranded in a district where the Government factories constituted nearly the whole demand for the class of labour in question. The whole incident is a revelation and a warning of the extent to which, in spite of all the fine phrases used by Ministers, the habitual ruthlessness of the merely "commercial" employer, and the old doctrine of the Treasury that the "Labour Market" would "absorb" any discarded workers, still dominate the officials directly concerned with the Government employment of manual-working wage-earners, especially when these happen to be women or unorganised male labourers.

The world sweeps on, and the sufferings of these particular ten or twenty thousand women—the number may soon be as high as forty thousand in all—are ignored. It is only fair to record that, after a stiff fight, a free railway ticket home has been secured for some of them; and that the Director-General of National Service and the Minister of Labour have done their very best, when they became aware of what had happened, to find new employment for this sudden and entirely unheralded accession to the Labour Market. It is fortunate that present circumstances permit of new places being thus found for most of the women without the loss of more than three or five per cent. of their income for the year, together with a certain amount of personal inconvenience and expense. What it is now important to consider is the provision that the Government will make for the discharge, when peace comes, not of a few tens of thousands of civil workers on war supplies, but of some three millions of them; not in half a dozen munition centres only, but practically all over Great Britain; not when there is an unsatisfied demand for workers, but at a moment when all industries will be dislocated and literally millions of people will be looking for situations.

It is significant that, whilst the demobilisation of the five million soldiers has, we learn, been arranged for down to the smallest detail, that of the three million civil workers on munitions and in other "war trades" has not yet been made the subject of any Cabinet decision. Yet the discharge of the munition workers will come first, and be far more sudden and simultaneous than the demobilisation of the Army. However urgently the Treasury may press the Army Council to bring to an end the colossal daily expense of an army in the field, it must inevitably be weeks, or even months, before it can be cut down on any large scale. The disbandment of the whole five million men, more than half of them to be brought back overseas, will probably be spread, from first to last, over a couple of years. On the other hand, the discharge of the three million civil workers will begin the very day that peace is assured—probably even as soon as it is actually in near prospect—and an enormous proportion of these workers (half of them women) will be turned adrift within a month. Nearly a year ago, after many attempts, the Government was induced to go so far as to appoint a Committee to consider what arrangements ought to be made for the eventual discharge of these civil war workers, including also those serving in other occupations as substitutes for men with the Colours. Nothing has yet been heard of any report from this Committee; and we believe that no arrangements have actually been made. Peace may not yet be even on the horizon; but when it comes it will come with absolute suddenness, probably in some quite unforeseen way, and it ought not to find us unprepared for what will be a whole avalanche of discharges.

What ought to be done is clear. The Government has the same sort of responsibility for getting these three million civilian war workers into fresh employment, and for providing for them in any interval, as it has for the disbanded soldiers. Which among all the eight millions has endured the most hardship, gone through the greatest inconvenience or made the largest pecuniary sacrifice—it is not always the soldier—cannot be gone into. The nation cannot afford to have any of these millions of men and women swelling the ranks of the unemployed, and sinking rapidly into the abyss of the unemployable. If it is asked why the Government should assume a larger responsibility, or do more for the munition workers than for civilians employed in other occupations, the answer is plain. All the civilian workers in the wide range of munitions are, by the Munitions of War Acts, held compulsorily to

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Dismissals. New Statesman

that service to the very last day on which they are required. Under the latest Act, they may change their employer, but not their occupation, under penalty of never being able to get any paid employment, in any occupation whatever, so long as the Munitions of War Acts endure. We know, and they know, that the occupation to which, in the public interest, they have been lured must come presently to a sudden end. The more provident among them would be naturally looking out for a change to more per-[illegible]nent employment. For the service of the State we [illegible]torily forbid them to take this course, although [illegible] that their wages will suddenly stop at a week's [illegible] at a time when it will be particularly diffi-[illegible] a new situation. The moral obligation o[illegible]vernment is thus exceptionally great.

W[illegible]ggest that these civilian war-workers need to be provided for on the same lines as the disbanded soldiers. They should, like these, if only for the sake of promoting mobility, certainly be given free railway tickets either to their former homes or to any new situation that can be found for them. They need—the women workers especially—a similar month's furlough with pay; indeed, the nation cannot afford, in the interests of the public health and of the continuance of the race, not to ensure these women some holiday after their unduly prolonged hours of labour and perpetual strain without any other intermission than illness. They ought to have provision against the contingency of unemployment just as the soldier is to have, not merely the odd weeks at seven shillings that their brief compulsory insurance will have entitled them to, but provision covering all the unemployment to which they may be subjected during the whole year of reconstruction, at a subsistence level. But, above all, what is needed is intelligent organisation in advance so as to have employment ready to which as many as possible of the discharged workers can be transferred without any greater interval than is required for the indispensable holiday. This needs special action by the Employment Exchanges, so far as private employment is concerned. But it means more than this. The need for finding situations for these workers ought to form part of the Government scheme for such an arrangement of the national and municipal works requiring anyhow to be undertaken within the next few years as will prevent the occurrence of unemployment on a large scale. This is otherwise bound to be an evil accompaniment of the "General Post" of half the wage-earning population, which will set in when peace comes.

"IN TIMES OF CONFUSION"

"AT the close of 1611," recounts one of Russia's greatest modern historians, Kluchevski, "the Muscovite Empire presented a spectacle of universal and complete disruption. The Poles had taken Smolensk . . . ; the Swedes had occupied Novgorod . . . ; the second false Dimitri had been murdered and succeeded, in Pskov, by a third pretender . . . ; the first expeditionary force of the provincial nobility had been broken up near Moscow. Meanwhile the country lacked an administration . . . the State changed into a kind of amorphous, coagulated federation." "On all sides the State of Muscovy is now torn by foes," wrote in 1612 the boyars of Moscow in a circular letter to the towns. "In the eyes of all rulers round about are we now fallen into contumely and reproach."

The evil days have returned, and after having grown outwardly into the greatest Power on the European con-

March

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Daily News. 12. 9. 18.

September 1918.

WOMEN AFTER THE WAR.

Demobilisation of New Workers.

PLANS IN PROGRESS.

The problem of the demobilisation of women war-workers is just now engaging the attention of a number of interested organisations. Various schemes, official and unofficial, have been prepared, and it is hoped that some workable plan to meet all cases will soon take definite shape.

In addition to the Ministries of Labour and Reconstruction, different organised bodies, such as the National Alliance of Employers and Employed, the Women's Industrial Council, the Women's Labour League, the National Federation of Girls' Clubs, and other more individualistic societies, are making good progress towards a solution of the problem.

It is roughly estimated that there are at present nearly 5,000,000 women employed in industry in this country. Of that number, approximately 3,500,000 were engaged in work of some kind before the war. They have in the majority of cases changed their occupations, but do not offer so great a difficulty to demobilisation as the remaining 1,500,000 newcomers into the labour market. Women in employment before the war had an economic reason for working, while a very large percentage of those who went into industry since 1914 did so out of purely patriotic motives, and not because of any real necessity.

ORDER OF DEMOBILISATION.

In regard to the general question of demobilisation the Ministries of Labour and Reconstruction have very little that can be made public at the moment, but many important conferences have been held by unofficial organisations. In this connection the National Federation of Employers and Employees, representing every industry except that of agriculture, have initiated a number of conferences, at which many points have been debated and decided upon as being the most suitable methods of procedure on demobilisation.

Among the methods suggested was the order in which women should leave industry, and it was decided the best solution was to be found in the following manner:

1. Women with private means.
2. Widows with war pensions and children.
3. Widows with war pensions and without children.
4. Married women whose husbands have work.
5. Single women without dependents.
6. Single women with dependents.

Another method suggested was "that the hours of labour of the women and the returning men be reduced to six, five, and four hours per day, so that all women and all the men work on half time, and that as the social system resumed its normal course and the women went back to pre-war industries the hours of the men be increased to a maximum of eight."

GOVERNMENT OFFICE PROBLEM.

The problem is being tackled in another manner by the Women's Industrial Council, who are chiefly concerned at present with the future of women employed in Government offices. No plans are apparently being made officially on this matter, yet it is one that forms perhaps the most serious of all the problems. Many of these women and girls were not working before the war, are largely untrained, and are not receiving any training of lasting value in their present work. A large percentage of these women, so the Council affirm, are willing during the war to work at "pocket-money" wages, and would possibly continue to do so afterwards, to the great detriment of those women dependent upon their earnings. The Joint Committee of the Council, including representatives of all women's societies and organisations, estimate that the women leaving Government offices after the war will fall into three main classes:

1. Those who wish to leave the labour market altogether.
2. Those who wish to remain at work, but were not necessarily dependent on their earnings.
3. Those who would be forced to live on their earnings, either as clerks or in some other occupation.

[illegible] The National Federation of Women Workers, and, to a less extent, the general labour unions, have fought for fair treatment, and in some cases have wrung concessions from the Special Arbitration Tribunal appointed by the Ministry to deal with women's

November 1918

Parliamentary Debates.
12. 11. 18.

WAR WORKERS.

Lord H. CAVENDISH-BENTINCK asked the Minister of Reconstruction if he can state which Committee or Committees are considering the question of the demobilisation of women warworkers; whether any of the Committees have reported or are ready to report; and what steps are being taken to put into operation the recommendations of the Committees?

Sir J. D. REES asked the Minister of Reconstruction whether any scheme has been elaborated for continuing as State or other manufactories large munition and the like factories, employing many thousands of workers, as soon as the War ceases; and, if not, whether such action is required, in view of the inevitable results of suddenly closing establishments upon which so many citizens directly or indirectly depend for their livelihood?

Major NEWMAN asked the Minister of Reconstruction whether it is the fact that there are at present employed on the making of munitions of war 250,000 lads under military age; and will he say what scheme is under the consideration of the Ministry to prevent the danger that may be caused by numbers of these lads being thrown out of employment on the termination of hostilities?

Dr. ADDISON: I hope later in the day to make a comprehensive statement on reconstruction questions, particularly with regard to demobilisation, and I will endeavour to deal fully in my statement with the points raised in these questions.

Daily News.
16. 11. 18.

MUNITION GIRLS' OUT-OF-WORK PAY.

Unfulfilled Promise of the Government.

Thousands of women and girls in all parts of the country have already been discharged from munition works that are slowing down. The number is increasing every day.

None of these girls have yet received, or officially become entitled to receive, one penny of the special out-of-work pay promised her by the Government.

No information can be obtained as to the date at which the payments will commence. All that can be said is that the Government appear to have no intention of making the allowance retrospective. In other words, there will be an interval —whether long or short is uncertain— during which the workers who have already been discharged and cannot find other employment must live as best they can.

The amount definitely promised to women workers over 18 years of age is 20s. a week, and to men over 18 24s. a week. All that discharged women are actually getting in any instance is 7s. a week, and then only if they have been engaged in a compulsorily insured trade. The case of discharged men is the same, but is not so immediately pressing as the number discharged is far smaller.

If serious trouble is to be prevented the Government must immediately announce the date at which special out-of-work pay will begin, and must undertake to reckon it from the day on which the worker was discharged.

WOMAN M.P. BILL PASSED.

Lords Refuse to Admit Peeresses in Their Own Right.

The right of women to sit in the House of Commons, if elected, is now secure, as the qualifying Bill was read a third time and passed in the House of Lords last night. It now awaits the Royal Assent.

Lord Haldane moved an amendment in Committee providing that peeresses in their own right might sit and vote in that House.

Lord Islington, for the Government, but not personally, said he could not support or accept the amendment. The proper way to carry it out was by the introduction of a separate Bill.

The Earl of Selborne supported Lord Haldane's proposal, but it was defeated by 33 votes to 14, and the Bill passed through Committee and the remaining stages unamended.

20.11.18

OUT-OF-WORK DONATION.

The Government Scheme to Come in Force on Monday.

WOMEN MUNITION WORKERS' DEMANDS.

The scheme of out-of-work donation will come into operation on Monday next, and out-of-work donation policies will not be issued before that date.

Following are the rates of donation:

Men over 18 years of age .....24s. a week.
Women over 18 years of age.....18s. a week.

With supplementary allowances for dependent children of 6s. a week for the first child under 15 years of age and 3s. a week for each additional child under that age.

Boys between 15 and 18.....12s. a week.
Girls between 15 and 18 .....10s. a week.

Subject to attendance, if required, at a course of instruction under the Board of Education or other Central Authority.

The donation does not become due until after the applicant has been unemployed and has attended at the Exchange for three consecutive working days, and payment will not be made for these three days.

The donation will ordinarily be paid as follows: To ex-members of his Majesty's Forces, on Thursday, up to the preceding Tuesday, inclusive; to civilian workers on Friday up to the preceding Wednesday, inclusive; and the first days for receipt of donation in the ordinary course will, therefore, be Thursday, Dec. 5, or Friday, Dec. 6.

Subject to previous application, however, payment of the donation due up till Friday, Nov. 29, inclusive, will be made on Saturday, Nov. 30. The amount to be drawn on the succeeding pay day will, of course, be correspondingly reduced.

Ex-sailors, soldiers, and airmen will be entitled to out-of-work donation policies, available for 12 months, if they have actually served with the forces during the present war, and civilian workers will be entitled to out-of-work donation policies, available for six months, if they are British subjects and became "employed contributors" under the National Health Insurance scheme before August 25, 1918, and in the case of boys and girls between 15 and 16 if they entered employment before that date.

Unemployed persons desiring to claim donation should, on and after Monday, attend at an Employment Exchange or Branch Employment Office, taking with them their discharge or other military certificates if they served in his Majesty's Forces during the present war, or their Health Insurance Record Cards and Health Insurance Contribution Cards if civilian workers.

THE DISABLED.

Important Government Decision on Compensation.

Our Lobby Correspondent writes that the Cabinet Committee to which all problems of demobilisation and reconstruction are referred consists of General Smuts (chairman), Mr. Barnes, and Mr. Austen Chamberlain. The release of men from the front and other pressing matters are now before them.

The Government have decided on the position of disabled men under the Workmen's Compensation Act. Early in 1918 the Ministry of Pensions and the Ministry of Labour received representations from various quarters that the Act would operate to the detriment of the employment of disabled men, owing to the apprehension among employers that such men would be specially liable to accident, thereby increasing the cost of compensation.

The Home Secretary appointed a Committee to consider what special provisions should be made, and they have now recommended that in the case of discharged sailors, soldiers, or airmen in receipt of disability pensions employers should be relieved, without prejudice to the men, of any additional compensation liability which their employment might entail.

A scheme based on the guarantee of certain payments by the State is now being prepared for carrying this into

WOOLWICH WOMEN.

Procession of 5,000 March to Ministry of Munitions.

A remarkable procession of 5,000 women munition workers from Woolwich Arsenal appeared suddenly in front of the Ministry of Munitions headquarters at the Hotel Metropole yesterday afternoon to impress upon the Government authorities the necessity of doing something promptly for the women who will be discharged from the Arsenal in consequence of the cessation of the demand for munitions of war. As a result they learned that the Government's scheme for an unemployment donation of £1 a week for 13 weeks is to come into operation next Monday.

The demand for this demonstration, one of the women shop stewards explained to a "Daily News" representative, arose quite spontaneously in the workshops on Monday because of rumours which had been flying through the workshops at the Arsenal to the effect that the women, numbering about 20,000, were to be dismissed very quickly in large batches.

Yesterday morning they sought the assistance of Miss Mary Macarthur, of the National Federation of Women Workers, and when Miss Macarthur arrived at Charing Cross in the afternoon she found the procession there ready to follow her and her assistants anywhere, and she found the police, polite as ever, but sadly perplexed as to how to deal with 5,000 women forming a procession in a prohibited area on the day when the King was going to Parliament!

TRIUMPHANT DELEGATES.

The police said that the women could not march towards Parliament or within a mile of it. The leaders of the women replied that they were already within the charmed circle of the mile radius, and they must march somewhere, even if they could only march in the other direction. So Miss Macarthur and a band of the women shop stewards went off to the Hotel Metropole to see some of the chief officials. There were consultations with 10, Downing-street, and Scotland Yard, and at last the delegates emerged triumphant. As soon as the King had returned to Buckingham Palace the procession had permission to march nearer than ever to Parliament—the man-made law keeping them a mile away had been abrogated in favour of the Women with the Vote. They had no brass band, but headed by a banner with the words, "Shall Peace Bring Us Starvation?" and the banner of the National Federation of Women Workers, the 5,000 girls, walking four abreast, marched to the Kingsway Hall.

A deputation consisting of Miss Macarthur and a dozen or more of the women shop stewards went into Whitehall-gardens to see Sir Stephenson Kent, of the Demobilisation Board, Sir T. Munro, and General Martell. The interview lasted an hour and a half. When the deputation arrived at the Kingsway Hall they were received with tremendous enthusiasm.

"GRADUAL DISMISSALS."

Miss Macarthur told the meeting that Sir Stephenson Kent and the other officials quite naturally appreciated the apprehensions of the workers—(roars of laughter)—and they thought that the women were entitled to go to Whitehall to express their apprehensions, although they thought it was perhaps unnecessary for 5,000 of them to have gone there. Sir Stephenson and his colleagues promised that they would endeavour to [illegible] dismissals at Woolwich [illegible] than the

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Daily News. 28.11.18.

7

SIX MONTHS WAGES MINIMUM.

Freedom of Negotiations on Other Question.

The Ministry of Labour calls attention to the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act which passed through Parliament last week. The Act (which repeals Part 1 of the Munitions of War Act, 1915) renders necessary certain alterations in the procedure hitherto adopted for the settlement of differences as to wages. The main purpose of the new Act is to secure the maintenance for a period of six months of the minimum wages generally applicable at the date of the signing of the armistice

"Workmen" includes men and boys, women and girls, and the wage elements dealt with by the Act are the recognised time rate or other basis for determining wages (e.g., in the various trades, a shift rate, or piece-work price list, or scale of tonnage rates, etc., etc.), the usual allowances for overtime, night-work, week-ends or holidays when any of these are worked, and the general war bonuses or war advances where these are paid in addition to the time-rate or other wage basis.

WOMEN AND GIRLS.

The Act contains special provisions in the case of the wages of women and girls.

During the six months period for which the Act provides the prescribed rate of wages may be varied either as the result of arbitration or an agreement or settlement approved by the Minister of Labour. The Act provides for the establishment of a Court of Arbitration, which will deal with differences referred to it by the Ministry of Labour

It will be observed that the Wages Act alters in important respects the wages position under the Munitions of War Acts. Minimum rates of wages being provided for, it leaves all other questions as to wages open to free negotiation. The Minister of Labour trusts that this freedom to negotiate will be generally exercised in a concilatory spirit

REQUESTS FOR ARBITRATION.

Questions which do not come under the Wages Act, and which cannot be settled satisfactorily by the employers and workpeople concerned or by the employers' associations and the trade unions, may, with the consent of both parties, be referred to arbitration through the Ministry of Labour under the Conciliation Act, 1896. Requests for arbitration under this Act should, if possible, be made jointly by the parties concerned. Under this Act the Ministry of Labour can appoint an arbitrator only with the consent of both sides.

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Daily Chronicle. 6.12.18

Halstead Times + Haverhill Express. 30.11.18

WATCHING WOMEN'S INTEREST

NEW DEPARTMENT SET UP BY THE GOVERNMENT.

The "Daily Chronicle" learns that a new women's branch of the Demobilisation and Resettlement Department of the Ministry of Labour has been formed. Its function will be to deal with the questions arising from the demobilisation of women war workers. Special consideration will be given to the question of domestic service for women. State organisation of the conditions of domestic service was indicated in Monday's "Daily Chronicle" as a probable step in the near future.

It will probably be found that regulated daily service, in shifts, if necessary, on the lines advocated by the Household Order'y Corps, will be found to fit in best with the new ideas which the war has brought. In this case, the hostels which have served their war purposes might be utilised to provide homes for daily workers, including war widows with children.

TO LEARN NEW TRADES.

In the readjustment of industry an important place will be taken by facilities for women to learn new trades. The Women's Branch will be empowered to deal with this question. Special consideration will be given, the "Daily Chronicle" understands, to wives and fiancées of soldiers and sailors who wish to fit themselves for a specific industrial career, but who are unable to obtain necessary training unaided.

Associated with the Women's Branch will be Miss Durham, of the women's side of the Employment Exchanges, and Miss Squire, of the Home Office, and in close touch with it will be a Women's Trade Union Advisory Committee.

The nucleus of this committee is the old committee associated with the Ministry of Munitions, but its members will be added to by women representing trades of particular peace-time importance, such as textiles and potteries. The committee has already met, and sub-committees have been set up to report.

D.C. 6.12.18.

UNEMPLOYED IN FUR COATS

MUNITION GIRLS WHO REFUSE TO ENTER DOMESTIC SERVICE.

FIRST OUT-OF-WORK PAY TO-DAY.

First payments to unemployed war workers registered at the Employment Exchanges will be made to-day.

In such centres as Woolwich, Enfield, Acton, Shepherd's Bush, and various parts of North London, the number of applicants is likely to be very great. It is not expected, however, that the officials will be unable to deal with them all, as demobilisation has been proceeding gradually, and only those who were the first to register will be able to claim payment to-day.

A "Daily Chronicle" representative who visited the Employment Exchange in Acton yesterday found a queue of women waiting to register. The doors were closed and they were admitted in turn. Thousands of women were employed at the great shell factory at Park Royal, and at Shepherd's Bush a large number of women were employed in the making of camp kit, gas masks, and so on.

DEMAND FOR WAITRESSES.

Some of the applicants at the Acton Exchange wore well-made fur coats. Although householders are applying daily for domestic servants these ex-munitioneers refuse to consider posts as "generals" or cooks even at tempting wages.

"If we went into service," said one of the applicants to our representative, "we should be out of the swing of it all, and never know when there were any good jobs going. If we get some kind of work that doesn't mean living in we can keep in touch with the Exchange."

At the Acton Exchange the most numerous vacancies, apart from those which are purely domestic, are for waitresses, who are urgently wanted for London restaurants, for waiters and porteresses for the Christmas season, for grocers' assistants, and for laundry workers.

THE GENERAL ELECTION.

SAFFRON WALDEN DIVISION

During the present week Mr. J. J. Mallon who is the nominee of the Labour interests in the Saffron Walden Division, has been vigorously prosecuting his candidature. Meetings have been held almost nightly in the villages and towns throughout the constituency. He has had the assistance of numerous speakers, ladies as well as gentlemen, including one or two who are themselves contesting seats under the auspices of the Labour Party in different parts of the country. As a rule the meetings have been quiet and perfectly orderly, and everywhere the Labour programme as expounded from the platform has had a very good reception. Mr. Charles Ready, of Halstead, who is acting as Mr. Mallon's election agent, has been extremely busy, arranging for meetings and in otherwise carrying on the propaganda, and an enthusiastic band of helpers are rendering assistance n various ways.

Mr. Cecil Beck, the late Liberal member, who is offering his services again, this time as an advocate of a Coalition Government, is also preparing to commence his campaign, with the co-operation of Mr. Hubert Collar, his agent. Mr. Beck intends to address meetings of the electors in all the different polling districts within the next few days. He has already sent an address to the absent voters, the soldiers and sailors who are serving at home and abroad, and all other electors in North Essex will have an opportunity of reading a statement of the Coalition candidate's views within the nex day or two.

MEETING IN HALSTEAD.

A meeting in support of Mr. Mallon was held in Halstead Town Hall on Thursday evening. Miss Mary MacArthur (Mrs. Anderson), well known in the industrial world as a prominent advocate of women's interests, had been announced as the principal speaker, and Mr. Mallon himself was also expected, but owing to an accident to their motor car on the way from Saffron Walden, where they had previously attended a meeting, they were unable to arrive, and the audience were disappointed in consequence.

Notwithstanding the inclement nature of the weather, a very fair number of persons had assembled, the female sex being largely in evidence. Those present were, however, by no means all supporters of the Labour cause, a good many others having come to hear what was said. Mr. G. Hardy (who like the other members of the committee, wore a badge of red ribbon on his coat) presided, and in opening the proceedings gave a cordial welcome to all present.

The Chairman, in a short speech spoke of the encouraging progress that is being made by the Labour movement. He said that if the country coud not yet have a Labour Government, there ought at least to be a strong Labour Opposition in the House of Commons. He also alluded to the growing interest that agricultural labourers are taking in political concerns, and said that farm workers, by their efforts to increase the production of the soil had done just as much to preserve the safety of the country as the soldiers in the trenches.

Thereafter, Mr. Hines, the Workers Union organiser in the Bishop Stortford district, who happened to be in Halstead, was announced, and he spoke for some time, with the view of occupying attention until the arrival of the others. After he sat down, however, the Chairman intimated that a message had been received to the effect that Mr. Mallon's car came to grief some three miles on the other side of Bardfield, and that they were unable to procure another. With an expression of regret for the occurrence Mr. Hardy had, therefore, no alternative but to declare the meeting at an end, and the audience took their departure.

Daily Chronicle.
7. 12. 18.

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FIRST DAY OF OUT-OF-WORK DONATIONS.

WOMEN WAIT IN LONG QUEUES AT THE BIG EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGES IN LONDON.

Hundreds of women, mostly good-humoured and cheery, crowded the Employment Exchanges yesterday to claim the first out-of-work benefits to which they were entitled. In some places the queues were so great that the police had to be called in to help to keep order.

At the big Exchange at the White City, Shepherd's-bush, which a "Daily Chronicle" representative visited, excellent arrangements have been adopted to avoid congestion. As the workers applied for registration they were given cards stating the time at which they should call for their donations. The applicants were distributed throughout the day, so many coming between 10 and 11, so many between 11 and 12, and so on until the late closing hour of 7 o'clock. About 1,200 women received out-of-work pay here yesterday, but a far larger number, not among the first to register, will be entitled to the donation next week.

At Shepherd's-bush a payment of 6s. 8d. was made to registered applicants some days ago; those who applied yesterday received the balance of 13s. 4d. In future, however, the donation will not be divided up in this manner, and next Friday the full amount will be paid to those entitled to it, with proportionately smaller amounts to those who have not been out of work for a whole week.

It was a strange crowd. There were shawled women, carrying babies, and there were young girls, with elaborately curled hair, wearing expensive fur coats. Not all the munitioneers earned high wages, however. One of the women told our representative that she had been on munitions for two and a half years, and that she had never made more than 45s. a week, although she had taken her turn in the high explosive section on several occasions. "My average wage was 37s. 6d.," she said, "not such a lot in these times. And I don't suppose I'll earn anything like that again for a long time. But I feel so pleased the war's over that I'll take any old job that comes along."

"Domestic service?"

"Except that," she laughed.

Machinery has a curious attraction for these war workers. Any kind of a job in a factory where there is an unending sing-song of sound, and a crowd of busy workers is the great desire. It is unquestionable that many of these women keenly feel the loss of factory life, where they found a spirit of good comradeship, and, rather than accept posts where they would be isolated from other workers, the women are waiting for the big change over from war to peace conditions.

Meantime the Government's out of work donation is proving of real comfort and help.

December 1918 701.

Morning Post. 7.12.18.

Daily News. 12.18.

701/14

NEW WORK FOR WOMEN.

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS.

To deal with the special problems arising from the demobilisation of women workers a Women's Branch of the Demobilisation and Resettlement Department of the Ministry of Labour has been established. A Women's Trade Union Advisory Con mittee has also been set up; and sub-committees are already appointed to deal with such questions as the return of domestic servants to work under conditions more in accordance with the present industrial outlook, the training of women for new industries or for such occupations as were classified in the pre-war period as women's work, and the training of war-brides and wives of soldiers and sailors in housewifery and infant welfare.

In the meanwhile (according to the statement of an official of the Ministry of Labour yesterday) it is hoped that women who from patriotic rather than economic reasons have given such splendid service in the munitions factories, will during the period of reorganisation undertake some voluntary work. "There is at present," it was said, "much scope in the fields of public health and recreative education. By voluntarily undertaking these pioneer tasks women not dependent on a weekly wage will be accomplishing a double service for their country. They will be giving invaluable service to the development of the ideals of a new England, and they will be clearing the road during the transition period for those women who seek in the labour market the means by which alone they can maintain themselves and their homes."

FROM MUNITIONS TO SEWING MACHINES.

It was further pointed out that women dependent on their earnings might find some reassurance in the knowledge that progress is rapidly being made throughout the country by manufacturers in the process of restarting peace industries. The following examples were given: In one big London firm, where several thousands of workpeople were employed on munitions, a change-over is being undertaken to the manufacture of sewing machines. In this enterprise the whole of the employees will be retained, and use made of the plant installed for shell-making. Another London firm reports that they will probably employ more women and girls than during the war, while a firm of electrical engineers, also in London, state that of the small proportion of girls so far discharged some have already been reabsorbed in dressmaking. Many have been absorbed in the Post Office sorting for Christmas mails; others have been engaged as shop assistants for the holidays; and others again have returned to laundry work or to positions they held before the war.

Similar transition from war to peace industry is taking place in the provinces, and in order to bridge over the transition period the Government is providing the machinery of extended Employment Exchanges, of which it is hoped full free use will be made by both employers and employed. Added to this the workers are entitled to free railway warrants to their homes or to the place of new industry, and the unemployment donation, which can be obtained under stated conditions at the Employment Exchange.

FIRST DONATIONS TO UNEMPLOYED

Queue of Women With Babies.

GIRLS WHO WANT TO GO BACK TO FACTORIES.

Yesterday the first payment to registered unemployed war-workers was paid, and at many of the Employment Exchanges there was much activity, and the officials were kept constantly busy. At the Acton Employment Exchange, which covers an area in which there were several munition works, including the national filling factory at Hayes, "The Daily News" was informed that there had been a steady stream of women since the office opened at nine o'clock.

There were no outside queues, the applicants awaiting their turn in comfort inside the exchange. At 11.30 the number of those waiting was so great that the doors were closed until two o'clock, when another steady stream of women kept forming. All the applicants would, however, receive their benefits in good time, our representative was told, and the exchange, instead of closing at four o'clock, would remain open till seven o'clock or even later, so that those women who had been unemployed for a few days and were now working, could come for the donation to which they were entitled.

WHAT THE QUEUE DISCUSSED.

It was an orderly, good-humoured queue—many of the women well and sensibly dressed, some having babies with them—who while waiting discussed their present chances of work. Most of the girls want to return to factory work, in which many were engaged before the war.

"But I don't mind what work it is so long as I get decent money and a chance of a rise," said one girl. "Yesterday a friend and I went up to Holborn to inquire about a labelling job we saw advertised. But the money was only 18s a week, and a girl can't live on that. I don't, of course, expect war wages—£2 10s. a week—again, for I would willingly take a place at 23s. to 27s. if, when I had learnt the work, there would be a chance of an increase. I don't think many of us will go into domestic service and 'live in' like servants used to do."

Of the hundreds of girls who have registered at Acton since the out-of-work policies could be claimed quite a large number have already been placed, many as daily domestic workers and as waitresses. In spite of the numbers with which that Exchange deals, the system is working there both smoothly and well.

BRANCH FOR WOMEN.

We understand that a Women's Branch is being formed of the Demobilisation and Re-Settlement Department of the Ministry of Labour. This branch will have to deal with all the various problems that arise in connection with the demobilisation of women—problems that will necessarily be very different from any that will arise through the demobilisation of men. Men were in industry before, whereas war working women have come from all kinds of labour—domestic service, shops, their own homes—and belong to all classes and all parts of the world, some coming from the Dominions and the farthest corners of the world.

A large proportion of these are not dependent on their earnings, and during the present transition period from war to peace, which must take some time, these women are recommended to undertake for the time being some form of voluntary work, of which there is such a variety, needing helpers, such as work connected with public health, Care Committees, recreation, care of soldiers, disabled men, and so on. Afterwards, when the re-sorting is accomplished, it is thought that there will be paid work for all who want it. Wives of soldiers and fiancées of soldiers also constitute a large proportion of the demobilised women, and these, when the men are demobilised, will be provided for.

A Women's Trade Union Advisory Committee is advising the Women's Branch on such problems as that of domestic service, industrial training, and the training of the wives and fiancées of soldiers and sailors. In this latter case, the training will be concerned with housewifery and infant welfare.

Daily Express. 7.12.18.

WOMEN IN NEW INDUSTRIES.

PROGRESSIVE FIRMS FIND THEM WORK.

QUICK CHANGES.

A hopeful view was expressed by an official of the Ministry of Labour who was interviewed yesterday on the special problems connected with the re-employment of women demobilised from civil occupations.

A women's branch of the Demobilisation and Resettlement Department of the Ministry of Labour has been established, and is already at work. A women's trade union advisory committee has also been developed from the committee which, during the war, advised the Ministry of Munitions. To this will be added representatives of non-munitions industries, such as textiles, pottery, etc.

Sub-committees are already appointed to deal with such questions as the return of domestic servants to work under conditions more in accordance with the present industrial outlook, the training of women for new industries, and the training of war brides and wives of soldiers and sailors in housewifery and infant welfare.

DEPENDENT ON WAGES.

"To those women dependent on their earnings," said the official of the Ministry, "it will be some reassurance to know that progress is being rapidly made by manufacturers in restarting peace industries. In one big London firm where several thousands of workpeople were employed on munitions a change-over is being undertaken to the manufacture of sewing machines. The whole of the employees will be retained and use made of the plant installed for shell-making.

"Another London firm report that they will probably employ more women and girls than during the war, while a firm of electrical engineers state that of the small proportion of girls so far discharged some have already been reabsorbed in dressmaking. Others are in the Post Office sorting Christmas mails, engaged as shop assistants for the holidays, or have returned to positions they held before the war.

"A similar transition from war to peace industries is taking place in the provinces.

"So far as can be seen at present, the machinery set up will prove sufficient if the workers and the employers will maintain close touch with the employment changes."

New Witness Dec 1918

Mr. Winston Churchill's scheme of unemployment pay for women munition makers leaves untouched the question of the pensions for the heroic and unfortunate T.N.T. workers. These girls have forfeited their health, their youth and their beauty in the cause of their country. The devasting effect of the poisonous substances they handled can never be eradicated from their systems. They are obviously unfitted to earn their living and it is a national disgrace that they should be dependent upon public or private charity. It appears to us a matter of justice and equity that the T.N.T. workers should be provided for by the State. Mr. Churchill however, has displayed an utter indifference, nor so far as we can ascertain have any of the Labour Ministers urged their claims. It is cases of this description that go to show the utter indifference bred by professional politics. Before John Hodge took office it is difficult to believe he would have retained apathy in face of such a crying scandal. His post—and its salary—has effectually quenched his interest in the treatment of Labour, though as Minister of Pensions he could without much difficulty have intervened. It is as well in the midst of the "tosh" at present filling the papers as to the Coalition's intentions towards Labour to bear in mind that these women who, to quote Mr. George, "helped to save the Empire," have been left totally and cruelly without provision.

* * * *

Daily News. 27. 1. 19.

FEW "PIN-MONEY" GIRLS.

Women Working from Necessity More Than from Choice.

"The proportion of girls who work for pin money is very small in these days," said Miss Evans, Secretary of the Association of Women Clerks and Secretaries, yesterday. "When the Government Departments demobilise you will find that the majority of the girls will be looking for work as much from necessity as from choice. We took a census of our members on war work some time ago, and over two-thirds of them stated that they intended to remain at work."

The future employment of the Whitehall woman clerk was a difficult question, Miss Evans added. They had hoped for an opening in the 1st class Civil Service for the best qualified and experienced of the women, but the new report, though it contained recommendations for the promotion of temporary men clerks, make no mention whatever of women.

The Ministry of Labour has agreed to receive a deputation from the Association of Women Clerks and Secretaries on the question of employment benefit and higher wages.

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Times 10.12.18

UNEMPLOYED WOMEN

DONATION INCREASED BY 5/- PER WEEK.

MR. BARNES'S ANNOUNCEMENT

Mr. Barnes, addressing a meeting of women voters in the Gorbals Division of Glasgow yesterday, announced that he had just received information that the amount of unemployment pay to women was to be increased by 5s. a week. Thus a woman who was deprived of her job in a factory, so long as she signed the book every day, and was willing to take any job, would now get 25s. a week. No more generous provision for unemployment had been made in this or any other country.

In the course of his speech, which was frequently interrupted, Mr. Barnes said the nation had cause to be grateful to the women for the courage and cheerfulness which they had shown throughout the war. He had always been in favour of the franchise being extended to women.

In reply to many questions, Mr. Barnes said that he was whole-heartedly in favour of paying women the same wages as men when they did work of the same value. That was not only necessary to safeguard the interests of the women, but was no less necessary to safeguard the interests of men, because, under our higgledy-piggledy system, there was no doubt that employers looked for the opportunity to get their work done cheaply. If it were got into the minds of the employer and the community that an employer who got the same value from a woman as he got from a man would have to pay the same wage, it would be not only good for the woman and the man, but for the whole community.

In regard to nationality rights, he was in favour of a woman not losing her rights as a British subject by reason of having married a German or any other foreigner. As to divorce, women ought to be placed in exactly the same position as men.

He congratulated the women upon having entered into their share of the covenant of the country. We had won the war handsomely, a great deal more completely than many of us expected. Six months ago they had a lot of curs barking at their heels, all the time trying to weaken the country, doing all they could to bring about strife and civil disturbance, in one of the greatest national crises that had ever occurred. Those who did so, and tried to prevent us winning the war, were doing that which was traitorous to the memory of their sons. (Cheers.) The nation was face to face with the tasks of peace, almost as great as those of war, and he thought they would be wise if they entrusted those people who had won the war with the task of finding the way back to a safe haven.

Questioned as to the peace settlement and President Wilson's 14 points, Mr. Barnes said that there was dubiety on certain matters—for instance, as to the freedom of the seas. If Mr. Wilson had in his mind that an efficient League of Nations would be set up so that there would be no fear of war in the future, they would all subscribe to what he called "freedom of the seas"; but if there was still to be danger to us from outside, then he did not believe in the doctrine at all. For every offence Germany had committed against international law she should be made to pay to the uttermost farthing. He did not call that an indemnity, but only a deterrent. As to sending troops to Russia, he said we should have been perfectly justified in making war on Russia for her betrayal of us, but the few Allied troops now in that country were there to benefit the Russian people.

A resolution of confidence in Mr. Barnes was passed.

*** That portion of the out-of-work donation scheme applying to civilian workers, as outlined in Parliament on November 12, gave a grant of 24s. a week to men and 20s. a week to women, over 18 years of age, with allowances for dependent children, the maximum period of benefit being 13 weeks. For ex-Service men the maximum period is 26 weeks.

1918 December

Sunday School Chronicle 12.12.18.

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OPENINGS FOR EDUCATED WOMEN WORKERS.

An Interview with Miss Mary G. Spencer

(Central Bureau for the Employment of Women).

This year, for the first time since the outbreak of war, a little of the old spirit of Christmas seems to have returned to us, and he would be a "Scrooge" indeed who, thinking only of his own losses—and who has not lost someone?—refused to share in the general feeling of rejoicing and relief that our men are no longer being slaughtered by a ruthless enemy.

But there are many thousands who, their brief period of rejoicing almost over, are looking with strained and anxious eyes to the future. Apart from the girls and women in the W.A.A.C., the W.R.A.F., and the W.R.N.S., whose demobilisation will be more or less gradual, there are 840,100 girls and women in other Government employment. The demobilisation of this number will not, of course, take place at once, and it is probable that a great number employed in what may be termed industrial work will be retained for some time. But week by week hosts of girls and women will be leaving Government offices never to return. What is in store for them in the future? Fortunate are they whose feet turn in the direction of the Central Bureau for the Employment of Women.

The Untrained Worker.

On a recent afternoon I had a chat with Miss Mary G. Spencer, who is in charge of the Information Bureau, and learnt a little of what is being done for the girls and women who will so soon be out of employment, and who have had perhaps no definite training, but are obliged, or wish, to earn their own living. The Bureau, Miss Spencer impressed upon me, is intended for girls who have been educated at secondary schools, private schools, at home, or who have received a university education—for any girl, in fact, *with the exception of young girls just leaving the elementary schools.*

I am afraid Miss Spencer lost interest in me when she found I was not seeking a post or in need of advice, but she willingly told me of the work of the Bureau.

Day by day an endless stream of girls and women call at the office and are advised and given the latest information concerning new openings, the training necessary, and the prospects when their training is complete. They are also given introductions to prospective employers. Last year 10,611 women had personal interviews and received expert advice—the number this year is, of course, much greater—and in addition 36,824 inquiries were dealt with by post.

Where Educated Women are Needed.

I asked Miss Spencer to tell me of some of the openings now available. There are so many that it is impossible to deal with them in detail. For instance, in public and social work alone there are openings for women as inspectors, in organising and administrative work, welfare work, as almoners, in club management, mission work, in schools for mothers, as prison inspectors, and as probation officers in police-courts. In business life there are now openings of every kind for educated women, from buying and travelling to house and estate agency. A new field has opened in horticulture and agriculture, poultry work and dog-breeding. There are new developments continually taking place in the teaching profession. Teachers are wanted for the blind and deaf, for teaching domestic economy, physical culture, music, eurhythmics, dancing and riding. Other professions embrace sculpture, photography, architecture, elocution, kennel management, motor work, etc. There are, indeed, so many to choose from that one is in danger of confusion.

There is a whole range of new developments in connection with the domestic arts, and I was greatly interested to learn that girls can now obtain a three months to nine months' training as lady cooks and as confectioners and caterers at The Refectory, University College, London, for the modest sum of £10 per term (lunch and tea included).

Patriotic Professions.

Then in connection with the National Health Society there are still a number of "patriotic" professions open to women as sanitary inspectors, health visitors, superintendents of baby clinics, and other public health appointments under Local Government Boards. Training for these posts is given by means of lectures, which commence in September and January of each year. Full particulars can be obtained from F. Lankester, National Health Society, 53, Berners-street, W. Then there is a new industry in medicinal herb growing, the training necessary for which can be obtained in a fully stocked and well-organised herb garden in a quaint little village in Buckinghamshire.

The Danger of Drifting.

And now I come to the most valuable of all the work carried on by the Bureau. There is a danger that many educated women will drift into the ranks of untrained, unqualified, and therefore underpaid workers, and to prevent this a Loan Fund has been inaugurated for the purpose of advancing the money for special training, or for cost of maintenance during training. The fund thus provides a "bridge" by means of which an untrained worker may reach the paths of efficiency. Concrete examples are always more interesting than abstract statements, and I asked Miss Spencer to tell me of some of the girls who had been assisted in this way. Let me mention a few.

A Bridge to Efficiency.

Miss A., the daughter of an Army officer, was unable through lack of means to finish her University career. She was granted a loan for maintenance, took a B.Sc. degree, obtained a good resident post as teacher, and repaid the loan within two years.

Miss H. was the daughter of an artist, but owing to the war was obliged to earn her own living. A loan was granted to enable her to train as a chauffeuse. She obtained a post, and repaid the money a few months afterwards.

Miss E. borrowed sufficient money to enable her to take a partnership in a poultry farm. Later this venture was merged in a larger organisation, and she was appointed as manageress.

Another applicant was granted a loan to enable her to complete her course of training in massage. She afterwards obtained a post in a military hospital.

A low rate of interest is charged on the loan, except in special cases, so that even the most sensitive need not feel they are accepting charity.

The usefulness of this branch of the Bureau's work is, of course, restricted by lack of funds, but the Committee are hoping to raise sufficient money to place the work on a permanent and self-supporting basis. Any reader who wishes to consult the Bureau should call (or write to the Secretary, Miss Mary G. Spencer) at the Central Bureau for the Employment of Women, 5 and 6, Princes-street, Cavendish-square, W.

F. H.

Times. 13. 12. 18.

1918 December

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Daily News. 13. 12. 18.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

INVESTIGATIONS IN A LARGE FIELD.

The following official statement was issued last night:—

The interests of women in proposed measures of national reconstruction are being closely watched by a committee of distinguished women who act in an advisory capacity to Dr. Addison, the Minister of Reconstruction. The committee is under the chairmanship of Lady Emmott, and comprises Lady Birchenough, Mrs. Deane Streatfeild, Miss Harris, Miss Susan Lawrence, Mrs. Pember Reeves, Viscountess Rhondda, Mrs. Symons, and Miss M. J. Tuke. Miss Beatrice Chamberlain was a member till her recent death. The committee meet at the Ministry of Reconstruction every week and take under their survey all questions in which women are primarily or largely concerned. As this field is a large one, in view of the greater place that women are taking in national affairs, the committee is split up into sub-committees to deal with different topics, and the sub-committees co-opt such outside members as may be helpful.

One of the largest subjects to be taken under review is that of the future place of women in agriculture, with particular regard to the recommendations made by the Selborne Agricultural Committee. This committee, it may be remembered, drew special attention in their report to "valuable information received from Mrs. Roland Wilkins" in respect to women's village institutes, and the good work they had done during the war towards promoting the better cultivation of gardens and allotments, the collection and distribution of vegetables, and the creation of interest in cooperative agricultural work. The report added that if, as is anticipated, there is a large increase of small holdings and settlement schemes after the war, women's institutes can play a large part in making the settlers contented and the schemes successful. Mrs. Roland Wilkins, referred to by the Selborne Committee, is the chairman of the sub-committee of the Women's Advisory Council which has been given the task of considering the place of women in agriculture. Working with her on the committee are:—Messrs. Strutt and Orwin, Professor Bryner Jones, Miss Macqueen, Lady Gwendolen Guinness, and Miss Gladys Pott, as secretary.

Other questions of importance to women which have been taken in hand by the Women's Advisory Committee include domestic service, health and kindred services for women, the co-ordination of authorities dealing with vocational training for women, and certain questions relating to the position of women in the Civil Service.

Domestic Service Problem.

The scope of the investigations dealing with domestic service referred to the Women's Advisory Committee is "to consider the general conditions in regard to domestic service as affected by the employment of women on war work, and to indicate the general lines on which the available supply of labour for this purpose may be utilized in the best interests of the nation." The inquiry has been divided under four heads:—(1) The training of servants; (2) distribution; (3) home helps (*i.e.*, women employed as helps in the homes of working women not employing a regular servant); (4) organization and conditions of service, upon which, in the first instance, reports will be submitted by committees of experts.

As to health and kindred services, the Women's Committee are considering what extensions of the employment of properly trained and paid women are necessary and possible in connexion with national health work, and kindred services, and what place can be assigned to voluntary workers in this connexion. They are working with Miss Anderson's memorandum on this subject to the Women's Employment Committee as a basis of inquiry. It indicated a large number of different ways in which women might find employment in health and welfare work.

As to the provision of vocational training for women, the Women's Advisory Committee has reported to Dr. Addison on the best methods for co-ordinating, both centrally and locally, and for extending the existing and the proposed provision of training for women.

With regard to women in Government service, the committee has been considering certain points relating to the position of women holding administrative posts in temporary departments, and the possibility of finding permanent openings for such women in the Civil Service.

THE WOMEN WORKERS.

Advisory Committee & Finding of Employment.

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Daily News. 18.12.18.

400,000 WAR BRIDES.

Munition Girls' Return to Domestic Life.

The future of the munition girl is at last engaging the attention of the Ministry of Labour. No schemes for training her for industry have yet taken shape, but a suggestion made by the Women's Trade Union League Advisory Committee for an emergency course of domestic training for war brides and fiancées is likely to be adopted by the Government.

According to War Office figures, nearly 400,000 girls have been married to soldiers since the war, and 300,000 of these have no children, and probably no settled homes. The majority of them have probably been engaged on war work for the past few years, and have had no opportunity of obtaining experience of domestic or family life.

The scheme at present before the Demobilisation and Resettlement Committee is an emergency one for a domestic training course for the war brides, or engaged girls who have been discharged from employment and are eligible for the out-of-work grant.

The course will probably be of two classes, residential and non-residential. For the former, centres will be set up in the hostels or canteens of munition areas, and the girls will be given lectures and practical demonstrations in all kinds of domestic work, infant welfare, and sewing. They will live in the hostels and be given a Government maintenance grant approximating in amount to the present out-of-work benefit.

The centres for non-residents will be set up in large towns, so that girls living in their own homes will be enabled to attend the classes. The duration of the course of training will be from three to four months, and all women who have registered themselves as unemployed at the Employment Exchanges will be eligible. A women's sub-committee is also considering a scheme for the resettlement of munition girls in domestic service.

Globe. 17.12.18.

TRANSITION OF EVE.

WAR GIRLS' FUTURE: LABOUR MINISTRY'S PROPOSALS.

MUCH WORK TO DO.

In view of the special problems of re-employment of women war-workers incidental to the transition from war to peace industries, a women's branch of the demobilisation and resettlement department of the Ministry of Labour has been establisihed, and various schemes have already been formulated.

An outline of some interesting proposals planned in connection with re-settlement was given by a woman official of the Ministry at an informal gathering this afternoon. The scheme includes facilities for training women war-workers as home-workers, in domestic arts and sciences necessary for domestic life, and in infant welfare, since it is felt that, owing to the war, large numbers of married women have never set up an independent home, and many girls who are engaged to be married, have, during their three or four years' work in a war-time industry, missed the opportunities of home life. It is also thought that they will be attracted by the scheme, since it provides interest during the period of demobilisation of their men folk.

Community Life Antics.

The scheme includes resident and non-resident trainees. Hostels and canteens used for housing munition workers may be adapted as centres of community life, which has become popular during the war. The non-residential scheme adapted to those who are still in lodgings or live in their parents' houses; and is more applicable to conditions of living in the outskirts of London or the larger towns of the provinces. It is suggested that teachers of domestic economy be drawn from those women teachers who have sought other occupations during the war, and would return to teaching. There would also be an opening for the homely woman, herself an expert in cooking and cleaning in her own home.

Non-Munition Workers.

To the Women's Trade Union Advisory Committee developed from the committee which advised the Ministry of Munitions during the war, will also be added representatives of non-munition industries. Various sub-committees have been formed to deal with questions such as the return of domestic servants to work under new conditions, and the training of women for new industries.

Times. 18.12.18

TRAINING OF "WAR WIVES."

SCHEME FOR DEMOBILIZED WOMEN.

A scheme which is likely to be proposed in the future for the Women's Branch of the Demobilization and Resettlement Department of the Ministry of Labour has certain novel elements.

The scheme is to offer to those women who are now being demobilized and who are the *fiancées* of or have married soldiers during the war an opportunity to perfect themselves in household accomplishments which will make the homes of the future fit for the ideal family life. The demobilized women who may come under this scheme will be trained in infant welfare and the home arts, either as residents in hostels and canteens, or as external students living at home.

The deduction from the out-of-work donation, or grant made to them while awaiting their re-absorption into labour, is not yet fixed, nor does there seem to be any trustworthy estimate of the number of women who will come under this scheme. There are, however, known to exist 400,000 "war wives," and of these 300,000 have no family. From the latter group the majority of those who will be trained under the new scheme are expected to come. The period of training is likely to be three or four months.

Glasgow Bulletin
19.12.18.

701/19
Daily Sketch
31.12.18

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Discharged Women and Peace Work

THE PATRIOTISM OF RETURNING TO PRE-WAR EMPLOYMENT

"MY old firm have asked me to go back as shorthand typist now that the factory has closed down, but I'm not going!" said a girl who was discharged from her engineering war work shortly after the armistice had been signed. "The Employment Exchange say that there isn't any chance of my getting back into a factory like Wark's, but I'm waiting on the off chance. I am going to stick out for the sort of work I want, not what they want to give me—and anyway I shan't starve while they pay me my unemployment money!"

There are many girls—and women too—at the moment who talk and act in the same sort of way, women who apparently fail to grasp the chaotic state of the labour world while the transitionary reconstruction is in process, and who by their shortsightedness may make matters unnecessarily unpleasant for themselves as individuals and for women workers as a whole.

The Wrong Attitude

The "change over" by women workers from war to peace employment is going on all over the country, and in the main it is going on with remarkable facility and smoothness; but it is inevitable that for a time there must be a great excess of women's labour unless women use their proverbial common sense and determine to avoid such a contingency. A great many women who have been, and who are to be, discharged from their particular war work have no real grasp of the position, and look at matters in an entirely wrong light.

The managers of Employment Exchanges and others who are concerned with reconstruction find there is a tendency among discharged women war workers to shake their heads when employment is offered to them if it does not happen to be exactly what they want—they are apt to declare that they will not go back again to the work which they used to do before the war, and generally fail to see that the need for women workers to be patriotic is as great to day as ever it was in the early days of the war, when they rushed to do unaccustomed tasks and to "carry on" in the places of the men.

It is essential for women to understand that the demands of peace and war are vitally different, and they must be ready to do whatever necessary work comes their way, which is within their ability, if they wish to avoid making serious labour difficulties. Now, as in the days of war, it is not so much what a woman wants to do as what she can do, and what must be done by some women. Besides, to touch upon another point which some discharged war workers are inclined to overlook, it is well for women to remember that if from sheer caprice they refuse to take up suitable employment, as judged by their pre-war abilities, they will not continue to be entitled to the donation unemployment insurance.

Women's Work for Women

A woman who has to deal with the demobilisation of some thousands of women told the writer that roughly the discharged workers can be divided into two classes—the women of independent means who "war worked" from purely patriotic motives and the women who before the war were employed in factories, laundries, as domestic workers, or as and so ts and conditions of clerks and typists. With regard to the former, she said, it would undoubtedly simplify matters very much if, during the transition period of reconstruction, wage-earning work was relinquished by all women not dependent upon their earnings, so as to make room for the professional workers. Where the latter class of women is concerned there is little reason for unemployment to exist among capable workers, for the demand for women for women's work is greater than it was in the days before the war.

Skilled women are wanted badly in the textile and clothing industries. Capable laundry workers can pick and choose their jobs. Dressmakers, tailoresses, milliners, and all sorts of needlewomen are at a premium, particularly in view of the fact that many Belgian and French women who have been working at these trades here during the last four years are now going back to their own lands. There is urgent demand, too, for all kinds of domestic workers and waitresses, both in private families and institutions. As for shorthand typists and women clerks, it is only necessary to read the advertisement columns of the daily press to get some idea of the difficulty which employers find in getting trained, capable women to do such work.

The Wisest Course

All these were women's jobs before the war. They are still women's jobs—and women are wanted to do them. They are among the country's industries which must be kept going—by women. Women must realise that the period of reversion to peace-time conditions is bound to be a very trying and difficult one, and they must carry on their splendid record of war service by helping to meet exigencies and by doing the work which needs to be done.

It is in the interests of the whole country, and especially to the welfare of women workers in general, that all discharged women war workers should return wherever possible to their pre-war employments—at any rate until such time as normal peace conditions can be resumed. Employers should offer conditions of such a nature that will encourage women to take this step, and it is up to the women themselves to make an effort to get back to their old work and to realise that if it is not the easiest thing to do it is decidedly the wisest course to take at the moment.

Parliamentary Debates
2.4.'19.

WOMEN WORKERS (UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT).

55. Lieutenant-Colonel Lord HENRY CAVENDISH-BENTINCK asked whether, in view of the large number of women workers who are drawing unemployment benefit, and taking into consideration the urgent need for wood and light iron work and other materials necessary for their housing policy, the Government will give in the national factories temporary employment of this character to women workers, thus substituting for a wasteful policy one which meets the national necessity of the time?

Sir R. HORNE: I have been asked to reply to this question. The policy of the Government as to the use of these factories has already been announced, and I have nothing to add in that respect. I am, however, taking all possible steps to stimulate the employment of women in suitable occupations.

ARSENAL GIRLS' PLANS

Adapting Woolwich Workshops To Peace Time Production.

TRANSIT DIFFICULTY.

Dreary Journeys To Town That Keep Women Near Home.

Woolwich Arsenal reopened yesterday after the Christmas respite, and the future of the war-time workers there becomes a problem of immediate urgency.

Even before the war the problem of finding suitable employment for Woolwich women and girls had long been a source of worry to the local Labour Exchange officials, as at that time no female labour was employed in the Royal Arsenal, and the few private firms in the district could only provide work for a small proportion of the local girls, whilst the appalling train service to London, which took nearly an hour to do the ten-mile journey—at a fare of 1s. 2d.—made it difficult for Woolwich girls to take work in the City. And now the problem is so much more difficult that a special committee has been formed to deal with it.

Already some 6,000 out of a total of 26,000 women and girls working in the Government factories and stores at Woolwich have been discharged, the majority being among those who came from other parts of the country during the war.

Few For Domestic Service.

These have mostly been returned to their homes, but the remainder, and many of those who expect their discharges early in January, are giving the local Labour Exchange plenty of work. Here they are given the choice of a diversity of jobs, more especially those of domestic service, shop assistants and waitresses.

Domestic service attracts not one in a thousand, and only a very few have taken such posts in default of anything else turning up.

Positions as shop assistants or waitresses are finding a very fair number of "takers," and whatever the job the girls seem to be taking very philosophically the fact that the high wages of war-time have gone for ever, and they are not "grousing" so much as might have been expected about the smaller earnings which prevail in other occupations.

Soldiers' Wives Not Seeking Fresh Work.

Many of the Woolwich munition workers are soldiers' wives, and the majority of these are not seeking fresh employment, but are returning to their homes in readiness for their husbands' return. Apart from these the majority of the girls, many of whom had not been out to work before the war, are desirous of continuing to earn a living for themselves.

One section which provides special difficulties are the girls who went straight from school to the Arsenal, and who, consequently, have no knowledge of any work other than the making of munitions. For these girls a special three - months' course of training at the Woolwich Polytechnic has been arranged, the subjects including clerical work, shorthand, and typing, dressmaking, and domestic work. During this course the girls are to be paid out-of-work donation at the rate of 12s. 6d. per week. Already about 150 of the younger girls have taken up this training.

Adapting Arsenal To Peace-Time Production.

Strenuous efforts are also being made to influence the Government to adapt the machinery in some of the largest workshops in the Arsenal for the manufacture of peace-time products of national utility, in order both to utilise the machinery and to retain in employment the many thousands of girls who, through working on these machines for two or three years, have become skilled operatives on such machines.

It is estimated that in this way at least 10,000 local girls could be retained in regular employment—provided only that the Government will keep them well supplied with large orders for work.

One thing is certain; very few Woolwich girls will take on work in London offices under present conditions, as the return railway fare is now 1s. 9d., while the alternative routes by 'bus or tram-car involve the spending of nearly three hours a day in travelling to and from work.

Evening Standard 9.1.19

"SLACKERS" WITH STATE PAY.

EX-MUNITIONEERS WHO REFUSE WORK TO BE DEALT WITH.

FIRMER ACTION.

EXPECTING LUXURY DAYS OF WAR-TIME TO GO ON.

Thousands of girls and young women, chiefly from the closed-down munition factories in London and the provinces, are out of work. By the terms of the Government scheme they can remain out for work for 13 weeks and receive 25s. a week during that period if they keep in touch with the Labour Bureau and seek work.

"But," said a high authority to an "Evening Standard" representative to-day, "thousands of them are not in any hurry while they are receiving 25s. weekly. The employment agencies are deluged with mistresses' applications for housemaids, cooks, generals, charwomen, and the like.

"Large numbers of these munitioneers were in domestic service before 'their country needed them.' They are exceedingly loth to go back to what is looked upon as the drudgery of domestic work, with its restrictions.

Want Luxurious Days to Continue.

"Their wages have run up to £2 and £3 a week. Fur coats, high-topped kid boots, gramophones, every night off, and Sundays in many cases free, have given them higher moral and not readily, especially with weekly gifts of 25s. for walking to the employment exchanges, are they going to take on the shackles of domestic work.

"**But this has been brought to the notice of the Government, and I am in a position to say that there is to be a tightening up. In fact it has begun, and things are not going to be so easy.** No new machinery is to be set up—only the machinery in existence is to be speeded.

Referees for Slackers.

"At present in or near all centres there is a local committee of referees, usually consisting of a local legal man or man of quasi-legal training, with two others To them all cases of slacking will be referred, as has been the case, but they will be regarded with a larger microscope.

"Thus, if the officer or officers at employment agencies are convinced that Mary, Phyllis, or Margaret, late of the local projectile factory at 45s. a week, and formerly Mrs. Ponsonby's parlourmaid at £20 a year, is determined to walk about at 25s. a week for 13 weeks, and will not go to Mrs. This, That, or the Other, who badly wants a parlourmaid, who will give, say, £30—then the 25s. will be more quickly disallowed.

A Court of Appeal.

"If Mary thinks that hard, she can appeal, and her case will come, as before, to the final court of appeal—Mr. Yates, in London.

"The whole subject is causing much anxiety. For instance, last Saturday £10,000 was paid to 9000 out-of-work young women at Sheffield. On Saturday next that number will be swollen to 14,000. At centres like Ipswich, Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Dudley, Bristol, and Gloucester thousands are walking about at 25s. a week, while the employment agencies are positively howling for domestic servants.

Time for Action.

"From the employment agencies come reports which have decided the authorities that the slacking of women has gone far enough; hence the tightening of the screw. Where tentative acceptances of domestic work have been made, the wages asked have been—

£35 for a cook
£30 for a housemaid
4s. a day for charwomen,

to give typical cases.

"In one agency a girl, after refusing work, turned to her companion, also out of work, and not ready for it, and said, 'Come along, Poll, we've got eight weeks more.' That spirit is rife, and I think the authorities now quietly mean business."

Daily Chronicle 21.12.18

OUT-OF-WORK WOMEN.

TROUBLE PREDICTED UNLESS STATE GIVES PROMPT HELP.

TRAINING FOR PEACE JOBS NEEDED

"The out-of-work war women will not be quiet after Christmas. There will be trouble with them for certain unless something is done.

"Just now their men relatives are coming home on 12 days' leave, and they have the Christmas merry-making to think about.

"They have been working exceedingly hard for years, and they think, after what they have done, they should be properly looked after."

This serious statement was made by a woman well-qualified to speak on women's work in industry in peace and war, to a "Daily Chronicle" representative who went to her for a plain statement of the position of the women who have been turning out Britain's munitions of war.

Asked to amplify her statement and to give her reasons for making it, this well-informed woman said:—

"There has been such a lot of talk, but nothing is being done.

"I regard the appointment of Sir Eric Geddes as co-ordinator of departments concerned with demobilisation as the most hopeful thing which has happened so far as these women are concerned since the armistice was signed. I sincerely hope he is to concern himself with women as well as men.

WOMEN'S FOUR POINTS.

"Four things I ask for emphatically on behalf of the women who have done the very best they could for their country:—

1. That women with real inside knowledge of the problems facing the ex-munition worker should be consulted.
2. That schemes shall not be placed before the women unless they are practical and likely to be carried out.
3. That there shall be adequate training for dismissed war-workers, so that every one of them shall have a chance of earning a decent livelihood.
4. That there shall be a survey of the industrial field, carried out in a definite manner, with a view to ascertaining how far industries opening up under post-war conditions can provide industrial careers for the women.

"The maintenance grant," continued the speaker, "I consider to be adequate as a temporary measure. The women can just live on it. But they don't want to be maintained. They want work, and work quickly.

"For the most part the munition women have not received sufficient technical training in the course of their war work for them to be enabled to go directly to adequately paid peace work—and all this, of course, apart from the trade union pledges difficulty, which will have to be settled sooner or later. My own idea is that post-war industry will develop to such an extent that there will be room for the replacement of every man who left industry for war, and for the absorption of vast numbers of women as well.

THE HANDY GIRL.

"A great many Government factories are now empty. Why should they not be utilised as training centres?

"I would suggest that girls wishing to qualify for domestic work (and in my opinion many more women would qualify for domestic work if it offered better conditions) should be trained in housewifery, cookery, laundry, mending, and should attend general utility classes to fit them to know how to deal with such matters as a broken sash-cord or roller-blind, a damaged kettle, and small carpentry repairs."

THE FUTURE OF THE SHELL GIRLS.

Very Few Are Going Back To "Cap And Apron."

TO KILL DRUDGERY.

Birmingham Scheme For Training Of Home-makers.

Everybody agrees that the splendid army of munition girls, their contribution to winning the war completed, has a very strong claim upon employers and the public generally now that they are reappearing as applicants for work. In Birmingham there are at the present time at least 7,000 who have signed the unemployment books at the Labour Exchange. What is to be the future of these girls?

Miss Julia Varley, the senior woman organiser of the Workers' Union, giving the *Daily Sketch's* Birmingham correspondent her views in an interview, admits that the situation was an anxious one, but she believes that with the scientific organisation of industry and the better understanding between employers and employed which has been fostered during the war a way out will be found.

Miss Varley is greatly interested in a scheme which is under consideration by the Women's Trade Union Advisory Committee for encouraging pre-war domestic servants to return to that calling.

Encouragement For Domestics.

"Our aim," Miss Varley said, "is to turn a C3 nation into a A1 nation, and we want to do what we can to create home makers.

"Since the war began there has been little opportunity for girls to learn the most rudimentary rules of housewifery, and the scheme contemplated would establish centres in all the big cities where girls who wished to do so might receive practical training in cookery and all the domestic sciences.

"In the old days, if a girl could not get a job, we said, 'There is always domestic service.' Too often these girls received poor wages, and became little more than drudges. We want to raise the status of domestic service, and we cannot do that without making the job worth while. We shall insist on a minimum wage, and a reasonable standard of living conditions generally."

Miss Varley added that the proposed scale of wages for indoor servants was 6s. weekly for girls of 16 years of age: 8s. for girls of 17; and 10s. a week for girls of 18 and over. The programme also included a proposal that all girls should be allowed two hours' freedom each day, to be arranged by mutual agreement with the mistress; and an annual holiday of a fortnight.

Back To Chocolate And Tobacco.

In and around Bristol the demobilisation of women workers from the munition factories is proceeding slowly, so that it is early yet to make any hazard as to what is likely to happen.

A number of girls who were employed in pre-war days in the cotton, chocolate, tobacco, corset and other factories employing female labour, which abound in Bristol, have been re-absorbed into their old occupations. The change-over has been made without a hitch, though often ruefully when comparison is made with the wages now and then.

Speaking generally, domestic service is "napoo." The girls are by no means keen. The Local Advisory Committee has formed a special women's committee to try to make domestic service more attractive and to standardise the conditions.

There is a little mystery about Sheffield's munition girls. When hostilities ceased there were about 15,000 women and girls engaged on shell and other munition work, and the majority have worked out their notices.

Comparatively few have registered themselves as unemployed or claimed the out-of-work pay, for the payment of which special exchanges in different parts of the city and district had been opened.

Where are the shell girls? Their overalls repose disconsolately in the stores at the shell factories; their unemployment pay is still counted out and enveloped in the exchanges awaiting claimants.

Returning To Former Employment.

Very few have gone back to domestic service, in spite of plaintive appeals in advertisements from registry offices. The domestic servant who turned shell-worker has a grievance that she is now classed as a domestic servant, and her unemployment pay ceases if she declines to take a domestic post. Many say they do not intend to go back to the cap and apron.

Another explanation of the mystery is that many have returned to their former employment in the silver and electro-plate factories, where there are enormous arrears of orders on the books.

The girls have realised their opportunity, and are now working at their old occupations at much higher wages than were paid before. Their earnings are about 30 to 40 per cent. lower than in the shell factories, where overtime, meal-time pay, and week-end working enabled them to add considerably to the standard wage.

Women's Prospects In Leeds.

There are three unemployment exchanges established in Leeds for dealing with the women and girls who have been demobilised from the various munitions factories in and around the city, and the staffs at these exchanges are fully occupied daily in paying the out-of-work benefit.

Inquiries show that for the most part the women are eager to resume work in the local factories, and it is anticipated that the bulk of them will readily be absorbed in the textile, boot and leather, and ready-made clothing industries as soon as these trades swing back to full work on ordinary peace-time employment.

In the textile industries the serious shortage of raw materials is likely to militate against the women's chances of regular employment for some little time yet.

Any Job Except "Domestic Service."

The large number of girls thus thrown on the labour market is not likely to materially assist in solving the domestic servant problem. Wages are too low, but the chief factor which sets the girls against domestic service is what they regard as the loss of their freedom, and most of them who visit the Labour Exchanges express themselves as willing to tackle any job "except domestic service."

Here and there girls have signified their willingness to take up domestic service, but they ask anything from 10s. to £1 weekly in wages, as well as their board and lodging, and such rates are naturally prohibitive.

Sheffield Telegraph 10. 1. 19

701

701/22

Observer 12. 1. 19

Sheffield Women's Work.

Sheffield, from what I hear, gives more openings for women's labour than any other town in the country just now. In fact, there is soon to be practically no unemployment there. It is indeed true, as a London paper states tonight, that last Saturday 9,000 girls discharged from munition work drew out-of-work pay in Sheffield, and that next Saturday 14,000 will receive it there. But that is below what is generally expected, and below the rate for other munition towns. They say that the munition women will not go back to domestic service, considering that they have a right to 25s. a week for 13 weeks. But no girl can continue to claim the money if she refuses suitable employment, and the ruling is that domestic service is suitable employment to any girl who before she entered a munition factory was a domestic servant. Should a former housemaid fail to apply at a "situation" which the Employment Exchange recommends, or should she refuse it without good reason, she will lose her out-of-work pay.

WOMEN AND WORK.

Reports from Germany state that women in that country who have obtained employment during the war on the railways or the tramways are refusing, now that their services are no longer required, to go back to housework. They have experience of other kinds of employment, and they are determined, if possible, not to return to their old lot. This is the case also with women in England. They are being discharged from the munition factories, and they are, as far as possible, obtaining other similar employment. But they will not even look at domestic service, and it is doubtful whether they will ever do so, until all the conditions of service have been changed. It is interesting to know that some thousands of the girls who have been employed on the land are now trying to obtain small holdings of their own. They like work on the land, and they think they can make it profitable. If the Government will only provide the land, many of the land girls are prepared to work it. It looks, therefore, as if the demand for small holdings, both for men and women, will in the near future be very large. This, we are convinced, will be a good thing, if only sensible men and women are settled upon the land. Nearly everything depends upon this.

Sheffield Telegraph 1. 18

Bradford Weekly Telegraph 25. 4. 19.

WORK AND WORKERS.

Male and Female Employment in Sheffield.

Since the opening of the new year unemployment, chiefly among women, has undergone a striking increase, and the number of persons drawing benefit at the present time is about 7,500. This is, however, considerably below the total that was estimated at the time hostilities ceased. There is reason to believe that a good many on the list are the reverse of desirous of getting jobs. There is a glut of typists of the inferior sort and very few openings. Domestic service would absorb a large number, but this kind of employment is distinctly unpopular. A fairly large proportion of the munitions women have gone into other trades, and it is estimated that during the course of the next few weeks the works will be seeking more female labour. Unemployment benefit lasts 13 weeks.

The Government order with respect to the payment of wages during holidays, exceeding the usual holiday stoppage, has brought a vast amount of clerical work to the unemployment bureaux. It has been decided that the normal Christmas stoppage is one week, and all men and women who had to exceed that period are to be paid for the extra days of idleness. More than 20,000 applications for this benefit have come in already and there are many more to follow.

It is interesting to know that male labour is scarce, and that peace time work cannot be dealt with in reasonable time for the want of men. Orders in some departments are abundant. All the employers are crying out for men from the Army. The applications by employers for soldiers for whom jobs are open amount to many thousands. Demobilisation is now being speeded up. A certain number of workers have returned to their old occupations and more than 8,000 individual applications for release from the men themselves have been approved by the military authorities. These are to be released as quickly as possible and their gradual return should begin next week. The actual demobilisation of the army, of course, does not begin for a week or two.

The local labour situation is greatly disturbed by the introduction of the 47-hours week. All sorts of objections are being raised to it. Some of the men want an interval between breakfast and the dinner hour for a snack, and others are asking for a still shorter day. The change, it is stated, will prove inconvenient and wasteful of fuel and time in those steel works where the processes are continuous and which deal with hot metal. What the men intend to do is not yet known definitely, but the local members of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers will discuss the matter at a meeting to be held shortly, when they will probably come to some decision.

THINNING OF WOMEN WAR WORKERS.

A Yorkshireman's Preference.

Day by day the ranks of the women "war-workers" are becoming thinned as the men come back and take up again their former employment. A week or so ago the last of the conductresses on the Bradford trams were replaced by returning warriors, and the other day we welcomed back our postmen, who left us four years ago to serve His Majesty's Government in a more strenuous field of endeavour. During his absence our letters have been brought to us by a post lady.

It is some time since we observed in the Bradford streets the picturesque lady window-cleaners, whose costumes, it may be remembered, excited quite a lot of comment when the women first assumed the masculine nether garment. But they did the work quite as well as the men, and used to wipe out the corners of the window panes very carefully.

Of course, in an industrial centre like Bradford, one does not have an opportunity of seeing the besmocked land-girls at work, but there used to be a fair sprinkling of feminine khaki in the streets. But even they seem to be passing through the demobilising machine, and we see the W.A.A.C.'s and the W.R.E.N.'s and the W.R.A.F. less frequently than a few months ago.

One sees the same thing at the railway stations. Up to the time when the Germans cried "Hold! Enough! the railway stations were staffed almost entirely by women—women porters, women ticket collectors and clerks, and women carriage cleaners.

And they proved themselves quite equal to the work, too. At one of the Bradford stations there was one stalwart Amazon who would shoulder a heavy case or lift a portmanteau with an ease which might well have excited the admiration of a professional weight-lifter.

One hard-headed Yorkshireman, when asked for his opinion, said he much preferred the women porters to the men. Further inquiry, however, showed that the reason for this preference was not due to his gallantry, but to the fact that whereas in the old days a porter expected a tip for services rendered, as a matter of course, a woman didn't.

As for the women who have been cleaning the carriages during the war, there are many travellers who assert that the trains have never been so clean, and the windows so transparent before.

We do not intend to commit ourselves.

As the men return to their former duties the women at the stations are becoming fewer.

But it is likely to be a long time yet before there will be enough men available to replace all the women who have been doing their work during the war.

WOMEN AND PRE-WAR WORK.

ARE THEY GOING BACK TO IT?

"The women," says "The Times" correspondent at Coblentz, "refuse to resume their pre-war status in the community." They decline to go back to house-work, and they are trying to retain the tramway and other municipal service work which has fallen to them during the war. Are there any signs of a similar tendency in this country?

A good deal has been heard about the dearth of servants, even now that the munitions staffs are being demobilised, but it is not the case, as is commonly believed, that that is the result of the unemployed Government allowance of 25s. a week. As a matter of fact, the unemployment benefit is for those women only who have no work to go to. It cannot be obtained by women who are offered and refuse what is considered to be a fair job. Any dispute on this point is a matter for settlement by the Court of Referees.

There were at the end of the war about a million and a half more women in employment than at the beginning. That something between a hundred and fifty and two hundred thousand, according to the latest return, should be unemployed is not considered a disquieting figure considering the rapid process of demobilisation from the factories.

A large proportion of the girls in munition factories were formerly domestic servants. According to an official census taken in one large group they formed twenty-five per cent. of the whole number of women employed. Are they now returning to domestic service? The answer is that where mistresses are offering good wages and comfortable conditions they are; but the supply has by no means caught up with the demand.

Many reasons induced women to change their occupation during the war. Some were purely patriotic reasons. Others were due rather to the higher remuneration and the greater freedom that were offered. The old conditions, with their long hours of duty, were often very irksome, and where these conditions at their worst remain unchanged the reluctance to return to them is strong.

Taking the country through, it is found that the number of registrations for service in hotels exceeds the demand. The reason is that the work for servants in hotels is better organised than in many private houses, and that it is good and efficient organisation for which women are seeking. In the case of charwomen the registration about equals the demand, and, in spite of the fact that certain laundries in London cannot get the maids they want, the general experience throughout the country is that registration for laundry work slightly exceeds the demand.

The return to factories is depending to a great extent upon the attitude of the trade unions, who have still to decide the position of the woman dilutee, the woman, that is, who is employed on man's work. Until the point is decided it is felt that there will not be very much opening for women in trade factories, though ultimately there will be room enough. The number of women who left these factories for munition-making during the war was nearly as great as that of domestic servants. Many firms have not discharged their women. The chemical trades, for example, are keeping them practically all on; the electrical works are still employing them; and many of the factories that have been making a rapid change from war to peace conditions are reabsorbing their women.

It is also a fact worth recording that a large number of women to whom unemployment policies were issued a month or two ago are no longer drawing their allowance. They have either returned to their former occupation or they have found others. The general tendency, in fact, has been, after the first few weeks' holiday on leaving the munition factory, for the women to look round for work again.

Weekly Irish Times Dublin 1.11.19

701/23

Hampshire Telegraph 28.3.19

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DUBLIN LADIES' WAR WORK.

The final meeting of the lady workers connected with the Central Red Cross Workrooms was held at 64 Merrion square, Dublin, on Monday, the Lady Talbot de Malahide, President, in the chair.

Among those present were:—Mrs. Greer, Mrs. Barker, Mrs. Horace Law, Mr. Denis R. Pack Beresford, Mr. and Mrs. Maconchy, Mr. and Mrs. Gamble, Miss Cusack, Miss Seeds (Hon. Secretary), Mrs. Franks, Mrs. West, Mrs. Mooney, Miss MacNeile, Miss Shaw, etc.

The Right Hon. Sir John Ross said that in the summer of 1917 these premises were taken, and established as central workrooms. They had to acknowledge their indebtedness to Mr. Hayes, who put that fine house at their disposal, and to Mrs. Greer, but for whose devotion to the cause the great services he was about to detail would never have been achieved. Miss Cusack was also a most efficient helper, while Mrs. Franks had given invaluable services as Hon. Secretary, as had also the heads of the departments, including Mrs. Franks, Miss MacNeile, Mrs. Latimer, and Miss Minchin. He would simply give a statement of statistics covering the period since the Central Workrooms were removed to 64 Merrion square. These were the only workrooms in the United Kingdom that did cutting out to supply the workrooms elsewhere. From September 12th 1917, to December 31st, 1918, there had been 223,040 yards (equalling 126¼ miles) of flannel cut out in the cutting-out rooms, which had realised 58,924 garments. Of this number 18,186 had been made in the Central Workrooms alone. The remaining 40,738 garments had been despatched to the 174 different work parties. During the last six months alone, there had been over 41 miles of flannel cut out in the cutting-out rooms. The following number of garments had been made during that period in the Central Workrooms. Pyjamas, 1,250; vests, 503; pants, 365; day shirts, 456; helpless case shirts, 289; night shirts, 381; making a total of 3,244 garments made from July 1st last to December 31st. To this should be added an average of forty pairs of slippers a week. A more economic establishment than theirs had never existed. It was hardly any expense to the Government or the great funds in the country—it was through the liberality of the workers themselves that the establishment had done most for the cause. Donations and sales at the central workrooms realised £176 7s. 4d., the sale of baby clothes realised £33 14s. 10d., and the proceeds of the Whitsuntide Fair were £331 1s. 10d., while the cost of installation and equipment, including canteen equipment, was only £308 1s. 6d., which meant that they had £240 over expenses. (Applause.) As to waste from the cutting out of flannel, baby clothes for poor children were made from the clippings and cuttings left over from the Red Cross garments. They were sold, and the money given to the Red Cross Fund. This idea was started by Mrs. Adam in June, 1917, and had been carried on since, with the result that £60 8s. 4d. had been realised in the six months from June to December, 1918. Much praise was due to Mrs. Latimer, who was in charge of the canteen, and who had not only furnished all that was required of her, but had made a gross profit of £130 8s. (Applause.) He hoped that in case of all houses where such great work was being done, like Nos. 64 and 40 Merrion square, that they would be able to set up in bronze a plaque on the wall to show the noble work these ladies had rendered.

WOMEN WHO WILL NOT WORK.

Between 150,000 and 200,000 women, mostly war workers, are unemployed. Of these about 25,000 are in Greater London. "Hardly any of them need be out of work if they would accept the work available," said a Ministry of Labour official.

At the Employment Exchange at Shepherd's Bush, a typical munition area, the majority of the women registered about 3,500—before the war were laundry hands or domestic servants. Almost all have registered as "factory" hands, knowing that the Exchange cannot offer them all factory work, and their out-of-work pay must therefore continue. If they had registered in their pre-war employment work would be found for them before the ink could dry, for there is an enormous demand for laundry hands and domestic workers.

"In the munition factory," said a woman laundry hand, "I earned more money, but, best of all, I had regular hours. That is what appeals to me. Until I get similar work I am content to have a holiday on the Government's 25s. a week."

At West End Exchanges the number of resident unemployed is not large, but outsiders, who come from other parts of London to find work in the magic quarter of Regent street and Bond street, swell the number. Employers are crying out for dressmakers and milliners, and there is a large demand for waitresses and domestic servants. A girl, a dressmaker before the war, refused employment at a 50 per cent. increase of pay. She said that she had received £3 a week in a factory.

Over 6,000 demobilised women munition workers are drawing out-of-work benefit at Leeds. They refuse to do domestic service.

WOMEN'S RETURN TO CIVIL WORK.

701

Unfair Charge of "Holiday" Slackers.

Complaints have been made that demobilised munition workers are making "holiday" with the State unemployment pay, and are not seeking other employment as quickly as they might do. While this charge may be well founded in some instances, it is unfair to the general mass of munition workers.

Latest returns obtainable show that of the total number of demobilised employees who have received State unemployment pay since Nov. 25 the following have ceased to claim it:

Men	44 per cent.
Boys	25 per cent.
Women	28 per cent.
Girls	42 per cent.

It is assumed that these workers have been re-absorbed by industries which have turned from war to peace work.

NEED FOR RAW MATERIAL.

Every week adds to the list of demobilised workers, but concurrently with the increase in the discharges there is a steady, if slower, reabsorption into private industry. Two factors militating against a speedier reabsorption are the needs for raw materials and more pivotal men. The one is a matter of ships and the other chiefly one of Army demobilisation. As supplies of both are forthcoming in greater quantities and numbers, more openings will be created for employment of both men and women. In the case of the engineering and allied trades, however, the question of the employment of women, it is pointed out, depends almost entirely upon the attitude of the trade unions in regard to the dilutees.

DOMESTIC SERVICE.

Meanwhile, domestic service and laundry work remain the most unsatisfied sources of employment. In regard to the former, mistresses have begun to realise that, after the liberty enjoyed by their former domestic servants while on munition work, they will not return to the long hours and drudgery of pre-war service. Instances are reported of mistresses who have shortened the hours and increased the wages of servants they have re-engaged.

"The loneliness of the life," said one authority yesterday, "is a greater deterrent than the wages. This, however, might to some extent be overcome if the domestic servants were given more regular hours and more evenings free, and if at the same time the many girls' clubs founded during the war were continued as peace-time institutions to which the girls could resort for recreation and enjoyment."

MUNITION GIRLS.

Many munition girls, members of the W.A.A.C.s and sister services, have expressed a desire to emigrate to the Dominions, but all except wives, and later the fiancées, of overseas soldiers will be unable to book passages for at least a year on account of the demand for available shipping for returning soldiers to their homes. The various emigration agencies will then, it is stated, provide assisted passages for women who are prepared to go out as household helps in the towns and on the farms in the Dominions. Preference will then be given to women who can give a reference showing that they have been engaged in domestic service or are able to undertake the work. "Those who wish to emigrate, and cannot find employment elsewhere," said an authority yesterday, "might consider the advisability of taking up temporary occupations as domestic servants."

TRADES COUNCIL MATTERS.

Women in the Dockyard.

There was a full meeting of the Trades and Labour Council yesterday week, Mr. A. G. Gourd taking the chair. — A letter from the Admiral Superintendent re the discharge of women from the Dockyard, explaining that much trouble was taken in ascertaining that the necessitous cases were retained as long as possible, had been considered by the Executive, who recommended that a public meeting be held on this question.—This was moved by Mrs. Toms, and seconded by Mr. Porter, and it provoked much discussion. Mr. Britton said the Crafts Union had pressed for the discharge of the women in accordance with the Admiralty agreement. Men were returning day after day, and must be restored to their old positions. On behalf of the Workers' Union, Mr. Cowell said they wished the Admiralty to extend the time of employment for widows who had no other means of subsistence, of whom there were about 24 in the yard.—Mr. Durman pointed out that a quantity of work has been put out to contract which the women could do in the Yard. This would not affect the Crafts Unions at all. In the drawing office it had been decided to retain a number of lady tracers. Those were not widows but mostly daughters of officials. The Chairman said there was an enormous amount of sweating going on in Portsmouth and other Dockyard towns through sub-letting. He did not believe there had been any increase in the making of the garments of Marines etc., since the outbreak of war. The women should be employed direct by the Admiralty for this work at a standard rate of wage, instead of being employed by contractors at sweated wages. He considered the best thing to be done was to organise a meeting, asking the Admiralty to extend the Colour Loft, and to set up machinery whereby women could be employed directly on the making of clothing.—It was decided unanimously to support the recommendation of the Executive.

WOMEN WORKERS.

LABOUR MINISTRY DEPUTATION.

Sir Robert Horne, Minister of Labour, received a deputation on Wednesday representing the National Federation of General Workers, and the National Federation of Women Workers.

The deputation was introduced by Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., who explained the conditions and the present position of the women workers, and said the Government should take immediate steps to organise schemes of useful work and training for women, and also continue unemployment benefit for the whole period during which women were out of work.

Sir Robert Horne, replying, said the country was going through a very severe trial. He regarded the situation as far more difficult than any with which they were confronted during the war. In some respects, he added, it is full of dangers just as great, and things might very well happen at the present time which would inflict as severe an injury upon the country as a military defeat at certain stages in the war would have caused. The Government, he said, was not unsympathetic with regard to the hardship of women.

If the Government started to compete with private enterprise when it was so shaken and nervous, that would deter manufacturers from enterprises they were prepared to carry on, and that would make unemployment even worse. The present state of unrest was a great deterrent. "You hardly realise that the state of Europe is a great anxiety to anybody who cares anything for our civilisation. Do not imagine this Government can control great forces of the world which at the present time are inimical to the improvement of the condition of unemployment."

Daily News
20. 1. 19

DEMOBILISED CIVIL SERVICE WOMEN.

130,000 to be Involved in a Few Months.

Within the next three or four months the women clerks in many Government and municipal offices will receive their notices to quit. The number of those likely to be demobilised has been estimated from a comparison of Government figures at approximately 130,000.

Miss Evans, secretary of the Association of Women Clerks and Secretaries, explaining the position on Saturday, said that representations had been made to the Civil War Workers' Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction in regard to the position of the demobilised women clerks, but no action had yet been taken in the matter. "When the girls are discharged," she said, "the market will be overstocked with semi-trained clerical workers, whose experience has given them no useful qualifications for the class of work demanded in business firms. They will be in a worse position than the munition girls, who can draw 25s. a week benefit, because the bulk of them will not be discharged until after May 25, when the grant will be discontinued. The head of an L.C.C. department told me the other day that he had under him 200 women clerks doing satisfactorily the work of 300 men. When I asked if they were to be kept on he said he had not considered the matter."

Referring to the subject of wages, Miss Evans said a University girl who had been receiving a good salary as a junior administrator had recently asked the head of her department what was to happen to her when she was demobilised. "You will be lucky if you get 30s. a week," was the reply. "Others have to put up with it, and so will you."

Miss Evans added that she felt the girls were entitled to receive the Government unemployment benefit while they were seeking fresh employment.

A mass meeting of women clerks is to be held at the Caxton Hall to-morrow evening at 6.30 to discuss the question, and among the points raised will be the need of opening all branches of the Civil Service to women, including the first class. Mr. Carmichael, of the London Trades Council, will take the chair, and the speakers will be leading members of the Women Clerks' and Secretaries' Association.

Times
19. 4. 19.

MORE WOMEN OUT OF WORK.

REABSORPTION RATES.

The total number of unemployed persons whose out-of-work donation policies remained lodged at employment exchanges on March 28 and had been signed within the preceding six days, was 1,060,245. Of these, 753,982 were for civilians and 306,263 were for demobilized members of the Forces. Two-thirds of the civilians were women and girls. A rise at the end of March in the number of women's policies lodged was largely due to conditions in the cotton and jute trades.

An analysis given in the *Labour Gazette* of 1,050,449 of the policies lodged on March 28 shows that the duration of payments in 193,722 cases had ranged from 61 to 120 days; in 739,077 cases the duration had been less than 60 days; and in 117,650 cases policies had been lodged, but no payments had been made.

The number of policies on which reduced donation was being paid after the expiry of the first period of 13 weeks was 23,666. Nearly two-thirds of the extended policies are held by women, a large proportion of which is attributable to the fact that discharge of women from munition works took place more rapidly after the Armistice than discharge of men. Noteworthy improvements in the reabsorption percentages for civilians were recorded in March, while the percentage for demobilized men remained steady at about 80 per cent. The largest numbers of unemployed men and women are found in the engineering and ironfounding, building, transport, and textile trades, and among general labourers.

Nottingham Journal & Express. 1. 1. 19

WOMEN WORKERS.

Employment Outlook in Nottingham.

MANY OPENINGS.

The question of the re-employment of local women war-workers, thrown on the market by the cessation of hostilities, seems gradually to be nearing a solution.

As far as the clerical war-workers are concerned, they are for the most part being drafted to other Government departments. With industrial workers the question is rather different. The shock of the armistice, and the natural closing of the big munition contracts threw a large number of women temporarily out of work. In addition many women, experienced for the greater part, had during the war been drafted to other centres, and with the closing down of works returned to Nottingham. The result was a temporary large displacement of labour, which it is hoped will remain but temporary.

To cope with the larger volume of work, and for greater ease in working the women's department, the Employment Exchange has been transferred with its staff and able chief, Miss Macarthur, to the Mechanics Institute, which is much more central than the premises in Stanford street.

First Come, First Served.

Now that Christmas is over, there will probably be much re-employment of women war-workers. Several large local firms have realised the advantage of getting the pick of the industrial market and have already substantially enlarged their staffs in view of developments. Some hundreds of local women workers are already in new employment. The early demobilisation of pivotal men in the different industries will lead in many cases to enlarged staffs of workpeople, and employers would be well advised not to wait till the best women have gone, but to show enterprise and get efficient staffs now in anticipation of the return of these men. Here, as elsewhere, the first comers are best served.

While female labour locally is at present plentiful, work for women is also fairly abundant. The war contracts in hosiery have not been cancelled, nor those in the shirt trade. How long, of course, this plentitude of work will continue is uncertain; but no falling off in orders is anticipated especially in the hosiery trade, as the stock of hose and underwear in the country is extraordinary low owing to the fact that manufacturers, during the war, have concentrated mainly on Government orders.

Lace Trade Quiet.

As far as the lace trade is concerned there is a temporary slump. Orders, in some cases, in anticipation of lowered prices, are being held up. Here, there is no immediate demand for female labour.

In the blouse trade, i.e., the making-up branch, there is a great shortage of labour. Practically every firm is understaffed, and can take on any amount of women and girls.

The outlook for unemployed women war-workers in Nottingham is brighter than in centres where the staple industries need male, rather than female, labour.

Globe
3. 4. 19

PRIVATE WOMEN'S LAND ARMY.

It is understood that the Women's Land Army will be demobilised as a Government force at the end of the coming autumn, but that it is kilely to remain on a private basis. More than 6,000 women wish to remain on the land, as against about 3,500 who prefer other employment. The demand for women workers is so brisk that the supply of horse-women and milkers particularly is quite unequal to it.

701/24
Times
20. 1. 19

CHARTER FOR WORKING WOMEN.

FEARS OF EXPLOITATION.

The National Federation of Women Workers is arranging a meeting to be held at the Albert Hall in a few weeks' time, at which demobilized women munition workers will present a series of resolutions embodying a charter outlining rates of fair pay and fair conditions of work.

There is considerable discontent among the demobilized women at what, in women's trade union circles, is regarded as an effort to exploit the unemployed women on badly paid domestic service and sweated laundry work, and to mislead public opinion into believing that the out-of-work women who refuse to accept £26 or £30 a year for domestic work and 17s. or 18s. a week in a laundry are having a cheap holiday at the country's expense. The greater number of the women engaged on making munitions were not, it is stated, drawn from those employed in either of these forms of labour, and they do not feel that it would be any more reasonable to expect them to adopt them now than it would be to expect an unemployed man, whatever his previous employment, to become a dock labourer or a road sweeper. An instance of the kind of thing which is complained of is said to have occurred at Leeds, where a woman with a university training previously engaged on important munition work was offered by a Labour Exchange a job as a road sweeper. There was a case recently in a London suburb of a woman who had maintained her family of three children during the war by munition work, employing another woman to look after the children during her absence from home. When demobilization came she was entitled to 25s. a week plus 12s. for her children, and could have managed on this as she had no longer to employ another woman to look after her children. The Labour Exchange, however, offered her a job at 24s. a week, and as it was impossible for her on this wage to maintain her children and pay someone to mind them she refused. Her out-of-work grant and allowances were immediately stopped and she is now almost penniless. Yet another case is that of a woman munition worker with many claims upon her, who for some time before demobilization had been earning 8s. extra a week for two hours' work each evening by taking the tickets at a cinema house. When her munition work stopped she was refused the 25s. grant because of the 8s. she was still earning at the cinema. Her case was brought before the Court of Referees and she lost it.

Croydon Times
16. 3. 18

Their Business Way.

The National Federation of Women Workers illustrated their business ability at Dennett Hall on Wednesday. They are not satisfied, for one thing, with the present methods for dealing with the problem of demobilisation. They think there is too much shilly-shallying with the question, so instead of following the example of the men folk in useless spouting without action, they have formulated a programme and button-holed a nice little bunch of 30 M.P.'s at the House of Commons. Men folk would probably have passed a resolution on the subject, ordered copies of it to be sent, etc. There seems to be more initiative, more sustained power, and more constructive ability about women than in the generality of mankind. We shall find this out in the future, and, in my own humble opinion, it will not be a bad thing for us, either.

The 10d. Jump.

FROM WAR TO PEACE.

TRANSITION IN ENGINEERING INDUSTRY.

(By Our Local Correspondents.)

The following are reports on the progress made and the difficulties encountered in the change-over from war to peace conditions in various centres of engineering industry :—

NORTH-EAST COAST.

The period of transition on the North-East Coast is being accompanied by a good deal of difficulty and unrest. A working people, whose conduct throughout hostilities was of the most exemplary character, have developed a peculiar touchiness and irritability, and there is trouble over the operation of the 47-hours' week, a serious aspect of which is that it has already delayed the production of much material essential to reconstruction projects.

Meanwhile, the dismissals from munition works continue to grow, slowly by comparison with the large batches dispensed with in the early days, but too quickly for social comfort. It is stated that in Newcastle alone, there are about 6,000 women and 5,000 men in receipt of the State unemployment benefit of 25s. and 29s. per week respectively. There is a strong feeling of resentment among many sections of the community against this subsidy. The acting chairman of the Gateshead magistrates recently declined to sign an unemployment donation certificate, on the ground that, so long as men received 29s. a week for being idle, they would not get jobs. He stated there were about 10,000 men on Tyneside who would not get work, though there was plenty to be had. There is, however, considerable reluctance, especially on the part of the elder men, to take advantage of what some of them stigmatize as State charity.

The fate of Elisabethville, the great Belgian colony at Birtley, in Durham county, hangs in the balance at present. The National Factory there, which gave employment to thousands of Belgians, has been closed down ; what is to become of it is as yet uncertain, and the question does not appear to have begun to worry anyone in high places. It is reported, however, that a great firm of motor-car makers is in negotiation with the Ministry of Munitions for the acquisition of the factory, buildings, and the residential portion of the colony in order to adapt the works for the manufacture of cars and motor-cycles.

Some very contradictory reports are flying about with reference to the early industrial prospects in this district. On the one hand, there are pessimists who appear to be convinced that the suspension of our ordinary industrial processes during the last 4½ years has given our competitors, especially those who kept out of the war most or all the time, a flying start, as a result of which they will maintain a substantial lead over us. At a recent meeting of shipbuilders and engineers in Newcastle, jeremiads were uttered with reference to British shipbuilding, because of the marvellous progress the Americans have made in the art and practice of ship construction. One eminent shipbuilder affirmed that unless our costs of production were reduced, shipowners would not give out orders as numerously as had been hoped for. He stated that orders were not being given out and that, while everybody hitherto had believed that there would be ample employment, it was quite possible that employment would fall off before very long and that our share of the shipbuilding of the world would continue to decline. As against that view, there is reason to believe that the position of most of the North-East Coast shipyards, in respect of booked orders at remunerative figures is eminently satisfactory and that, provided the industry can be kept free from labour disputes and other untoward happenings, employment is guaranteed for at least a couple of years ahead.

While some few employers are metaphorically wringing their hands over the highness of present wages and the shortness of the working weeks for which the men are striving, others are improving the occasion by pointing out that neither high wages nor short working weeks will matter if only a sufficient increase of efficiency, such as the men showed themselves capable of during the war, is maintained. Thus, Mr. C. F. Dixon, chairman of the Cleveland Bridge and Engineering Company, states that there are a number of ways in which, even with shorter hours, costs may be materially reduced, *e.g.*, by more regular time-keeping, by punctual stopping and starting of work at machines, and, in view of the longer rest-periods, by working at higher speeds than formerly. He points out that the men know best where waste of time and effort occurs, and that, if only they will assist in checking this, the necessary cheapening of production can be obtained without any further effort than steady work during the hours in the shops.

The housing question is likely to prove a barrier to full industrial development in some parts of the district. One local engineering company, which has booked a large order for mine cars for South America, needs the services of many more workmen than were formerly in its employment, but in speedily prepared for new orders for bridge work, girders, lathes, and engine parts that there has been no stoppage except for the Christmas holidays. Even the workshops set up for the output of war materials have not all been closed. It is understood that negotiations are proceeding between the Government and private firms for the transference of these places, lock, stock, and barrel, and in at least one instance there is very keen competition for the purchase. The huge aircraft works at Hollinwood, which had barely begun operations when the armistice was signed, will probably soon be devoted to their original purpose of cotton-spinning. A shell-filling factory at Manchester is also being changed back to its former use as an exhibition hall, and a railway company has taken over a big portion of a works near Lancaster for storage purposes. There remain many other similar workshops for disposal, but there is little fear that any considerable number will be allowed to become derelict.

It is a healthy sign, too, that the demand for skilled craftsmen, mostly designers, tool setters, and draughtsmen, continues much as before. There are, indeed, very few skilled men of any kind out of employment. According to a recent return the unemployed in Lancashire do not amount to more than 30,000. Of this number by far the larger proportion are women who have been engaged in shell filling, tending automatic lathes, and other purely war-time occupations. Their future is causing some anxiety, as it does not seem likely that they will be required again for engineering work. This prospect has relieved a rather critical situation in regard to the men's unions. It was at one time thought that the objection against women remaining in the industry would be over-ruled, but the prejudice against them has grown more insistent, and though some unions have not announced any definite policy, others have declared that they will not allow their members to work alongside women who have been imported since the outbreak of war. On the other hand, the women's unions have expressed a determination to keep a close hold on the industry, and their strength is not now to be despised.

SHEFFIELD.

Engineering firms in Sheffield are not now quite so optimistic as they were in the first wave of enthusiasm and relief from the immediate pressure of war work, following the signing of the armistice, and their present attitude is rather of the "wait and see" character.

One of the largest manufacturers in the city, and a recognized leader in the engineering industry of the country, has expressed the view that the immediate prospects of trade are anything but satisfactory. There seems, he says, to be a general impression that prices are going to fall, and on that account prospective customers are hesitating about placing orders or embarking on new enterprises until they get some idea of what that drop in prices is likely to be. Indeed, orders are being cancelled on a somewhat extensive scale and goods refused on the pretext of late delivery, but really on account of the expected fall in prices. Most manufacturers, he states, have orders on their books sufficient to carry them on for another month or two unless further cancellations take place, and there is no reluctance on their part to accept orders, the reluctance being entirely on the part of the customers.

How long this stagnation is likely to continue it is difficult to say. Certainly it cannot be prolonged. The works are not idle and cannot afford to be so, nor, on the other hand, are manufacturers disposed to accumulate large stocks of their products. Some of them are inclined to the opinion that this will inevitably bring prices down. On the other hand, costs of production have so enormously increased that it cannot be expected that prices will revert to anything like pre-war figures. At the same time, there is equally a disposition on the part of prospective customers to refuse to pay the artificially inflated prices that ruled during the war.

Another factor that is holding back the expected boom in trade is the uncertainty in regard to Government control. In some departments this control has been released, but in others it still operates, and manufacturers find this state of things most confusing and hampering, especially in regard to export business. It is also felt that it is high time the Government declared its trade policy in regard to Allies, neutrals, and enemy countries. Some of the Allies seem to have different trade policies of a protective nature with which British manufacturers are quite unable to deal until the policy of this country is known. The difficulty is accentuated by the fact that the Allies are imposing their protective policy not by means of tariff, but rather by a refusal of import licences.

Labour conditions constitute another factor of some uncertainty. In Sheffield there is no lack of skilled labour, nor, on the other hand, is there any considerable surplus. Unemployment is not so extensive as the Labour Exchange officials had expected, and it is practically confined to those people who went into the works purely to meet war needs. The men who were in the shops before the war are, generally speaking, still there, and there is plenty of work to keep them fully employed for some months to come. The operation of the 47-hours' week has, however, been attended by some degree of unsettlement. The men themselves are not wholly satisfied, but they are gradu-

days and save the difference. Still, there is plenty of work for the time being. A large number of vessels damaged during the war are still waiting to be repaired, and employment is assured for all the men obtainable during the next 12 months.

On the railways the difficulty is to secure the demobilization of sufficient men to deal with the revival of traffic. Coal-mining is more active than ever, and the men demobilized from the Army are being steadily absorbed. There is a constant and increasing demand for all classes of iron and steel, and there are no prospects of unemployment in this industry. It may be that some temporary slackness will be experienced, but there will be no check in production, and any surplus will go to stock until it can be utilized. The tinplate and galvanizing sheet industries, which were so much curtailed during the war in order to release metals and labour for war purposes, will absorb all the steel that is likely to be obtained during the next year or two. There is considerable complaint that tinplate workers have not been returned from the Army quickly enough to enable the industry to resume operations with reasonable promptitude.

SCOTLAND.

Comparatively little progress has yet been made in Scotland in the industrial change over to peace conditions. The progress made so far has been almost wholly in the way of demobilizing workers at the different munition factories rather than in transferring these workers to other industries. Even this, however, has been confined very largely to the new factories, which were specially created for war purposes, as distinguished from extensions of works organized by pre-war engineering or shipbuilding companies.

A very large proportion of the war factories in Scotland were of the latter class, and the firms concerned are doing all they can to retain the largest possible number of their employees, by finding employment for them in those sections of their works which were devoted to ordinary production before the war or by changing over their war-time extensions to peace-time industries. In the cases, for example, of such firms as Messrs. William Beardmore and Co., Messrs. G. and J. Weir, the Singer Manufacturing Company, the Albion Motor Car Company, and a number of others, there is in prospect a great demand for peace-time products which should absorb a large number of their war-time employees—after the intermediate stage has been passed.

Messrs. Beardmore are best known as shipbuilders, marine engineers, and armour, armament, and steel makers, but since the war began they have organized not only great munition factories, but also great works for the manufacture of complete aeroplanes and airships of all types. It is expected that this branch of the firm's war-time activities will be continued and will employ many of the present workers. Messrs. G. and J. Weir have also been engaged largely on the production of aeroplane parts as well as on shells, and have made extensive additions to their shops. These additions can quite well be turned over to aeroplane work, or they can be devoted to the manufacture of pumps and other marine auxiliary machinery for which there is bound to be a great demand for some years.

The Singer Manufacturing Company's great sewing machine factory at Kilbowie was the largest and most highly organized of its kind in the United Kingdom, if not in Europe ; but for several years it has done very little work of the character with which its name is publicly associated. It too has been devoted largely to the manufacture of aeroplane parts on a system of quantity production similar to that on which it turns out sewing machine parts. In this case, too, the change-over should mean only a change of employment for the great majority of the workers, as there is an assured increase in the demand for sewing machines, both for home and foreign markets. As a large proportion of the company's employees have always been women demobilization should not mean the dismissal of so many workers as in the case of those engineering firms who—in normal times—employ mainly male artizans, and who must revert almost wholly to these if they are to resume their former classes of work.

WOMEN IN SHIPBUILDING.

In the shipyards and marine engineering shops, and also in the locomotive shops in the West of Scotland, the change-over promises to consist almost wholly of taking on additional employees, and it is expected that these works will find work for a fair proportion of those who are being demobilized from the munition factories proper. The difficulty is that the workers at the great explosives factory at Gretna, the big shell-filling factory at Georgetown, near Paisley, and the other places which depended wholly for their existence on the making of munitions for use in the actual fighting, were very largely women who were drawn from domestic service, from offices, and from home life, and who thus have no training fitting them for positions in general engineering works. Hence in order to find employment for them in peace-time industries there will have to be considerable reshuffling of male workers so that "handy men" may become more and more artizans, and so make room for women in places where division of labour has been carried to an extreme length. Even then it is doubtful if more than a small number of women can ever find work in shipyards and marine engi-

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cline. As against that view, there is reason to believe that the position of most of the North-East Coast shipyards, in respect of booked orders at remunerative figures is eminently satisfactory and that, provided the industry can be kept free from labour disputes and other untoward happenings, employment is guaranteed for at least a couple of years ahead.

While some few employers are metaphorically wringing their hands over the highness of present wages and the shortness of the working weeks for which the men are striving, others are improving the occasion by pointing out that neither high wages nor short working weeks will matter if only a sufficient increase of efficiency, such as the men showed themselves capable of during the war, is maintained. Thus, Mr. C. F. Dixon, chairman of the Cleveland Bridge and Engineering Company, states that there are a number of ways in which, even with shorter hours, costs may be materially reduced, *e.g.*, by more regular time-keeping, by punctual stopping and starting of work at machines, and, in view of the longer rest-periods, by working at higher speeds than formerly. He points out that the men know best where waste of time and effort occurs, and that, if only they will assist in checking this, the necessary cheapening of production can be obtained without any further effort than steady work during the hours in the shops.

The housing question is likely to prove a barrier to full industrial development in some parts of the district. One local engineering company, which has booked a large order for mine cars for South America, needs the services of many more workmen than were formerly in its employment, but is finding itself handicapped by the shortage of houses in the neighbourhood of its works. This is by no means an isolated instance.

LANCASHIRE.

The problems of reconstruction are being tackled resolutely in Lancashire, but the progress is much too slow for the eager manufacturers. There appears to be no doubt that the engineering industry, among others, is going to have almost as flourishing a time under peace conditions as it did in the war days.

Industrial activities have begun anew in the textile engineering trade. This branch suffered greatly in the war, and as the staple trade of Lancashire depends so much on a steady and even increasing output of machinery and plant, there is much leeway to be made up. The mills and the cotton trade generally are rapidly recovering from a period of comparative stagnation due largely to shortage of raw material. Textile engineering firms are therefore all the more anxious to resume their old activities again, and it is some encouragement to them that the Government have expressed their intention to apply 50 per cent. of the machinery output to the reorganization of the cotton and kindred trades in France.

In other directions reconstruction schemes are slowly emerging. It has already been found possible to re-engage thousands of demobilized war workers for the occupations of peace time. That is a process which must inevitably be subject to fluctuations, but the beginning is exceedingly promising. Alarmists on the question of unemployment are no longer to be found in Lancashire. As an instance, it may be mentioned that a large concern in South Lancashire has given a definite undertaking to practically all its demobilized war workers that their employment will be resumed and put on a permanent basis in a few weeks' time; this has been rendered possible through the securing of a very big contract for locomotives for a railway company which previously always constructed them in its own shops. Another firm, which employed during war time over 4,000 workers, or nearly double the number engaged in pre-war days, has had to dispense with only about 200 women, the works having been so

to anything like pre-war figures. At the same time, there is equally a disposition on the part of prospective customers to refuse to pay the artificially inflated prices that ruled during the war.

Another factor that is holding back the expected boom in trade is the uncertainty in regard to Government control. In some departments this control has been released, but in others it still operates, and manufacturers find this state of things most confusing and hampering, especially in regard to export business. It is also felt that it is high time the Government declared its trade policy in regard to Allies, neutrals, and enemy countries. Some of the Allies seem to have different trade policies of a protective nature with which British manufacturers are quite unable to deal until the policy of this country is known. The difficulty is accentuated by the fact that the Allies are imposing their protective policy not by means of tariff, but rather by a refusal of import licences.

Labour conditions constitute another factor of some uncertainty. In Sheffield there is no lack of skilled labour, nor, on the other hand, is there any considerable surplus. Unemployment is not so extensive as the Labour Exchange officials had expected, and it is practically confined to those people who went into the works purely to meet war needs. The men who were in the shops before the war are, generally speaking, still there, and there is plenty of work to keep them fully employed for some months to come. The operation of the 47-hours, week has, however, been attended by some degree of unsettlement. The men themselves are not wholly satisfied, but they are gradually adapting themselves to the new conditions. The employers feel, however, that they have not been considered in the matter, and as a result considerable dislocation has resulted. This might have been obviated had the Government consulted with the employers, and a scheme might have been evolved in friendly conference that would have given far more general satisfaction.

Engineering firms do not at present seem disposed to launch out into new developments on any considerable scale. There is, however, plant and power available for adaptation to a great variety of products if makers are only assured of a market and remunerative prices. Nothing has yet been done in regard to the national factory erected for the manufacture of projectiles. One local firm has made an offer for it, but this was not accepted. Until the conditions of future trade are more settled local manufacturers prefer to concentrate on lines which they found profitable in pre-war days. It is for the Government to encourage a bolder and more adventurous policy. "The plant is here, and we have the skilled men; we can do anything if only we make a start" was the summing up of the situation by one of the leaders in the engineering industry.

SOUTH WALES.

Post-war problems in South Wales are made more complex by the high wages which prevailed during the war. Particularly is this so among the women workers, and demobilized munitioners dislike intensely the idea of returning to pre-war vocations, laundry work and domestic service being viewed with special aversion.

The women say they are going to draw the 25s. a week for the full period allowed by the Government before they will re-enter the old vocations, and among employers the consensus of opinion is that the payment of a weekly out-of-work bonus is a mistake. What should have been done, they argue, was to give the women a lump sum, and tell them that that was all they would get.

Dry dock owners are afflicted with a cognate trouble. The dry dock worker is at once very practical and yet impractical. If he can keep his wife and family by working only three days a week, he does not see why he should work six

only a change of employment for the great majority of the workers, as there is an assured increase in the demand for sewing machines, both for home and foreign markets. As a large proportion of the company's employees have always been women demobilization should not mean the dismissal of so many workers as in the case of those engineering firms who—in normal times—employ mainly male artizans, and who must revert almost wholly to these if they are to resume their former classes of work.

Women in Shipbuilding.

In the shipyards and marine engineering shops, and also in the locomotive shops in the West of Scotland, the change-over promises to consist almost wholly of taking on additional employees, and it is expected that these works will find work for a fair proportion of those who are being demobilized from the munition factories proper. The difficulty is that the workers at the great explosives factory at Gretna, the big shell-filling factory at Georgetown, near Paisley, and the other places which depended wholly for their existence on the making of munitions for use in the actual fighting, were very largely women who were drawn from domestic service, from offices, and from home life, and who thus have no training fitting them for positions in general engineering works. Hence in order to find employment for them in peace-time industries there will have to be considerable reshuffling of male workers so that "handy men" may become more and more artizans, and so make room for women in places where division of labour has been carried to an extreme length. Even then it is doubtful if more than a small number of women can ever find work in shipyards and marine engineering shops. They have been tried on the Clyde during the war, and it has been found that, while they are quite satisfactory as workers, the number of jobs suitable for them, especially in the shipyards, is so small that very few of them can be employed.

Work in Factories.

This is the chief difficulty which has been experienced in Scotland so far—that of placing in new positions the women workers demobilized from purely war factories. Considerable numbers have been discharged, and a good deal has been said about how domestic service and office life should be made more attractive to them than either was before the war, but the situation does not seem, at the moment, any clearer than it was two months ago. Meantime the great majority of the demobilized workers are enjoying a spell of idleness—and Government pay on a modified scale—and the difficulty will only become acute when this period of time comes to an end.

Even then, however, there are many prospects of employment other than those which the women deserted when they undertook war work. The textile factories of Glasgow and the Scottish borders, for example, are likely to be exceptionally busy: and so are the jute and preserve factories of Dundee, the linen factories of Dunfermline, and the floor cloth factories of Kirkcaldy. All of these have to recover their foreign markets, and all find themselves with more capital and better plant than they had before the war, and so capable of employing more workers. The revival of the fishing industry on the east coast will provide work for many women as well as men each summer and autumn, while agriculture will call for many additional workers all the year round. Besides, there are possibilities of the utilization of some at least of the war factories for new peace-time industries, so that there should be plenty of employment once the difficult transition period is over.

The Superintendent Engineers of the Ministry of Munitions in the different munition areas of the country are prepared to give every assistance in bringing firms who have more orders on their books than they can readily deal with, and who meet with difficulty in finding suitable sub-contractors, into touch with others who have manufacturing facilities but lack orders.

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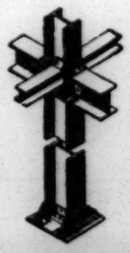

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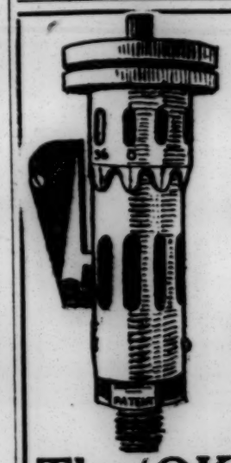

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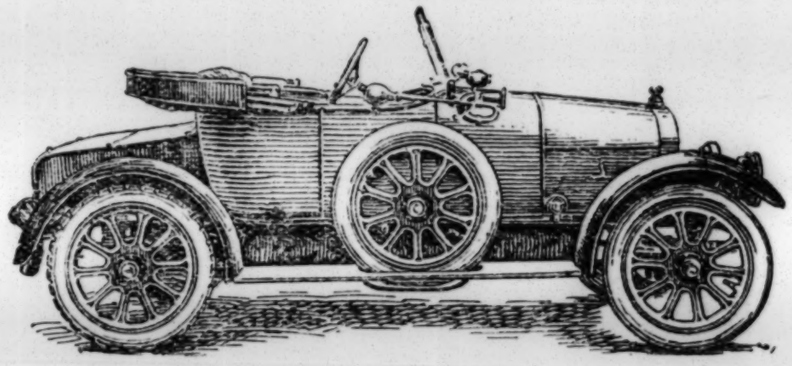

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HARBOUR EXTENSIONS IN SCOTLAND.

PLANS FOR THE CLYDE.

It is expected that shortly after peace is declared various harbour authorities in Scotland will revise plans for port extensions which they had worked out before the war and with which they would have made considerable progress before now but for the shortage of labour, high prices, and the restrictions imposed by the Government.

The most important schemes are those of the Clyde Navigation Trustees, who are already considering the question of making a start with the construction of large new berthing basins in ground at Shieldhall—a short distance west of Govan, on the south bank of the river. They have drawn up plans for docks which would constitute a great new harbour, larger than any of their existing docks and capable of accommodating the largest vessels which trade with the port, or which are built in the Clyde shipyards. As yet they have Parliamentary powers for the construction of only a comparatively small portion of these docks. This portion is so designed as to be an integral part of the complete scheme, and the intention is to go as far as the present powers permit, and then apply for further powers, each new section being brought into service as it may be called for by the demands of trade. At present the harbour is frequently congested with traffic, and it is not possible, with the berthing space at their disposal, for the Trustees to find the necessary accommodation at all times for the vessels trading with the port.

Advantages of the Scheme.

The extensions at Shieldhall are intended to have far-reaching consequences. They will mean, for one thing, that many of the large vessels at present berthed farther up the river will be transferred to the new basins, thus setting the upper harbour free for coasting and cross-channel trade, and for the traffic more closely associated with the city. It should also be found possible, with the grouping of many of the large ocean-going vessels in one basin or series of basins, so to rearrange all the other traffic of the port that each trade will have a section of the quayage to itself, with all its appropriate railway and other transport connexions. This has been one of the ideals of the Clyde Trustees for a long time. It was realized to some extent when the Rothesay Dock at Clydebank was opened, and was devoted specially to the ore and coal trades. But a great deal has yet to be done in the way of concentration of traffic, and not much can be done until some of the new Shieldhall basins are available.

The construction of these basins should also assist the port authority in solving some of the more difficult problems which at present confront them. It should render easier the question of cross-river communication within the harbour area, as the fewer the number of large [illegible]

sions which was inaugurated some time ago by the Greenock Harbour Board. There has now been completed a new reinforced concrete deep-water berth and quay at Prince's Pier, which provides accommodation for vessels larger than any of those which have traded with the port hitherto. The quay is 500ft. in length, and the berth has a depth at low water of ordinary spring tides of 26ft. There are large sheds and warehouses adjoining suitable for sugar or general cargoes, or for any kind of shipping trade, while the cattle lairages are alongside, and Prince's Pier passenger station and wharf close by. The new berth will, it is expected, attract considerable additional traffic to the port.

Bo'ness Dock Requirements.

The decision of the Admiralty to allow all the ports on the Firth of Forth to be re-opened for ordinary traffic raises some important engineering questions at the harbour of Bo'ness. The docks there, which were constructed about 30 years ago, were suitable before the war. for the accommodation of vessels up to 2,000 tons, but since then the average size of trading steamers has been increased by the destruction of many old vessels and the addition to mercantile fleets of newer and larger steamers. In addition, the period of idleness has resulted in a marked silting up of the fairway, so that even for the former size of vessel a considerable amount of dredging would have been required.

In these circumstances, local traders have petitioned the North British Railway Company, who are the owners of the harbour, for an entirely new dock entrance, capable of taking vessels of from 3,000 to 4,000 tons deadweight. Until such provision is made they cannot, they state, compete successfully with other Firth of Forth ports. In the coal export trade, for example, a steamer sailing with 6in. or 12in. less than her loaded draught, would represent all the difference between profit and loss to her owners, and as loading to full draught is possible at Grangemouth and Leith, owners will send their vessels to these ports in preference to Bo'ness, where there is a danger of shortage of water—that is, unless they obtain higher rates to cover the risk.

The engineers of the railway company have visited the harbour and discussed with the traders the possibility of carrying on a limited trade at the port concurrently with the construction of the proposed extension of the harbour entrance.

SEWAGE AND WATER.

NEW SCHEMES AT SHEFFIELD.

Sheffield City Council has initiated two interesting schemes, more or less experimental in character, for the treatment of its sewage and for supplementing its water supply.

In regard to the former, the city is faced with the necessity of extending its capacity for treating sewage. The works must be enlarged in order to meet the needs of a greatly increased population and industries and [illegible]

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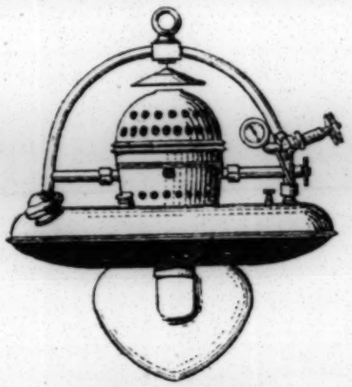

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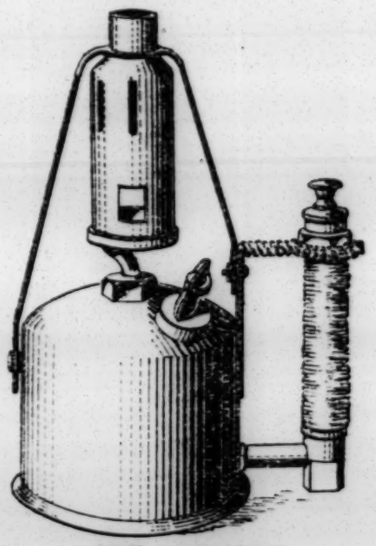

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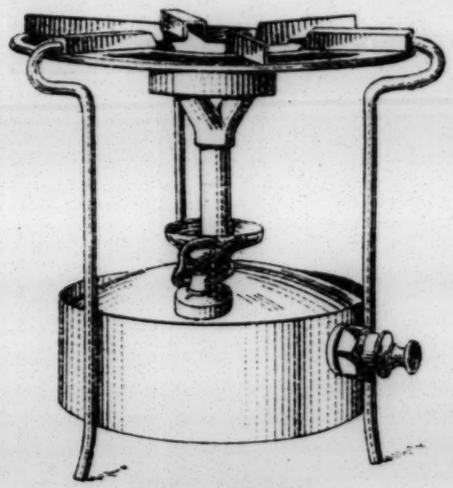

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...e fewer ... of large ships which require to use the upper harbour the more practicable will become any scheme for erecting a bridge above the entrances to Queen's Dock and Prince's Dock. Such a bridge must come some day, but at present it is hardly practicable, because an ordinary street-level bridge would render the upper harbour useless. A high-level bridge would be of no more convenience to traffic than the present tunnel or vehicular ferry, and an opening bridge would require to be opened so frequently that its usefulness as a bridge would be decreased greatly. The westward trend of traffic will simplify this problem in course of time, and make possible a bridge under which coasting vessels could pass. The berthage of the large liners at Shieldhall will go far to accentuate this process by leaving only the smaller vessels in the upper reaches of the river.

Graving Dock.

The Clyde Navigation Trustees also have powers for the construction of a large graving dock at Shieldhall. They had these powers long before the war began, but took no steps to put them into practical effect. Whether they will do so now has not been clearly stated, but the presumption is that they will, as the dock will fit into the scheme for large berthing basins, and the Trustees are, besides, bound by a pledge to the burgh of Renfrew to construct such a dock at Shieldhall. The only reason why the position is doubtful is that there is much to be said for the contention that no graving dock of such a size—capable of taking the largest battleships and liners yet built or projected—should be situated so far up a narrow and somewhat tortuous channel, but on an open sea front.

Position at Leith.

The Leith Dock Commissioners are also considering the advisability of proceeding with the harbour improvements which they had on hand before the war began. They had originally a great plan for the enclosure of all the water area between their present West Pier and Newhaven Harbour, so as to form one large new harbour to be devoted specially to the fishing industry. It was then their ambition to make Leith the greatest fishing port on the coasts of Scotland, and they obtained Parliamentary powers for plans which included the extensions referred to, and also a number of improvements at their existing docks. Since then they have modified their immediate ambitions somewhat, and have embarked on a less extensive scheme, which will consist more of improvements at than additions to their present docks. With this scheme they wish to make progress as soon as possible after conditions become favourable, and after Government permission is obtained.

Improvements at Greenock.

Very satisfactory progress is being made with the scheme of improvements and extensions to meet the needs of a greatly increased population and industries, and even then they will not be complete, because at present they provide only primary filtration, and the Local Government Board require that the effluent shall be treated again by passage over a secondary system of beds. This work has been delayed by the war, but is rapidly becoming urgent.

Meantime Mr. J. Haworth, the manager of the Sheffield sewage works, is carrying out an experiment with a simplified and speeded-up adaptation of the bacteriological system of sewage treatment. He has devised an activated sludge process. At the Tinsley works there is a large brick tank equipped with whirling iron blades, which agitate the semi-liquid sewage, sending it up one channel and down another and keeping it constantly in motion, with the object of providing a more rapid and thorough aeration than is provided by the ordinary settling tanks and filter beds. This churning process brings about bacterial activation of the sludge so efficiently that within four or five hours the liquid portion of the sludge has become purified to a high degree. At present three or four applications of sewage per day are being made to the same mass of sludge, and the resulting purification Mr. Haworth claims to be quite beyond reproach. It is found that the solid separates from the liquid very readily, and that after an hour's standing a brilliant liquid can be decanted which is in a state of high organic purity. The effluents are said to be, if anything, of higher purity than those produced by other methods of filtration now in use for sewage purification, readily meeting the most exacting standards of river conservancy authorities, and being suitable, after due softening, for all industrial uses. If the new process proves as successful as it promises to be, a great saving of land will be effected; of the 150 acres at present in use, one-third will suffice for the treatment of the sewage by the new process, and the other land could be very advantageously sold, as it is in the centre of a very rapidly developing industrial area and is much needed for works extensions.

The Waterworks Department is seeking powers for a scheme by which the city's water supply will be supplemented at the comparatively moderate cost of something like £350,000 by substituting purified river water for some of the compensation water at present taken out of the reservoir for the purpose of complying with the statutory requirements. At present over 9,000,000 gallons of compensation water are taken daily from the gathering ground, and it is proposed as far as necessary to purify an equal quantity of river water for use as compensation water. As a matter of fact, this scheme is linked up with the new sewage treatment experiment, and it is hoped that the purified effluent will be used for this compensation water. It will thus set free for domestic purposes the equivalent quantity of water now taken from the reservoir in the form of compensation water. The need for this additional supply is shown by the fact that at present the city's available resources total 18½ million gallons per day, and the consumption is nearly 3½ million gallons per day in excess of that supply. It is estimated that in another six years the deficiency will amount to 10¼ million gallons per day. The cost of substituting for the compensation water purified river water or effluent fit for industrial purposes is said to be very much below the expense that would be incurred in providing fresh sources of supply.

Arrangements have been made for the provision of an augmented water supply for the burgh of Port Glasgow. New works are being constructed at Cunston Burn, in the parish of Kilmacolm, but these are intended to be ultimately part of a larger scheme, which will provide additional supplies to the extent of 3,000,000 gallons per 24 hours. Meantime, only the section at Cunston Burn is ... constructed.

Daily Telegraph 15.1.19

CLOSING OF STATE FACTORIES.

Over 250,000 women and a like number of men, it is stated, are affected by the proposed closing down of national factories in various parts of the country, regarding which the Labour party had been unsuccessful up to last evening in its effort to approach the Government by deputation. In turn, the War Office, the Ministry of Munitions, and the Inter-Departmental Committee on Civil Demobilisation were applied to without avail. Through the good offices of Mr. G. J. Barnes, however, there is a hope that Sir Thomas Munro may receive the deputation. The Standing Joint Committee of the Women's Industrial Organisation, which includes representatives of the Labour party, the Women's Trade Union League, Women's Co-operative Guild, and other bodies, passed a resolution yesterday urging the Government to convert the national factories to peace purposes instead of selling them and discharging the workers.

"More women are concerned in the national factories than probably any other group of munition workers," remarked Dr. Marion Phillips, secretary to the Standing Joint Committee, in an interview with a Press representative last evening. "As far back as two years ago the Standing Joint Committee urged the taking of steps to meet the difficulties which have now arisen. One big difficulty that presents itself is that many of these factories are in new areas and rural districts, where it is impossible for fresh work to be obtained. Migration to urban centres can only serve to complicate the situation. The problem is one which calls for earnest and immediate consideration."

Aberdeen Free Press 4.2.19

POST-WAR EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN.

Sir,—It is only a year ago since the women of Great Britain were acclaimed as being most keen and helpful in aiding "the getting on" with the war. Never had they revealed such excellent qualities, such self-sacrifice and devotion, such intense patriotism and elimination of self in favour of the splendid men who were ready even to give up their own lives for the cause of right and for them.

Can we say the same for these women now? Have we been deceived as to the genuine spirit of helpfulness associated with them when the country was in peril, and we knew not what tragic news our papers would bring each day? It is a sad confession to make, but nevertheless it cannot be denied that the spirit of many women has quite changed and this not for the better. Is it impossible for them to show the fine spirit before alluded to in time of peace and reconstruction as in time of war? Surely we should hesitate to say that it is not, and yet how is it that so many instead of again settling down to work offered, and for which on account of their previous occupation they are admirably suited, refuse to take suggested employment, and prefer to loaf idly about the streets, receiving money which taxpayers have to provide, contributing towards their out of employment upkeep. By this they are doing a double injustice, taking money and so increasing the burdens of the taxpayers, and searing their own consciences by refusing to help in many cases where their assistance is greatly needed, simply because they cannot command a continuance of the same wage as that offered by the Government during the war, in a time of emergency.

What are those to do whose income through the effect of the war has been reduced by one-third? They cannot afford to double or treble wages, so that if women are so obstinately refusing work, can they expect pity when the pinch comes, and in the meantime employers have learned to do without their services?

One alternative may be that Dutch and Belgian women may come over in their thousands and eagerly accept work (for which they are well qualified, especially as domestic servants), work refused by our own country-women.

It is to be hoped that after a few weeks' holiday—justly earned—many of our women will change their minds and be brought to see that it is their duty to help rather than to hinder the difficult work of reconstruction.—I am, etc.,

ALBYN.

February 3, 1919.

Freeman's Journal
Dublin
5.2.19

WOMEN-WORKERS' COMPLAINTS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

Dear Sir—In its general condemnation of the scheme of unemployment benefit, the Press, ably assisted by numerous anonymous correspondents, has led the public to believe that the workers are all courting unemployment in order to get "money for nothing," and are not at all inclined to take suitable employment when offered to them.

Complaints are pouring in to this Federation of the "suitable" posts which are being offered to our members all over the country. For instance, one girl who, before she took up munitions, had been a school-teacher, recognised by the National Board, entered her name for a position as book-keeper two weeks ago. Last week she was curtly told that a job had been found for her as a store-keeper at 10s per week. When the girl pointed out that she was entirely dependent on her earnings and that she wanted a post which would keep her, she was informed she had been drawing the allowance long enough, and that if she did not take what was offered she would be struck off the books.

Having no option, she went to the address given, and was told that no such person lived there, but that a man of the same name lived further down, and that he wanted someone to mind a stable. Furthermore, she was the third girl sent from the Rotunda that day to mind that stable! On the other hand, a woman who had been a washer-up in a canteen was offered a post as cashier at 18s per week, a job which would have been gladly taken, if offered, by any of the girls who had signed on for clerical work.

We want work, not doles, and if the Government, instead of foisting on us this glorified outdoor relief, applied the money to the subsidising of constructive industries which would be of permanent benefit to the community, the workers would be far more satisfied, and there would be no place in the scheme for chronic idlers or malingerers. We have put up with a good deal of maladministration in this country, but it is certain now, that organised Labour is not going to allow the Labour Exchanges of Ireland to become recruiting centres for sweated labour. There are two sides to every story, and the workers, as citizens, have a right to theirs.—I am, faithfully yours,

MARGARET BUCKLEY, Sec.
National Federation of Women Workers,
Irish Office, 42 Nth. Gt. George's st.,
Dublin.

Portsmouth Evening News
13.5.19

THE PRICE OF WOMEN'S WORK.

[To the Editor of the "Evening News."]

Sir,—Much has been said lately about unemployment and the seeming unwillingness of our unemployed to work so long as they can draw the out-of-work donation. There are many, unfortunately, who are playing a bad game. So, too, are many of the employers. Just fancy, a woman being asked to toil seven hours daily, and provide her own food for less than 1s. a day. This was offered one of my war widows to-day. Then another case, whilst not quite so bad, is bad enough. A soldier's wife, whose husband is still serving his country, because she refused 8s. a week for 10½ hours daily (7 days a week), the referees at the Labour Exchange struck her off the books. I've protested, but no redress is forthcoming. May I publicly suggest that no employer's name should be entered on the books of the Exchange who offers less than 6d. an hour without food, or 4d. an hour with, and for indoor trained servants not less than 10s. a week, and 2 hours daily off? —Yours very truly,

M. CAMBIE.

Parliamentary Debates
26.3.'19

OUT-OF-WORK DONATION.

23. **Sir S. HOARE** asked the Minister of Labour if he will state what are the latest figures for unemployed men, women, girls and boys, and the amount of the donation that is being paid them?

Sir R. HORNE: The latest figures for unemployed men, women, girls and boys having out-of-work donation policies lodged are for the week ending 14th March, namely:—

Men	444,277
Women	486,945
Boys	26,327
Girls	31,070
	988,619

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During the week the amount of donation paid was approximately £1,200,000.

Sir S. HOARE: Do those figures show an increase over the figures for the previous week?

Sir R. HORNE: They do, but I should point out for the information of the House that there has been a decrease in the number of those who have asked for a continuance of the unemployment benefit, which they have already got for thirteen weeks.

Mr. RENWICK: Is this out-of-work donation given to men, women, boys and girls other than those who were employed upon munitions work?

Sir R. HORNE: Yes. The reason is, as the hon. Gentleman will readily understand, that practically the whole effort of the country was engaged on war work of some kind. All, therefore, whether munitions workers or not, if thrown out of employment as a result of the Armistice, should have the same treatment. One is just as much entitled as the other.

Mr. RENWICK: Then all those who are out of employment from whatever cause are entitled to this donation?

Sir R. HORNE: That is so.

Mr. WATERSON: Have any steps been taken by the Ministry of Labour to prevent this unemployment, and is the right hon. Gentleman prepared to state to the House the nature of these steps?

Sir R. HORNE: I think that that would require a somewhat lengthy statement. I

have no doubt that the hon. Gentleman will find other occasions for raising this question.

Colonel YATE: On what date does this benefit come to an end?

Sir R. HORNE: The date on which the original unemployment benefit would have come to an end would be the 21st of May, being six months after the 21st of November, but as the House already knows there has been an extension of the original period for another period of six months.

Captain REDMOND: Will this unemployed benefit be revived at the next general election?

Sir R. HORNE: We must wait for that occasion.

Sir J. BUTCHER: Is special attention being paid to the case of domestic servants?

Mr. SPEAKER: We must endeavour to go through the other questions.

25. **Mr. LAMBERT** asked the Minister of Labour if he will rearrange the payment of the out-of-work donation so that only men and women who cannot get work may receive it?

Sir R. HORNE: It is already a condition for the receipt of out-of-work donation that an applicant must be unemployed, capable of work and unable to obtain suitable employment. It is the practice of the Department to suspend donation and refer claims to Courts of Referees when it is brought to their notice that suitable employment has been refused.

Mr. LAMBERT: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that a very large number of employers in the country are asking for labour to-day?

Sir R. HORNE: I am aware that there are cases in which the unemployment donation is abused. I should be grateful to every Member of the House who would bring before my notice cases in which that is being done.

Mr. THOMAS: Is it not also true that employment is being offered to men and women at less than the current rate in the district, and often at less than the unemployment benefit, and that in these cases the unemployment donation is being refused?

Sir R. HORNE: If employment is offered at less than the prescribed rate for employment in that district I do not think that it would be incumbent upon the Employment Exchange to refuse the unemployment donation.

Sir H. CRAIK: Can the right hon. Gentleman give any instances of employés who are receiving this donation for whom employment is not waiting at this moment?

Sir R. HORNE: It is an almost impossible task for me to produce instances of persons who are receiving unemployment donation who are unworthy of it, but if the hon. Member would furnish me with cases in which the donation is given in which it ought not to be given, I shall be glad to have these instances looked into.

Sir C. KINLOCH-COOKE: Are not London dressmakers imploring young women to come to them, employers who are willing to pay them high wages, far above the ordinary ones?

Sir R. HORNE: I should be grateful if my hon. Friend would give me instances of such cases.

Mr. A. WILLIAMS: Is there anything to prevent employed who cannot get workers appealing to Unemployment Exchanges?

Sir R. HORNE: They do appeal, and we keep a constant record. So far as we can judge the figures from week to w[illegible] there is no large amount of empl[illegible]il-able in this country for those w[illegible] of work.

27. **Brigadier-General CROFT** asked the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour whether, in view of the statement by his Department that the number of workpeople in every occupation exceeds the demand, his attention has been called to the fact that in numerous cases firms have applied for girls, who refuse employment whilst receiving unemployed benefit; whether he is aware that a large number of men are similarly refusing offers of employment; and whether he will give an undertaking that unemployed benefit will be discontinued to persons who refuse employment at wages at a greater amount than the unemployed benefit now being paid?

Sir R. HORNE: Reports have reached the Department that applicants for out-of-work donation have refused offers of employment. It is already a condition for

Colonel
there is, ...

[Sir R. Horne.]

the receipt of out-of-work donation that applicants shall not refuse offers of suitable employment, and in all cases in which it is reported to the Department that such employment has been refused, payment of donation is suspended and the claims are referred to Courts of Referees for decisions whether or not donation shall be paid. It is very desirable that employers should in all cases furnish the Department with particulars of such cases.

Brigadier-General CROFT: May we take it as the fact that no unemployment benefit will be paid when wages are offered at a higher rate to the person unemployed?

Sir R. HORNE: I should not like to commit myself to an answer in the form in which the question is put for this reason, that if a man is skilled in any particular industry his wages are higher than unemployment benefit, and I do not think it could be said that suitable employment was offered to him if it were employment at a wage which was not comparable to that which he ought to earn in suitable employment. Therefore I cannot commit myself to an answer to the full extent the hon. and gallant Gentleman's question involves.

Brigadier-General CROFT: How long is the State going to find money in these kind of cases where employment is generally offered?

Colonel THORNE: Is the State prepared to put everybody in work?

FERTILISER MANUFACTURERS (HOURS OF WORK).

24. **Mr. JOHN JONES** asked the Minister of Labour if he is aware that the Fertiliser Manufacturers' Association have refused to negotiate with the National Federation of General Workers on a programme of reduced hours and other conditions of labour, and if he will use his good offices to bring about a conference between the parties concerned, and so obviate a stoppage of work in this industry?

Sir R. HORNE: The Ministry of Labour has been in communication with the Association and Federation in question with a view to securing a settlement between them. The hon. Member for South-East Leeds has recently discussed this matter with my Department. I am expecting a communication from him in due course, on receipt of which further action in the direction indicated by the hon. Member will be taken if necessary. I may state that the employés' representatives are at the moment considering whether it is possible for this purpose to settle the questions at issue through the machinery of the Interim Industrial Reconstruction Committee for this industry.

Colonel THORNE: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the organisations involved are now taking a vote of the men as to whether they will or will not withhold their labour, and will he use his good offices to try to bring them together?

Sir R. HORNE: What the hon. Gentleman says is a matter of which I am unaware. I understood that the matter was in the process of negotiation through the hon. Member for South-East Leeds (Mr. O'Grady), who was using his good offices, and was to give a report to me as soon as he was in a position to do so.

Mr. A. DAVIS: In the event of the employers refusing to negotiate with the workmen, what steps does the right hon. Gentleman propose to take?

Sir R. HORNE: That is a problematical question, and depends on the circumstances which arise.

SCHOOL CARETAKERS, LANCASHIRE.

26. **Colonel THORNE** asked the Minister of Labour whether he is now in a position to state the result of the correspondence with the Education Committee of the Lancashire County Council respecting the difference with their school caretakers regarding the conditions of labour; whether he is aware that the position in this case remains as it was over a month ago; and whether he can take any action to secure a settlement?

Sir R. HORNE: An officer from this Department has interviewed the parties concerned, and the Director of Education of the Lancashire County Council has informed the National Federation of Caretakers that certain information with regard to caretakers was being collected for the information of the Education Committee, who would consider the applica-

Daily Chronicle - 27.3.19

WOMEN'S WAGES COME DOWN WITH A RUN.

OUT-OF-WORK PAY STOPPED BECAUSE THEY REFUSED 12/- A WEEK.

LAUNDRY LABOUR AT 12/9.

Disclosures as to the poor wages now being offered to many women were made by Miss Madeleine Symons, of the National Federation of Women Workers, one of the members of a deputation who waited upon Sir Robert Horne, Minister of Labour, yesterday.

Women did not refuse occupations, she said, at anything like a decent wage of 25s. a week or over. It was true that a number of women were reluctant to take work below, and sometimes very much below, 25s. a week. At many Exchanges throughout the country women were being offered work at wages from 12s. to 25s. a week.

DOMESTIC SERVICE, OR NO PAY.

Four women in Brighton were offered work in January at 12s. a week. Their donation was stopped because they refused the work. A woman in London was offered work at a laundry. She worked for three weeks at piece rates, and found that by working as hard as she possibly could she could not earn more than 12s. 9d. a week. When she gave it up because she could not live on that sum she went to the Exchange, to find that her benefit was refused.

Mr. W. T. Kelly appealed for a more sympathetic administration of the Employment Exchanges. He declared that one official entered a room in which 40 women were waiting for offers of work, and asked, "Who is for domestic service?" As no one replied, each was handed the usual form and told they were not entitled to further benefit.

Sir Robert Horne replied that the present situation was far more difficult than any situation during the war.

If the Government started to make things in national factories which were made by private manufacturers, they would be making things for which there was no market or else they would be competing in the same market with the private manufacturers, and so forcing them to close down.

He mentioned he would be glad of all the evidence he could get about the lack of good administration at the Employment Exchanges.

Coming to something which he said would not be entirely palatable, Sir Robert said it was unfortunately the truth that a considerable number of women had preferred to take their unemployment benefit in preference to going to work. There had been innumerable instances of that, and it was true that there were not as many people in domestic service as there were before the war.

Times 28.3.19

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UNEMPLOYED WOMEN WAR WORKERS.

DEMAND FOR FACTORY AMENITIES.

MORE EX-SOLDIERS IN WORK.

Official figures now available show that during the week ended March 14, 998,619 men, women, and young people were drawing the out-of-work donation. It may be assumed that the figures have since passed the million, but during the week under review the total number of policies lodged revealed a decline of 3,613 as compared with those for the previous week. This should not be taken as a definite indication that unemployment is now decreasing, and as a matter of fact it is not believed that the maximum level of unemployment has yet been reached.

Large numbers of policy-holders have exhausted their first period of donation, and their cases are being carefully reviewed before it is decided whether they are to be granted an extended donation policy. Further, the operation of the revised regulations with regard to the payment of donations in Ireland is reflected in a large decline of policies lodged in that country. The figures for March 14 were as follows:—

—	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
Civilian	208,540	485,784	26,327	31,070	751,721
H.M Forces ..	235,737	1,161	—	—	236,898
Total ..	444,277	486,945	26,327	31,070	988,619

The percentage of persons re-absorbed into civil occupations shows a further improvement both for men (both civilian and his Majesty's Forces) and for women. Approximately 80 per cent. of the men returning from his Majesty's Forces whose furlough has expired have already been re-absorbed at a conservative estimate.

There are special reasons why so many women discharged from war work remain unemployed. The majority of the women registering at the exchanges are anxious to be re-absorbed into industry, though there is continued reluctance on the part of many former domestic servants to return to their pre-war occupation. An important factor is that large numbers of women workers are either the wives or widows of soldiers. The wives are expecting their husbands home again and are unwilling to go to posts which would take them far away or would involve special training. In some of these cases it is probable that no extension of the out-of-work donation will be granted. Soldiers' widows are in a different class, and employers, wherever possible, might give preference to them in filling vacancies.

In the case of single women the question why they do not take up such employment as is available may be asked with more force. The answer is that they have often little skill in the occupations in which they were engaged before they transferred to the munition factories. Dressmakers are required, and dressmakers are registered as unemployed. It is found, however, that many of those seeking situations were only learners before the war and that they have forgotten the greater part of what they had learned.

FURTHER TRAINING REQUIRED.

These women must either go back to the workrooms at a learner's wage when they have passed the learner's age, or industrial training must be provided for them by local authorities, the State or employers. In some cases glove manufacturers, straw-hat manufacturers, and similar firms have offered to give the necessary training to those willing to enter the industry. A drawback is the fact that for the period of training only a low wage is offered, and girls who have been well paid in munition factories are reluctant to make a new start on these terms.

Another matter which has to be faced is that women and girls who have worked in the well-equipped establishments built during the war have grown accustomed to the softening of industrial conditions by welfare schemes. They miss in the older type of factory the rest-rooms, canteens, and cloakrooms which have been at their disposal in the munition works. There can be little doubt that, in future, employers who wish to make use of women's labour will have to realize that women must be properly treated, that adequate accommodation for meals must be provided, and that, generally, conditions must be improved.

Finally, there is the case of women workers who have become skilled in work which the trade unions regard as a close preserve for men. Here they are dependent on the decisions which the trade unions will make on the question of dilution. Many women who have become expert in acetylene welding, work in aircraft factories, and similar processes will be sorely disappointed if they are automatically shut out from employment in these industries.

01 Times 2.4.19. 701/30

£12,000,000 FOR OUT-OF-WORK PAY.

WOMEN RETURNING TO PRE-WAR STATUS.

MAMMOTH RECORDS AT KEW.

It is estimated that up to March 21 the payment of out-of-work donation had involved a total cost of £ 2,000,000. For several weeks now the payments have averaged something like £170,000 to £180,000 a day. Some relief may be expected shortly, however, as arge numbers of women who have drawn the donation for the original period of 13 weeks will not be granted a second policy under the conditions which govern the extension of the unemployment benefit.

Only 52 per cent. of the women whose first policies have expired are, as a matter of fact, applying for an extension. This seems to indicate that many women realize that they would be unable to satisfy the local Advisory Committees, as they are required to do, that they are normally in employment, genuinely seeking work, and are unable to obtain it. They may, for instance, be soldiers' wives, who have been employed on war work, but now have their husbands home again, or they may have no real need to seek fresh employment. At the time when the munition factories were discharging their war-time workers practically all the women, if they wished to do so, could take out policies and lodge them for the payment of the out-of-work donation. Now that re-registration is being carried through thousands of policies are lapsing and are not being renewed, and in other cases the applicants are being registered according to their normal employment, instead of the occupation in which they have been engaged during the last two or three years.

Th fact that a large percentage of the women who have been drawing out-of-work pay are prepared, witho t obtaining definite industrial employment, to remove themselves from the list of the unemployed may perhaps be regarded as confirmation of the view held in official quarters, and frequently expressed in these columns, that the number of out-of-work donation policies lodged was not an entirely reliable guide to the extent of genuin unemployment. The legitimate inference is that numbers of women who were not in industrial life before the war, but who went into munition factories on the patriotic impulse, have taken advantage of the fairly generous provision made by the Government for all demobilized war workers, during what they would regard as a period of tolerably well-paid rest, and now that the donation is reduced they do not think it worth while to face the testing conditions involved in qualifying for an extension of the payments, and are content to resume the state either of woman's employment proper, or non-employment, to which they were accustomed before the war.

Return to Domestic Service.

One result of the altered conditions is that many more women are returning to domestic service. Taking the country as a whole, there are now three applications for every vacancy notified for day girls, three applications for every two vacancies for charwomen, and two applications for every three vacancies for indoor domestic servants. In the case of hotel servants the applications for employment exceed the number of vacancies. Outside domestic service, the applications for employment are much more numerous than the situations vacant.

The administrative work connected with the unemployment donation policies is very considerable. It is being done by the Claims and Records Office of the Ministry of Labour at Kew. The Department is housed on the Surrey side of the Thames, and previous to June, 1916, the site was covered by orchards and market gardens. The building, which is of the bungalow type, was originally erected to provide a Clearing House for the United Kingdom of the claims and records of persons insured under the National Insurance Act. During the war the Department has been concerned, however, with the National Service Volunteer forms and the index of the Home Army. Since the signing of the armistice there has also devolved upon it the work of checking unemployment donation payments and the distribution of Army demobilization forms. The latter task involves the examination of all the forms of men dispersed and disembodied from the Army, the classification of these forms according to occupation, and the resorting of the forms under the names of some 27,000 towns and villages, grouped round the employment exchanges in the United Kingdom. During busy periods about 150,000 forms have been dispatched every day, and a point has been made of ensuring that each week's work was done within the week. All the unemployment donations are now notified to the Department, and all the coupons forming the receipts for donations are sent to Kew for the purpose of checking and sorting. The coupons are received at the rate of about a million a week, and arrive in bundles with a covering schedule. Over 10,000,000 coupons had been received up to the end of March.

6,000 John Smiths in the Index.

The permanent work of the Department is continued side by side with its new duties, and the records and claims relating to workpeople insured against unemployment may be seen there in millions. The ledger room, for example, which measures 270ft. in length and 110ft. in width, contains a separate account of each insured person's contributions and benefit since the beginning of the scheme of Unemployment Insurance. In this room alone there are about 37,000 ledgers, containing over 7,000,000 accounts, all filed according to the workers' occupation. Now that the war is ended a great strain is being put on this and other rooms of the Department, since soldiers returning from the Battle Fronts to civil life often find they have lost their insurance books containing the record of their contributions. A copy of such lost accounts is required, and the task of tracking the missing records falls upon the Records and Claims Office.

An alphabetical index, consisting of loose-leaf registers of all insured workers, is of service on such a quest, but it must be remembered that there are 10,000,000 names on this index, of which some 6,000 are John Smith. In the present problem of "missing books," the ingenuity of the staff is exercised to the utmost, and clues are searched for in the letters from the applicants by means of the signature, place of occupation, and age of the writer.

The statistical section, with its accounting and tabulating machinery driven by electricity, is also of great aid in the present pressure of work. There, figures are transferred to machine cards by means of punching machines, the punched card being finally passed through sorting and tabulating machines at the rates of thousands per hour. In this, and in other respects, it is submitted that the Claims and Records Office provides a working model for other Government Departments dealing with matters requiring organization on a large scale.

Sheffield Independent 5.4.19

WOMEN WORKERS.

THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM IN SHEFFIELD.

Nearly 700 women were discharged from Sheffield works last week, but in spite of this fact the number of persons drawing out-of-work benefit has not materially increased. Indeed, for some weeks past unemployment in the city has remained practically stationary, and it is the view of an official prominent in labour circles, that "we have reached the crest of the wave." When industrial conditions become more stabilised the unemployed in Sheffield will be quickly absorbed, he said.

The amount paid in out-of-work donations yesterday was estimated at £26,000, which was the sum distributed the previous week. The placing of women in new situations is still proving the difficulty, though under this heading it is interesting to learn that the 700 new women claimants to out-of-work benefit have been counter-balanced by the number who have obtained work and others who have lapsed. The Government have made it increasingly difficult for a large number of the original women claimants to obtain a renewal of the benefit. Everything possible is being done to prevent fraud. Applicants have now to satisfy the rota of the Advisory Committee that (1) They were in normal employment; (2) genuinely seeking work; and (3) are unable to obtain it.

A good number of women who were discharged from the munition factories have returned to their pre-war occupation in the cutlery and silver trades, but in other skilled and semi-skilled trades the men workers have shown themselves distinctly averse to the admission of women.

"What we fear to be the cause of the great increase in the number of unemployed women is that the ranks of the men workers have been closed against them," said a well-known women's leader. "Women have no wish," she declared, "to keep the positions of men returning from France, and there is no intention whatever of undercutting. In fact, they would welcome the appointment of an outside influence—an advisory board of some kind—which would decide all cases on the basis of equal pay for equal output."

701/31

Hull Daily Mail

14/2/19

WOMEN'S LABOUR & THE DEMOBILISED

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "MAIL."

Sir,—Allow me a little space [illegible] ming the fix soldiers and sailors find themselves in on returning to civil life when searching for employment. I was demobilised three weeks ago from the navy, and intended to start the next day if I could obtain work, but nothing doing, the same old cry—"Sorry, we haven't anything to offer you; in fact, we shan't have enough vacancies for our own men when they return." That is quite right, they won't; and no wonder. As long as female labour is employed there won't be enough jobs for the men.

Then you hear of a shortage of domestic servants, but they won't have that. They would sooner [illegible] a man's place while he walks about the streets looking for a right to live. I think it was one of the conditions when the war broke out, that the woman should go when the man returned. I may state I joined some years before the war, so, therefore, having no job to return to. Hoping this will catch someone's eye and make this England a place fit for heroes to live in,—I am, Sir, etc.,

A DEMOBILISED SAILOR.

February 11th, 1919.

ARMY OF OCCUPATION.—"Father of one of the D.L.I." thinks that the youths of 18½ who are to be sent to the Rhine have no cause to grumble compared with the lads of similar age who were sent out into the firing line. He suggests such should replace the place of 18½ and any A1 men between the ages of 20 and 30.

STRIKES.—"Mons Soldier," after reading our leading article on the 3rd inst., says his disgust at the discovery that certain Continental Jews were responsible for the trouble on the Clyde knew no bounds. His solution is that it is time that all foreigners in this country, whether naturalised or not, should be regarded as aliens. If not, and these undercurrent methods of creating industrial strife are not stamped out, it will merely mean civil war in the end.

BOLSHEVISM.—A lengthy letter comes from "Democrat," who suggests that Bolshevism is the national outcome of the breaking of the bond of unity after the signing of the armistice, of which selfishness, rivalry, suspicion, and distrust of each other were the predecessors. The fight is now between Democracy and honest dealing as against Bolshevism with outlawry. He hopes the British working man will take to heart the remark of another correspondent to the "Mail" that Bolshevism is out to compass the absolute ruin of industry of the vast social structure that is dependent upon it

FLAG DAYS.—A correspondent who signs himself "Repatriated Prisoner of War" thinks "Newland Resident" and "Newington" are quite right in asking for a flag day for our returned prisoners of war. In his own experience, he states he went through more in three months than a lot of prisoners experienced in four years, because many of these men were sent straight into Germany and got parcels, whilst the others, including himself, were put behind the German lines in France, and never got a food parcel from home. But whatever the good or bad treatment accorded to the British prisoners, he thinks all deserve a flag day and equal treatment.

FAIRPLAY.—This correspondent has drawn two replies. "Grateful" thinks "Fairplay" went a shade too far when he advises women to "pack up." As the mother of three children, she states she must go out to work to maintain herself and them. It is no easy matter as she points out, for a woman to go out two or three days in the week and then have to do her own housework when she returns home. In many such instances the woman goes out through necessity and not from choice. The other correspondent, "One of the Boys" is surprised to note the large number of discharged soldiers in the town who are unable to follow their former employment. He agrees with "Fairplay" that until such men are reinstated, and especially in grocers' shops, the public should decline to patronise such shops if female labour is still employed.

THE HULL BATTALIONS.—A soldier signing himself "131, 12th. E.Y.R.," writes in reply to "One of the Originals," who in Monday's "Mail" suggested that some sort of a re-union of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the original four Hull battalions that still remain should be arranged. He says:—In answer to "One of the Originals," I beg to inform him that his scheme has already been greatly talked about amongst the few originals, and several ideas have been suggested. The best of these is the suggestion that a club be formed, where they could still be comrades in the true sense of the word, and run on the same lines as the "Legion of Frontiersmen." This, I feel confident, would meet with the appreciation of all, and whist tournaments, smoking concerts, etc., could be arranged with ease. Should this meet with the approval of any of the original four Hull battalions, I, for one, would help to form a committee (pro tem.) to discuss the matter more fully.

Morning Post. 7.4.19

It has been found necessary to restrict, and in some cases stop, unemployment benefit pay to demobilised munition workers in Sheffield. Three hundred women who flatly refused to accept work in domestic service have been suspended from all benefit. At the present time 12,000 unemployed are on the list awaiting their turn for work.

The Pioneer 5.7.19.

The Unemployed Woman

LOW WAGES AND THE UNEMPLOYMENT DONATION.

There is a decided tendency to attribute the amount of unemployment among women to their unwillingness to accept work of any kind as long as they can obtain the unemployment donation. The charge is frequently made that when work is obtainable at the Labour Exchanges it is refused, and the public is allowed to draw the inference that the women workers are taking advantage of the unemployment benefit arrangements of a generous and forbearing Government. This inference is wrong, the Government is not generous and the women are not slackers. The unemployment donation for women is 25s. a week for the first thirteen weeks, with an allowance of 6s. for the first child and 3s. for other children; for the second period of thirteen weeks, the donation is reduced to 15s. for women. This is not generous. But it would be tolerable if unemployed women could really get the donation when they are out of work. The following list of cases for which the National Federation of Women Workers is able to vouch shows that in many instances, which could be multiplied by the hundred, the authorities are refusing to pay the donation to women who have refused to take jobs offered by the Labour Exchanges at wages ranging from 10s. 6d. to 18s. a week. We give letters instead of names in order not to injure the women concerned. First let us take some of these which deal with domestic service:—

REAL CASES.

A.—Offered daily domestic work. The Exchange stated that the wages were 10s. 6d., the employer said 2s. 6d. The hours were 7 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. The girl refused the work and was disallowed benefit because she did not attempt to bargain with the mistress.

B.—Was offered domestic service at £22, living in. She had been a servant before the war and had had £26, and she had a mother and four younger sisters whom she helped to support. In this case she was to provide uniform, and refused the job because she had not suitable clothing for living in, and this had been destroyed by the class of work she was on during the war. Her appeal was disallowed and benefit refused on the ground that, while she was earning the inflated wage of £2 during the war, she should have supplied herself with clothing to meet the emergency.

C.—Domestic Service (living in) was refused because her husband was expected home from active service. She was willing to take daily domestic work. Her appeal was disallowed on the ground that she should have stored her furniture and given up her home.

D.—Had a temporary job as cleaning assistant to a caretaker, with a wage of 16s. for four hours a day. She gave up the work because the woman whom she had replaced during illness was better, and this woman had nine children to support. She also considered the wages were insufficient for a permanent job, as she herself had one child. Unemployment benefit was refused.

Other cases in which various jobs had been offered have some notable features. For example:—

E. was offered kitchen work at a wage of 16s., minus 1s. 6d. deducted for food, and her fares amounted to 3s. 6d. a week. She refused the work because the wage was insufficient. Unemployment benefit was refused on appeal.

F. was dismissed from a company for which she was earning 27s. 3d. to 30s. a week. She was actually sent back to the same company for a different class of work from 16s. to 20s. The appeal to the Court of Referees in this case is not yet settled, but the first appeal was lost.

G., living at Enfield, was sent to an embroidery firm in Baker-street, London, and offered 12s. a week. Her employment donation was at first refused, but later on appeal was allowed.

H. was an experienced sack mender who was offered 12s. 6d. a week, and on refusing it her unemployment donation was stopped, but her appeal has not yet been heard.

I. was refused the unemployment benefit because she was sent to do work at heavy trucking, and she had a medical certificate showing that she was unfitted for such work. This case has been heard by the Court of Appeal, and it has been finally decided against the girl.

J. was offered laundry work, and stuck to it for three weeks, but found she could not make at the piece rate more than 12s. 9d. Her case was disallowed on appeal.

TRADES BOARDS MUST COME.

We think that these instances will go far to show how important it is that women all over the country should be urging the immediate necessity of taking some action. The need for an immediate statement of wages in the laundry trade and the clothing trades is quite obvious, and it is interesting to note that the Government has taken action with regard to the clothing trade which will go far to deal with the special difficulties of the situation. The Minister of Labour has issued on Order fixing the rates of wages varying from 7d. an hour for women and 4d. an hour for girls of 15 who are engaged in the manufacture of women's and children's clothing. This was a notoriously sweated trade, but during the war the employers found that they had to pay higher wages in order to keep their girls from the more attractive munitions work. Since the armistice was signed there arose the danger that these higher wages might be broken and the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act only protected the workers in cases where there had been general awards or orders. In this particular trade these Orders only covered a very small part, and it would have taken a very long time to get a Trade Board established and an Order issued under it. The Minister of Labour has therefore taken advantage of a provision in the Wages' Act which provided that where there was no general award or Order the rates paid to women must be the rates paid to the majority of women in the trade "unless some other rate is fixed by the Minister on the advice of the Interim Court of Arbitration." An application that a rate should be fixed was made by trade unions representing women; it was referred to the Court of Arbitration; both parties were given an opportunity of being heard; the advice of the Court was received; and the Minister has acted on it at once by issuing the order now announced." It will, however, be necessary to get Trade Boards set up in this and other forms of employment, as the measures taken now by the Minister of Labour can only be a temporary one.

Daily News - 8. 4. 19

Some Bad Cases of Sweating.

OUT-OF-WORK DONATION REFUSED.

From Our Labour Correspondent.

There may be justification for the allegation that many people are deliberately avoiding work while they can draw unemployment donation, but, on the other hand, each day adds to the accumulation of evidence which shows that the powers exercised by the Courts of Referees are frequently used in such a way as to foster the growth of sweating. It is unthinkable that what is being done can have the approval of the Minister of Labour, who, at the meetings of the Industrial Conference, has manifested an earnest desire to improve the lot of the unorganised workers, but unless Sir Robert Horne without delay institutes a thorough inquiry into the working of the Courts of Referees scheme he will bring a grave reproach upon his Department.

There is an impression abroad that the story of the stoppage of unemployment donation begins and ends with the cases of girls who refuse domestic employment. That is far from the truth, but advantage is being taken of the public indifference for which this belief is responsible to commit great injustice against women—many of them widows with children to maintain—who are anxious to obtain work at a reasonable wage

CHARRING DECLINED.

Here are a few typical instances which have been noted recently by the officials of the Women's Trade Union League at various courts of referees in London:

A woman was offered through a Labour Exchange brass cleaning and general charring at an hotel. Hours 8 a.m. to 6 p.m., seven days a week. Wages 16s., without food. She refused the work. Donation disallowed.

A skilled shirt ironer accepted work in a laundry on piece terms. At the end of two days, working from 8.30 a.m. until 7 p.m., she found she had earned a total of 4s. 6d. and 9d. bonus. As her fare was 2d. a day, and she had to pay 1s. 6d. a day to get her children cared for, she threw up the job. Unemployment donation refused by a Camberwell Court.

A woman was offered 15s. a week, with dinner and tea, for cleaning in a prosperous City restaurant. As her fares would have cost 3s. a week she declined. Donation stopped.

Three girls, anxious for work, accepted on trial an offer from a boot polish factory. They found that in addition to filling tins and fastening on lids they were expected to chop beeswax and scrub tables for 15s. a week. They gave up the work at the end of a week. Donation stopped yesterday.

SECRET COURTS.

A girl who had just recovered from a serious operation was sent to a laundry at 25s. a week She found that she could not endure work involving constant standing, and she submitted to the court a medical certificate to that effect. She was willing to accept any work for which she was physically fitted. Donation disallowed yesterday

The courts of referees sit in secret, frequently there is no woman member, even though a member of the women's panel may be present, the choice of some chairmen is unfortunate, and sufficient care is not taken to choose members who are likely to be impartial

An immediate end should be made of decisions by courts of referees which inflict great hardships on helpless women and encourage employers who wish to preserve the worst industrial conditions of pre-war days. W M.

Times 8. 4. 19

701.

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RETURN TO INDUSTRY.

154,000 MEN RELEASED FROM THE NAVY.

WOMEN AND OUT-OF-WORK DONATION.

Out of 250,000 men to be demobilized from the Navy 154,000 had been released up to the end of March. The percentage of release in the Navy has been rather lower than that in the Army, but this is attributed to closer adherence to the demobilization scheme as originally planned, whereby men have been set free in accordance with the requirements of industry and commerce. The corollary of this is that the proportion of ex-Navy men out of employment at the present time is smaller than the proportion in the other services.

Of the various groups of industries which contributed men to the Navy, seamen and fishermen have had considerably the largest number of men returned to them. According to an analysis of 146,521 certificates so far examined, and excluding naval officers, the distribution of demobilization according to industries has been as follows:—

Seamen and fishermen	27,292
Engineering and metal trades	24,219
Commercial and clerical..	13,419
Railways and transport	12,491
Coal and shale mining	9,867
Brick and building trades	8,958
Agriculture	8,486
Employees of public authorities ..	8,102
General labourers..	5,722

In no other group did the number of releases reach 5,000. In the case of naval auxiliaries engaged on such vital defensive work as sweeping the seas, the greater part of the work of the trawlers and drifters has been completed, and the demobilization of vessels as well as men, is now in progress. In order that they might be used in war, the fish-holds of the vessels were taken out for the berthing of the crews, and other alterations were made. Now the fish-holds have to be replaced, and necessary repairs have to be made before the boats are ready for sea again. Industrial unrest, as previously stated in *The Times*, has interfered with the work of refitting, and at the end of last month 997 trawlers and 1,125 drifters were still waiting to be reconditioned before being returned to their previous owners.

Army demobilization is slackening. The highest figure was reached in the week ended February 1, when 240,641 men were released. In the last week of March 106,000 men were demobilized, as against 109,000, and 115,000 in the two previous weeks. Naval demobilization, which at one period rose to 18,000 a week, now stands at about 5,000 a week.

Training Men for Land Work.

A scheme of cooperation has been arranged between the Ministry of Labour and the Board of Agriculture, to train and place ex-service men desirous of obtaining work on the land in England or Wales. By the system adopted men not immediately qualified to earn the full district agricultural rate may, if suitable, be sent by a county agricultural executive committee to a training centre for a period of tuition, normally not over six weeks. During training the Board of Agriculture will pay the men 30s. a week, less 17s. 6d. if boarded and lodged at the centre. Married men with dependents may claim also 2s. 6d. or 1s. 6d. a day subsistence allowance, according as their dependents rely wholly or partly on them. The scheme further provides for the training of soldiers and ex-service men in tractor-driving and other farm work in a school at Brentwood.

The names of men applying at an employment exchange for agricultural work, for whom such training may seem desirable, will be submitted by the exchange manager to the appropriate official on the county agricultural executive committee.

Disputed Claims for Unemployment Pay.

In view of the growing feeling that applications for the out-of-work donation should be closely scrutinized before payments are made, it is interesting to note that up to March 20 practically 4,000 sittings had been held of the Courts of referees to whom disputed claims are submitted. The Courts during this period dealt with 73,238 cases, and no fewer than 39,906 claims were disallowed. In the case of women the unsuccessful applications represented 77 per cent. of the whole.

An important decision has been given by one of the Courts which may have a considerable effect on the return to domestic service. A young woman, 21 years of age, who had been unemployed for six weeks, was offered a situation in domestic service, where she would live in and receive £22 a year. The woman in her last employment had been paid 38s. a week, but had previously earned 12s. 6d. a week in a warehouse. She refused the offer of domestic service on the ground that the wages were inadequate, and expressed an intention of declining all offers of work where the wages were lower than 25s. a week. Her claim, however, was disallowed, as it was held that a wage of £22 a year with board and lodging was quite equivalent to the wages she would have obtained if she had remained in her pre-war employment, and was also equivalent to the 25s. a week for which she asked.

There is at present a brisk demand for women in the rubber tire industry in the South-west of England, and women net-braiders are also required in Yorkshire, owing to the resumption of deep-sea fishing.

Hull Daily Mail 30. 4. 19

THE WOMEN WORKERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "DAILY MAIL."

SIR,—As to women workers, why is it that all the insults are thrown on the women? Why not throw some for the masters? I myself am working in a man's place, but still, if I give it up, my employer will start another girl in my place? Is it right that I should throw myself out of work for another of my sex to go to it? If our men came back, I, like others, am willing to give it up for them, as it is only fair that they should have it back again. I have been employed in this place for four years, and then have to be insulted in the street, whilst on my way to work—"When are you going to throw your — job up, and let your men come back?" I am willing to give it up TO-DAY if the men are ready to start, but my idea is this, that all the time that some of the street-corner men are drawing the out-of-work 29 shillings, they will not work themselves, and they are not satisfied with that, but they must insult a single young woman who has to help to keep four children. If these men want work, or the work I am on, why don't they visit the masters a bit oftener, instead of insulting women who have worked and tried to help, whilst our lads did their bit? If there is so much jealousy over the women workers, why not let all the men who are working where women are employed, protest to their masters, and so stop all insults thrown out to the women in the streets.—I am, Sir, etc.,

ONE WHO WORKS NIGHTS AND DAYS.

May 29th, 1919.

SIR,—Reading your last night's issue I am pleased to see the Hull Tramways Committee are moving in regard to ex-Service men being employed on cars, also I am surprised to see the number of women still left when you consider there are so many men unemployed in Hull. It certainly has caused bad feeling, but now I trust others will follow the Committee's example, as it was an understood thing that it was only for the war period. Now there is no excuse that men cannot be had.—I am, Sir, etc.,

Hull. May 29th, 1919. OBSERVER.

Daily News 19.4.'19.

WOMEN AND OUT-OF-WORK PAY

To the Editor of *The Daily News*.

Sir,—Your correspondent, Mr. Philip Walsh, submits a list of questions, which we repeat with the appropriate answers.

Q. "If in the cases cited, injustice was done by the Court of Referees, why were they not taken up to the Umpire?"

A. All the cases mentioned have been referred to the Umpire and are now awaiting a hearing. A favourable decision by the Umpire, however, still leaves the worker under some hardship, as when the Court of Referees disallows a case, unemployment donation is immediately stopped, pending the hearing by the Umpire. There are often delays varying from three to six weeks or more before the Umpire's decision is made.

Q. "Is it alleged that the Courts went against facts?"

A. Yes: this is exactly what we do say. We consider that on the facts unjust decisions are given, frequently in the teeth of opposition from the workers' representative. Further, women's cases are frequently heard when there is no woman representative as a member of the Court.

Q. "Is it proposed that the private circumstances of the applicants for donation should be discussed in public?"

A. Yes, certainly, in all Courts of Law the private circumstances of the parties are and must be discussed, and the presence of the public is admittedly desirable in the interests of justice

We repeat that the tendency of the Court of Referees and the Umpire is to force applicants into situations where the wage is too low, or the conditions unreasonable. Here are one or two typical cases.

Mrs. H—— applied for employment as an office-cleaner. She was sent to a situation which was to give her employment for two hours daily, Saturdays from 1 to 4.30 p.m., wages 10s. per week. Mrs. H—— discovered the building to be in a very dirty state and there was so much work to do that the work could not possibly have been completed in the time she was supposed to attend. She, therefore, demanded a higher wage for the extra time she would have to spend. This was refused so she did not accept the employment. Her claim was disallowed by the Court of Referees on the 3rd March, and the Umpire confirmed this decision on the 1st April.

Nellie M—— was offered employment as a general at 35s. per month, but refused as she had never done domestic work before and had previously always worked in a brewery. Her case was disallowed by the Court of Referees on the 12th February and this decision was confirmed by the Umpire on the 31st March.

Florence R——, of Llanelly, aged 18, was offered work as a dressmaker at Lowestoft (the extreme opposite side of the country, and a town where there are already numbers of unemployed women) but refused on the ground that she could not take work such a long distance from home. The claim was disallowed by the Court of Referees on the 12th February and by the Umpire on the 2nd April, 1919.

MARGARET G. BONDFIELD.

National Federation of Women Workers, Malet-street, W.C.

Parliamentary Debates 7.5.'18.

MUNITIONS.

— Vaccination —

NATIONAL FILLING FACTORY, HAYES.

26 and 27. Mr. CHANCELLOR asked the Minister of Munitions (1) whether any orders have been or will be issued to officers in charge of factories or of work under the Ministry, or to controlled establishments, or to contractors engaged in Government work, to use threats of dismissal or other forms of pressure upon employés which would deprive them of their legal rights as citizens, including the right to refuse vaccination or any other form of medical treatment not required by law; (2) whether Mrs. A. Fullum, 52, Hammond Road East, Southall Green, has been employed for nearly two years at the No. 7 National Filling Factory, Hayes, Middlesex; that on 26th April she received a notice calling on her to be vaccinated, and that on refusal she was interviewed by Miss Whitmarsh, the lady superintendent, and, on persisting in her refusal, was summarily dismissed with a week's pay; whether revaccination, which is not legally compulsory on anybody, is being enforced on employés in the national filling factories; if not, whether this penalising of an employé for exercising her legal right to resist an attempt to compel by order what cannot be compelled by law will be stopped, and employés under Government no longer deprived of the liberty they possess if employed by other individuals; and whether Mrs. Fullum will be re-employed without an illegal enforcement upon her of revaccination?

The PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY to the MINISTRY of MUNITIONS (Mr. Kellaway): No general orders have been given by the Minister as suggested in question 26, nor does he contemplate giving any such orders. As regards the case at the filling factory at Hayes, the facts are substantially as stated in the question. The matter has been submitted to the Medical Department of the Ministry for consideration, and I am advised that the situation in regard to small-pox in London does not warrant the measure taken by the filling factory in question, which has been advised accordingly, and steps will be taken to offer re-employment to the worker concerned.

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Times 20.3.19. House of Commons

OUT-OF-WORK DONATIONS.

Mr. LAMBERT (Devon, South Molton, L.) asked the Minister for Labour why £1,200,000 a week was paid in out-of-work donations while there were industries seriously crippled for want of labour and in view of the number of situations in domestic service waiting to be filled.

Mr. WARDLE, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour (Stockport, Lab.), said the vacancies notified to the Employment Exchanges did not indicate that there were industries which were seriously crippled for want of labour; in fact, in practically every occupation the number of workpeople unemployed exceeded the demand. With regard to domestic service vacancies, the demand exceeded the numbers of applicants who registered for domestic work, but no opportunity was lost of offering domestic work to any applicant who, from her previous record, appeared suitable for that kind of employment.

Mr. LAMBERT.—Does the hon. gentleman really mean to suggest that there are not a very large number of employers in the country who are actually crying out for labour? Mr. WARDLE.—I mean to suggest that we have no applications from them. COLONEL ASHLEY (Fylde, C.U.).—Has the hon. gentleman never heard of the very grave shortage of labour for agriculture? LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SIR S. HOARE (Chelsea, C.U.).—Is the hon. gentleman aware that there were 30,000 applications for women in the last few weeks and only 7,000 have been placed? Mr. WARDLE.—It depends on the kind of work. In regard to domestic service there were different conditions applying. BRIGADIER-GENERAL PAGE-CROFT (Bournemouth, N.P.).—Is the hon. gentleman aware that thousands of men and women are refusing employment which has been definitely offered them? (Hear, hear.) A Labour Member.—And is the hon. gentleman also aware that in most of these cases trade union rates are not offered? Mr. WARDLE.—I have no evidence of the thousands of cases to which the hon. and gallant gentleman refers. If such evidence is forthcoming, I will certainly look into it. Mr. J. JONES (Silvertown, Lab.).—Have there been any applications for employment by the unemployed rich?

WOMEN'S CLOTHING TRADES.

Mr. WARDLE, replying to LIEUTENANT-COLONEL W. GUINNESS (Bury St. Edmunds, C.U.), stated that, in agreement with the principal associations of employers and workpeople concerned, he proposed to apply the Trade Boards Acts to the women's clothing trades, including dressmaking. The functions of the contemplated boards would be to fix minimum rates of wages, to regulate conditions of employment in the manner provided by the Acts, and to advise the Government on industrial matters affecting their trades. Expenses and subsistence allowances would be allowed to members of the boards on a scale authorized by the Treasury, but the annual cost would, of course, depend on the number of meetings which the boards found it necessary to hold.

23.4.'19

SIR R. HORNE, answering Mr. MARRIOTT (Oxford, C.U.), said:—The number of individuals who have at any time drawn donation cannot be precisely stated. The number of persons actually in receipt of unemployment donation on March 21 was 738,000 civilians and 265,000 ex-members of H.M. Forces. The amount paid out in donation up to March 21 was about £19,000,000 for civilians and £2,000,000 for ex-members of H.M. Forces. On March 26, 45,316 applications for renewal of policies had been received. Of this number 24,360 had been granted and 7,906 rejected; 13,053 were still under consideration. I am aware that there are many complaints that unemployment donation is improperly obtained. I have no statistics on the subject, but I shall welcome the opportunity of making inquiries into any specific cases which may come to the notice of hon. members if they will give me the facts. LIEUTENANT-COMMANDER ASTBURY (Salford, W., U.).—Is the right hon. gentleman aware that in Lancashire men are refusing to work after Wednesday night in order that they may receive three days' out-of-work donation, making a total of 57s. 6d. per week, with 3s. for the first child and 1s. 6d. for other children? SIR R. HORNE.—I am not aware of the facts stated by the hon. member. There is, I know, very great depression in the cotton trade of Lancashire, which is caused directly by the policy of the country. If the hon. member will give me the facts which he has observed, I will inquire into them.

UNEMPLOYMENT DONATION.

SIR R. HORNE, Minister of Labour (Glasgow, Hillhead, C.U.), in reply to LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SIR S. HOARE (Chelsea, C.U.), said:—The number of men, boys, women, and girls who drew unemployment donation during the week ended March 28, 1919, are:—

	Civilians.	Ex-members of H.M. Forces.	Total.
Men	209,486	305,251	514,737
Boys	26,461	—	26,461
Women ..	488,655	1,012	489,667
Girls	29,380	—	29,380
Grand total ..			1,060,245

During the week the amount of donation paid was approximately £1,250,000.

SIR S. HOARE.—Would it not be better to subsidize public works so as to find employment for these people? SIR R. HORNE.—I entirely agree. It would be better, and it is being done. CAPTAIN R. TERRELL (Henley, C.U.).—Is the right hon. gentleman aware that a large number of laundries are unable to get women workers? (An HON. MEMBER.—"They will not pay the proper rate.") SIR R. HORNE.—I am aware of the fact, but difficulties arise in connexion with the wages offered. Mr. MACMASTER (Chertsey, C.U.).—Is the right hon. gentleman aware that the unemployment donation has led in many instances to idleness and preying on the public purse? (Hear, hear.) SIR R. HORNE.—I am afraid it is true that there is a certain amount of abuse of the unemployment donation, and I shall be glad if hon. members will furnish me with information.

Portsmouth Evening News
9.9.'19.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"WORK FOR WOMEN."

[To the Editor of the "Evening News."]

Sir,—May I, through the columns of the "News," be allowed to comment upon your article headed "Work for Women," which appeared in your issue of August 13th. A lady of my acquaintance—a war widow—was discharged from the Dockyard and duly registered her name at the Labour Exchange. Eventually, a card from the Exchange invited her to attend a lecture at the Town Hall. This she did, and listened to a very encouraging discourse, the particulars of which were recorded in the "Evening News," as stated above.

My friend was very keen about the idea, and filled in a form there and then, asking to be trained in cooking. No mention was made of "needy cases" at any time during the discussion.

A day or two later, she received a second card to appear before the Committee. The Committee questioned and cross-questioned her in a manner which suggested she had no right to be there, and finally told her there were "more needy cases than hers"—this on the top of the statement that the demand for domestics far exceeded the supply! I really forget how many forms she has had to fill in since then, but every day's visit to the Exchange brought forth the same query, "Do you still wish to go in for the training scheme?"

She has been sent to a dozen places or more, in search of temporary employment, until the "training should begin," and, of course, nobody wanted a person who would be there about a week or so—that's quite obvious to anyone! No "out-of-work" donation has been received, and the whole business was so absurd, that she told the clerk quite frankly that she would not be humbugged about any longer, and left.

To-day, a notice was received stating, "You will not receive any further out-of-work donations"—the "any further" is too funny for words.

I can't think what the ladies forming the Committee are about, but I suppose someone has been allotted the training. If the "active trade of England" is to be "revived" by much of the discouraging business I refer to, we shan't get a move on very quickly. At any rate, a little more "do," and less "talkee-talkee" will help quite a lot! I wonder if any other ladies have had similar experiences?

Yours faithfully,
"ONLOOKER."

Times 23.9.'19

WOMEN'S CORPS.

DEMOBILIZATION DELAYS.

CASE OF UXBRIDGE.

Officially we are told that the demobilization of Queen Mary's Women's Army Auxiliary Corps and the Women's Royal Air Force is being rapidly carried out. Yet in large centres and in many towns and villages the uniformed women are so much in evidence as to cause the public to doubt whether the authorities really are pursuing a policy of demobilizing these forces. The correspondence columns of *The Times* show that all over the country the presence in the streets of apparently idle women in uniform is being resented.

We are within sight of the first anniversary of the signing of the Armistice, and, according to official information, there are still 8,000 W.A.A.C.'s in France. It is stated that they are doing useful work as cooks and as clerks at the salvage depôts. We learn, however, that those young women have more leisure than ever they had, and it has become necessary for the Young Women's Christian Association, which has been doing splendid welfare work through the medium of the Blue Triangle Huts, to renew its appeal for assistance to generous-hearted people to enable the hut work to be carried on in France.

A prominent official of the Y.W.C.A. informed a representative of *The Times* that, while there could be no doubt that the W.A.A.C.'s had done magnificent work and had justified the formation of the corps during the war, she felt that it would be a good thing if they were returned from France and demobilized. "I do not think," she added, "that the public realize the services these women have rendered. Many of the girls were pressed to join, and they did so at great personal sacrifice. Many of those in France are very anxious to get home, but the authorities consider that they are engaged in useful work, and they are being pressed to sign on till next April. There is no doubt that it is much more economical to have women doing the work than men. I do not think the women are staying in the corps because they want to."

Among the many places where the attractive blue uniform of the W.R.A.F.'s is considered out of keeping with the times is Uxbridge. Here are quartered many women in an extensive camp which, from outside appearances, must be one of the show places of the R.A.F. It is beautifully situated in Hillingdon Park. The camp buildings are of a permanent character, being constructed of bricks and concrete and roofed with blue slates. A palatial cinema which dominates the camp is now closed for alterations and improvements. The camp attractions also include tennis courts for the officers. At present the camp is described as a R.A.F. Depôt, but there are those who think that this is "camouflage." At all events, there are about 4,000 young men, who are spending their "working" hours at infantry drill. What the W.R.A.F.'s do no one knows. It was rumoured in the town some weeks ago that all the women were to be demobilized, but they are still very much in evidence.

Two miles distant one may come across scores of blue-uniformed women in the lanes of Ruislip and Ickenham. Here the R.A.F. have another interesting exhibit in the form of the Ruislip Stores Depôt. There are hundreds of W.R.A.F.'s attached to it. Unlike the Uxbridge depôt, however, it has this merit that it provides employment for a large number of discharged soldiers.

W.A.A.C.'S IN FRANCE.

OFFICIAL INQUIRY INTO NUMBERS AND WORK.

We understand that the W.A.A.C.'s now employed in France (chiefly at Boulogne and Wimereux) have forwarded to Whitehall a protest against what they term "the gross misrepresentations" which have been published in the Press as to the way in which they employ their time. The War Office has consequently asked for a detailed report as to the precise numbers now serving at the various camps and the work on which they are engaged.

On making inquiry of the military authorities at Salisbury yesterday our Correspondent there was unable to obtain figures relating to reductions in the number of women employed in military services, but was informed that it was being reduced as quickly as possible, and that it was hoped by the end of the year women's service would be done away with altogether. Those remaining were, it was stated, fully employed.

In the Winchester area a considerable reduction has been made this week at Worthy Down Flying School, practically the whole of the female staff being demobilized. Reductions have also been made at Morn Hill repatriation camp, and to a lesser extent at the Pay Office. The women left are kept fully employed on necessary work.

In reply to representations made to the War Office by the Comrades of the Great War as to the continued employment of women drivers of War Office vehicles while ex-Service men are still unemployed, the Secretary of the War Office has written stating that, in order to enable men to be demobilized in France, it was necessary to obtain 1,000 women drivers, which was arranged partly by combing out at home and partly by special enlistment. All recruiting for women drivers has now, however, ceased, and instructions have been given that they are to be replaced as soon as possible by enlisted soldiers. A considerable number of civilians are also being employed in this capacity, but these will also be replaced by enlisted men as soon as they become available.

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Times.

10.4.19.

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SIR S. HOARE.—Would it not be better to subsidize public works so as to find employment for these people? SIR R. HORNE.—I entirely agree. It would be better, and it is being done. CAPTAIN R. TERRELL (Henley, C.U.).—Is the right hon. gentleman aware that a large number of laundries are unable to get women workers? (AN HON. MEMBER.—"They will not pay the proper rate.") SIR R. HORNE.—I am aware of the fact, but difficulties arise in connexion with the wages offered. MR. MACMASTER (Chertsey, C.U.).—Is the right hon. gentleman aware that the unemployment donation has led in many instances to idleness and preying on the public purse? (Hear, hear.) SIR R. HORNE.—I am afraid it is true that there is a certain amount of abuse of the unemployment donation, and I shall be glad if hon. members will furnish me with information.

SIR R. HORNE, asked by COLONEL W. THORNE (Plaistow, Lab.) whether he was aware of the practice of the Courts of Referees to disallow donation benefit to young women who declined to undertake night-work, although the Factory Acts specially provide that young persons should not be called upon to undertake nightwork, replied :—So far as I am aware it is not the practice of Courts of Referees to disallow donation benefit in the circumstances mentioned. If the hon. and gallant member will give me particulars of any such cases of refusal as have come to his knowledge, I will make inquiries and let him know the result.

SIR R. HORNE, answering MR. MARRIOTT (Oxford, C.U.), said :—The number of individuals who have at any time drawn donation cannot be precisely stated. The number of persons actually in receipt of unemployment donation on March 21 was 738,000 civilians and 265,000 ex-members of H.M. Forces. The amount paid out in donation up to March 21 was about £10,000,000 for civilians and £2,000,000 for ex-members of H.M. Forces. On March 26, 45,319 applications for renewal of policies had been received. Of this number 24,360 had been granted and 7,906 rejected; 13,053 were still under consideration. I am aware that there are many complaints that unemployment donation is improperly obtained. I have no statistics on the subject, but I shall welcome the opportunity of making inquiries into any specific cases which may come to the notice of hon. members if they will give me the facts. LIEUTENANT-COMMANDER ASTBURY (Salford, W., U.).—Is the right hon. gentleman aware that in Lancashire men are refusing to work after Wednesday night in order that they may receive three days' out-of-work donation, making a total of 57s. 6d. per week, with 3s. for the first child and 1s. 6d. for other children? SIR R. HORNE.—I am not aware of the facts stated by the hon. member. There is, I know, very great depression in the cotton trade of Lancashire, which is caused directly by the policy of the country. If the hon. member will give me the facts which he has observed, I will inquire into them.

British Australasian
11.9.19.

Women War Workers for Australia.—The women's delegation, which has come to Melbourne under the auspices of the British Government to enquire into the possibility of making arrangements for the settlement of British women demobilised from the service, on September 5 interviewed the Minister of Lands, who has assured the members of the delegation that he will give them every possible facility.—*Reuter.*

The British Mission, which is seeking a chance to transport English land women to Australia, is meeting with very little success, all the States declaring that the whole of their activities is required to settle repatriated soldiers. The fact is that, although there is ample land and opportunities are plentiful, the nation still does not appreciate the pressing necessity of increasing the population in order to bear the burdens created by the war.—

Sect. Mercury
23.9.19

Women Workers Departing.

Without appearing ungallant I may be permitted to place on record my unfeigned pleasure on hearing to-day that by October 3rd nearly all of the women 'bus conductors, underground, etc., in the employ of the Traffic Combine will have departed from the service. Their record of duty well done is seriously blemished by their habitual and aggressive incivility, and a callous disregard for the welfare of their passengers. Their shrewish behaviour will remain one of the unpleasantest memories of the war's vicissitudes.

Globe. Sep. 9. '19.

FEWER WOMEN GET DOLE

DOES NOT MEAN THAT MORE HAVE WORK.

BY OUR WOMAN REPRESENTATIVE.

ALTHOUGH new official statistics show, roughly, a reduction of 100,000 in the number of women who get the dole, an analysis of the numbers re-entering industry cannot be said to throw a very hopeful light on the progress of reconstruction. The actual comparative figures given as to the number of women civilians and women in H.M. Forces who have ceased to benefit under the unemployment donation scheme are :—

June	171,703
August	5,762

The decrease is accounted for in various ways.

Most important of these is the fact that unemployment donation policies cease automatically at the end of thirteen weeks; these policies are only renewed in very special circumstances.

Absorption into various industries is also responsible for the decrease, but this, it must be admitted, does not show a very bright prospect.

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Cotton Workers.

In cotton weaving the number of women on the "live" registers of the Employment Bureau on July 18 was 9,687. By August 15 this number was reduced to 2,682. But the main reason for this reduction is the settling of the cotton strike.

In the flax and linen trades, roughly there are about half the number of unemployed compared with July figures; and the same applies to the hosiery trade. In pottery the numbers are about the same. In the shirtmaking trade and among the seamstresses the number of unemployed has gone down considerably. Among clerks and typists there are a thousand less on the register than there were in July. This is looked upon by those who know as one of the most overcrowded of women's callings.

Shop assistants show a decrease of fifteen hundred in the unemployment figures between July 18 and August 15.

The main difficulty is where the unskilled worker is concerned; there are various training schemes, but these do not always meet the case.

There are unskilled war workers, in instances perhaps where the women are widows, who return to a domestic life and look after their children; in others they take up odd jobs, or go into another occupation.

"Domestic work is certainly being undertaken very much more willingly by women," said one official. They are beginning to realise that once we find suitable work for them they must accept the situation or lose the unemployment dole."

13.6.19.

Times

5/6/19

A Welcome Effect.

The reduction in the out-of-work pay has already had a beneficial effect upon the number of returned men seeking employment, and it is fully expected that after the holidays the gaps in the factory will begin to fill up. The greatest shortage is in female labour, and especially in the closing room. Why such is the case it is difficult to define, because any smart girl can earn her 50s. to 60s. per week. In Northamptonshire a number of clothing and blouse factories have been established, and it is given as an explanation of the shortage of female labour in the shoe trade that the girls prefer the clothing factories on account of their super-cleanliness, and further, that they utilise the knowledge they acquire in making much of their own clothing, which is, of course, very probable. As to the relative cleanliness of the factories, there cannot be much, if any, difference. The stitching room of the shoe factory to-day leaves little to be desired, and it may be that a little sentiment lies at the bottom of the matter, and that the girls think it better to be known as blouse makers than shoe operatives.

Westminster Gazette.

AUGUST 8 1919

TO RELIEVE FAMINE.

To the Editor of the "Westminster Gazette."

Sir,—The Government has invoked the help of the British people in relieving the distress from famine in Europe and Asia Minor. Lord Robert Cecil has expressed the hope that the relief agencies appealing to the public under the Government's offer to double all voluntary gifts (up to £200,000) raised in the United Kingdom "will receive response that will bring to some millions of children . . . a message of practical sympathy." "There is no doubt whatever," said Lord Robert in the Commons on the 21st ult., "that in large parts of Central Europe, including some parts of Germany, the children, the babies, are actually dying from want of food and want of milk. I do not believe that can be questioned."

Other distinguished men appeal to us. Lord Curzon sends out "an urgent call to the people of the British Empire to play their part in the great task of reconciliation and mercy." General Smuts asks us all "to exert ourselves to the utmost in the great work of saving the wreckage of life and industry." Sir William Goode, British Director of Relief Missions in Paris, writes to tell us that twelve and a half millions are being spent by our Government in Europe, and this sum will all be used up or allocated before the harvest. Still there will be urgent need, he says, for medical comforts and for supplementary food, particularly for the children.

Will you be so good as to allow us space to remind your readers that the Save the Children Fund (Hon. Sec., Mrs. Buxton, 329, High Holborn, W.C.1) has set itself the task of carrying this message to the nation? This is a central Relief Fund to be administered through the various excellent relief agencies which are at work in different parts of the famine areas. The Fund does not confine itself within the limitations of the Government grant (Germany and part of Russia are excluded from benefit) but sends help where help is most needed, irrespective of nationality. Donations, however, may be earmarked for any particular country. "What you have already done," writes Mr. C. K. Butler, Head of the British Mission to Vienna, "has been and will be of incalculable benefit to the suffering."

This great work is the first life-saving scheme of international scope, and it may prove to be the greatest mission that compassionate men have ever embarked upon. It can only succeed if people of all classes, parties, and beliefs will unite and ally their efforts with those of the Government.—Yours, &c.,

HENRY BENTINCK. MARY R. MACARTHUR.
August 7. BUCKMASTER. PAMELA MCKENNA.

EX-SERVICE MEN AND WOMEN OUT OF WORK.

EXTENSION OF DONATION PERIOD.

In consideration of the fact that among the 400,000 demobilized sailors, soldiers, and airmen who have not yet been reabsorbed into industry there are a number who have now exhausted the 26 weeks out-of-work donation provided for ex-members of the Forces without finding employment, the Government have decided to extend the donation period for these men by a further period of 13 weeks at a reduced rate. This decision was foreshadowed in *The Times* of Monday.

Under the original scheme, every fighting man under commissioned rank, and every mobile member of the Women's Corps attached to the fighting services, receives on demobilization an out-of-work donation policy entitling the recipient to an allowance of 29s. per week in the case of men and 25s. per week in the case of women, *plus* 6s. a week for the first dependent child under the age of 15, and 3s. a week for every additional child under that age, during a period of 26 weeks in the first 12 months following demobilization.

Of the millions of sailors, soldiers, and airmen demobilized to date whose furlough has expired, over 80 per cent. have been absorbed in civil employment. The balance includes men who suffer some form of disability which makes it more difficult to place them in industry. Employment is increasing, and the Government believes that it will gradually become adequate to provide places for the great majority of employable people; but at the same time the Government realizes that this condition cannot be immediate, and that the men and women of the fighting services have claims to special consideration. Therefore, it has been decided, subject to certain conditions, to extend the period during which donation may be received in the first year by an additional 13 weeks. The donation in this second period will be as follows:—

MEN	20s. per week
WOMEN	15s. per week

with the same allowances for dependent children as in the first period.

Employers are reminded that, by notifying their vacancies, existing or potential, to the nearest Employment Exchange, or, in the case of men of higher education, to the nearest District Directorate of the Appointments Department, they will assist the Ministry of Labour in finding employment for men and women who are now seeking work.

Weekly Dispatch
21. 9. '19

HELD UP BY LACK OF WOMEN WORKERS.

Trades Which Complain of Lowered Output.

50,000 STILL GET DOLES.

While the number of women receiving Government benefit is rather more than 50,000, official reports from big centres of industry show that output is in many instances handicapped by the difficulty of obtaining female labour.

According to the *Board of Trade Gazette* the shortage of woman labour in the factories or woollen and worsted goods, hosiery and silk, is felt principally in the West Riding of Yorkshire, Leicester, and Scotland.

The Lancs cotton trade is suffering partly from the scarcity of coal, but the shortage of weavers—a big percentage of whom are women—has caused some slackness among the other operatives. The Dundee jute trade also could find work for many more people in all departments.

As a result of the inability to secure a sufficient number of women machinists, many of the male operatives in the Northampton boot factories are working short time in some of the departments.

Employment is good in the centres where ready-made clothing is turned out in large quantities. Leeds has plenty of work for many more women.

The same applies to the shirt and collar trades. There is a marked scarcity of women machinists, especially in London and Manchester.

In all branches of dressmaking and millinery, in London, Manchester, and Glasgow, there is a demand for machinists' finishers; in fact, for every class of worker. Wholesale mantle, costume, and blouse makers are in a position to employ many more women.

A similar report comes from the corset trade. There is a demand also by several firms for more workpeople in what are described as the food preparation trades. These include the manufacture of cocoa, chocolate, sugar, and other confectionery. In some of the departments the demand is so great that overtime is being worked.

STILL REIGNS.

inspecting a British Tank Corps school South Russia. ["*Weekly Dispatch.*"

SCORE FOR MUNITION GIRLS.

Every week, however, brings a further decrease in the number of women on the unemployment roll.

The Ministry of Labour, who have taken over from the Ministry of Pensions the task of training women, have 42 training schemes in operation, of which 19 are for domestic work. Tailoring, food manufacture, clock and watch making, glove-making, upholstering are among the occupations taught.

It has been found that munition girls who were employed during the war in handling shell-fuses are admirably suited for employment in making watches and clocks—work which requires a very delicate touch. There are so many of these girls in the Coventry area that one manufacturer has decided to transfer his large works from Switzerland to the Midland town.

701/3

Common Cause
Nov. 21. '19.

The Unemployment Donation.

The civilian dole is to cease, and the unemployment donation for ex-Service men and women to continue till March 31st, 1920, during which time a maximum of nine weeks' donation may be drawn. The rate is to be 20s. for men and 15s. for women without supplementary allowances. At present only thirty thousand civilian women are drawing pay; the civilian men receiving donation are more than three times as numerous. This is a remarkable fact, when one considers that the discharges from Government employ are in the vast majority those of women, and that the Pre-War Practices Act debars women from entering very many employments which are short of labour. The demand for men's labour is enormous and apparently insatiable, that for women's is restricted and soon satisfied by the women thrown out of employment by the return to peace conditions and the release of men from the Services. It is obvious that thousands of unemployed women have not been receiving the dole. Many refused to claim it while they had any savings left, and have now lost their opportunity. Many were put off by delay and even obstruction at the Labour Exchanges, and for them redress will come too late. Not only girls from Government factories and Government offices, but those dispensed with by banks and omnibus companies will in a week be unemployed and without resource. They no longer belong to the unions of the employment they have left, and their chances of new work may be very remote. This is a deplorable state of things. It is intolerable that young women who have supported themselves until their posts are taken from them to be given to men should be in no better position than the few idlers who claimed the donation a year ago and have not troubled to find work since. In this connection we welcome the concession made by the Government on the Industrial Courts Bill, which gives to a new arbitration and enquiry court powers to advise in trade disputes. Last week the proposal that the courts should include women was rejected, their appointment or non-appointment being left to the decision of the Minister of Labour. This was manifestly unfair in view of the disputes certain to arise on the interpretation of the Pre-War Practices Act, and after its disappearance. Though we cannot anticipate that women will form more than a small minority of any court it is to be observed that minority reports of courts of enquiry will be duly laid before Parliament.

Yorkshire Post
3. 10. '19

WOMEN AND THE UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT.

To the Editor of The Yorkshire Post.

Sir,—May I call the attention of your readers to the scale of unemployment benefit which has just been published for civilians thrown out of employment on account of the railway strike, as it affects women? According to this scale, whereas married men and widowers with a child or children under 15 are to receive 25s. per week, and single men 15s. per week, women, whether with or without dependent children, are to receive only 12s. per week. Thus no provision at all is being made for the dependent children of widows.

My organisation is protesting against this injustice, and is calling upon the Government not to penalise the fatherless children of women workers in this way. I appeal to the readers of your columns to give all the support which they can to this protest.—Yours, etc.,

INEZ M. FERGUSON,
Press Secretary, National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship.
62, Oxford Street, W., Oct. 1, 1919.

Manchester Guardian
19. 12. '19.

DISPLACEMENT OF WOMEN WORKERS.

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.

Sir,—We are anxious to bring before the attention of your readers the increasing anxiety felt by organised women at the scale upon which women are being dismissed from every sort of employment—industrial, commercial, and professional. We fully appreciate and share in the desire to provide for discharged service men who, during the last five years, have risked their lives and in many cases sacrificed their health on active service. We recognise that their claims must stand before those of women. We emphatically protest, however, against the discharge of women in favour of men and boys who have never seen service. These dismissals are even taking place in occupations acknowledged before the war to be women's work, and we have incontestable evidence that cases are common where wage-earning widows with children to support are being superseded by young single men. No reason of less efficiency on the part of the women is given, but rather the course appears to be pursued in response to a growing demand of men to monopolise all trades and industries except those so underpaid and unskilled that no man desires to enter them.

In face of the experience gained during the war of the industrial capacities of women, we regard this tendency to segregate them in a small group of overcrowded unskilled occupations as not only a cruel injustice to them but a menace to the economic welfare of the country, which urgently calls for a greater national productivity. How can this be obtained if large sections of producers are artificially debarred from using their energy and strength?—Yours, &c.,

DOROTHY EVANS, Secretary, Association of Women Clerks.
FLORENS ROCH, President, Catholic Women's Society.
LILIAN DAWSON, Secretary, Fabian Women's Group.
L. CORBEN, Secretary, League of the Church Militant.
MAY OGILVIE GORDON, D.Sc.Ph.D., F.L.S., President, National Council of Women, Chairman National Women's Citizen's Association.
ELEANOR F. RATHBONE, M.A., C.C., President, National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship.
GERTRUDE E. SPIELMAN, President, Union of Jewish Women.
E. KNIGHT, Hon. Treasurer, Women's Freedom League.
RHONDDA, President, Women's Industrial League.
MARY WILLIAMS, President, Women's Local Government Society.
B. M. PORTSMOUTH, National President, Young Women's Christian Association.

62, Oxford Street, London, W. 1,
December 17.

Sheffield Telegraph
5. 11. '19

YORKSHIRE.

FEMALE LABOUR.

Vague Inquiry from Rotherham that may have Results.

A number of interesting questions were discussed at a meeting of the Rotherham District Employment Committee yesterday. Mr. H. A. Longbotham presided.

Respecting the resolution passed at the last meeting calling upon the Government to extend the payment of out-of-work donations to men who were not actually on strike, a communication was read in which the divisional officer intimated that the matter had been noted and submitted to the department. It was, however, explained that the rule with regard to the payment of benefit in cases of unemployment due to trade disputes had been carefully considered by the department, and that it was realised that hard cases did arise through the operation of the statutory conditions laid down in the National Insurance Acts. The possibility of an alteration had been carefully considered, but abandoned.

Mr. W. Brook Willis was appointed a member of the Committee, on the nomination of the local War Pensions Committee. The vacancy had arisen through the resignation of Alderman W. Wormald.

The Employment Council conveyed the information that the lay-out plan of the Greasbro' Urban District Council was approved by the Ministry of Health on 6th September, and as the next step rested with the Greasbro' authority it was suggested that the Committee might use their influence with a view to getting plans for bonuses submitted for approval as soon as possible, and thus assist in remedying the problem of unemployment.

On the question of the retention of women in the postal service, a communication was read in which it was stated the postal service was not the only place where women were being retained and men dismissed. The complainant mentioned that from a business where he had had many years' experience he had recently been dismissed and a married woman kept on. He suggested that it was a wages question.

No action was taken.

A communication was read from the manager of an exchange in a textile district, who sought information as to the amount of female labour and premises available in Rotherham. It was thought the idea behind the inquiry was the establishment of a woollen textile factory in the town.

A long discussion took place with regard to the proposed co-operation between the private registry offices and employment exchanges. Several of the members thought that private registry offices should be dispensed with altogether.

With respect to the Government scheme for the settlement in industry of disabled ex-service men, the secretary reported that there had been an improvment in the number of agreements received. The Rotherham Corporation had extended the Fair Contracts Clause, which would be of great benefit.

It was reported that the Rota sub-committees appointed to interview holders of out-of-work donation policies had, in the course of 47 sessions, interviewed 1,000 holders of male civilian policies, 1,889 women, 47 disabled ex-Service men, and 66 non-disabled ex-service men. Of these 929 male civilian holders, 864 women, 39 disabled ex-service men, and 49 non-disabled ex-service men had had their policies allowed for the full period, and 14 male civilian, 64 women, 4 disabled ex-service men, and 1 non-disabled ex-service man for a provisional period. The number of cases disallowed was 67 male civilians, 861 women, 4 disabled ex-service men, and 17 non-disabled ex-service men, the latter being suspended for six weeks.

Relating to the non-acceptance of the Government scheme for the settlement in industry of disabled ex-service men by the Railway Executive Committee, strong exception was taken, and it was resolved "that this Committee expresses strong disapproval, and calls upon the Ministry of Labour to enforce its adoption."

On the motion of Mr. T. Chapman (Discharged Soldiers' Federation), it was decided "that it is the opinion of the Rotherham Employment Committee that under no consideration should the unemployment pay to discharged and demobilised soldiers and sailors be reduced or stopped until suitable employment, satisfactory to the Committee, has been found."

A further resolution adopted was to throw open the meetings of the Committee to the Press.

Manchester Guardian

The Labour Conference.

On the whole it is disappointing to find how little the Labour Conference tells us of the mind of Labour. This particular Conference has been overshadowed by the Kerensky episode. But apart from this it passed only one resolution of any special interest. We confess we should like to see the total abolition at all congresses, but particularly at Labour congresses, of all resolutions of the hardy annual type, and we should like to go on to include all declarations of wide and general principle, which sound so well that when a meeting has passed them it breaks up under the delusion that it has really done something big. It has uttered such tremendous words that it feels quite emancipated from the necessity of any deeds, and goes off to its several homes quite content to sit down to the old conditions of life until with next year comes once more the day for proclaiming the social revolution. The really important things that come up at such congresses are either points of practical detail, or they are decisions on questions of party management and strategy, or they are side issues which give indications of the real temper and spirit of a class.

Two or three interesting points of practical detail arose at this Congress. One was the demand of Miss Macarthur for a fuller equality for women workers, with which we may couple the general demand for the restoration of trade union conditions. The two points are closely connected, for if the women are adequately paid the temptation to retain them where they are displacing skilled men now at the front will disappear. The principle of "equal pay for equal work" is subject to various interpretations. If it is to be taken as a guide in reconstruction it must mean that payment, whether by time or quantity or quality of work, should be so adjusted as to afford no ground for the preference of the labour of one sex over that of the other. If a woman does as much and as good work as a man, but is paid less because she is a woman, then the employer has a strong motive for preferring the woman worker. If, on the other hand, she does less than a man but is paid the same owing to a regulation to that effect, then the employer will prefer the man. If, again, the pay is proportional to the services of each, the employer has no monetary reason for the preference of one over the other, and if this principle is established there can be no question of the undercutting of men by women, nor of any special temptation to the employer of escaping from his obligations to the returning soldiers. As to the restoration of trade union conditions, we fancy the trade unions will find themselves quite strong enough to look after that. We are by no means of the view that the position of Labour has been weakened by the war. It is quite true that the trade unions have had to surrender many privileges, but we have all of us had to give up many liberties of much longer standing and with much less compensation. On the other side, the great increases of cash wages, which will tend to remain after prices have fallen, the still larger increases in family incomes, and the absence of unemployment have caused a widespread material prosperity. There are probably fewer underfed people in this country than there have been for many a generation, just as there are certainly fewer overfed people. The war, while curtailing liberty, has enforced on this land of class contrasts a considerable measure of rough equality. The workers as a whole are in consequence better equipped physically for the economic campaign. Their position is also improved morally and politically by the extent of their services [illegible] sailors' war [illegible] ation. This is a soldiers' and [illegible] conscious ability [illegible] the apex of the social pyramid but the soundness of its base that is saving us.

The question of party management or strategy which most interested the public has, of course, been the repudiation of the party truce. In reality this would [illegible] d don't more interesting if anyone knew precisely what it meant. According to Mr. Henderson it means little or nothing except at by-elections. According to Mr. Barnes it would seem to mean that his position as a Minister will become impossible. But though the resolution was carried, no one expects Mr. Barnes to resign. Congresses in general are gatherings in which small but active minorities cajole large but indifferent majorities into voting as they want. To secure such a vote gives the minority immense temporary satisfaction, but otherwise has very little effect, for the simple reason that the majority, convinced against its will, goes on in the same old rut of practice as before. The bulk of the Labour party do not wish to displace the Coalition Government, principally because they do not know whom to put in its place, and there is in fact no keen competition for the post. For the present at any rate the resolution will have little effect. If it is to be taken as a symptom of tendencies, it makes a Conservative-Socialist union a shade less likely than ever. If, lastly, we come to the side issues revealing the feeling of the Conference, there are all the incidents of Mr. Kerensky's appearance—on the one side the very natural enthusiasm for the man who for some months held the Revolution together, on the other the readiness to resent any inequality as between representatives of different views. It is not only the pacifists who were indignant at the refusal of passports to Mr. Troelstra. It is all who recognise once again the hand of that official world which is determined to select for the people the facts which it deems good for them to know and the persons whom it deems good for them to hear. Mr. Troelstra could have given our Labour world first-hand information on the views of the German Socialists—a matter of the utmost importance. But precisely because he had true information Mr. Troelstra was not allowed to come. The views of the German Socialists must be passed through the official filter before they reach us. Nevertheless, we are still officially a self-governing people fighting for freedom and self-determination as against autocracy and officialdom.

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MINISTRY OF LABOUR.

OUT-OF-WORK DONATION

(CIVILIAN WORKERS).

SUMMARY OF SCHEME.

I. GRANT OF DONATION.

1. In order to make provision against the unemployment of civilian workers during the period immediately following the termination of hostilities, it has been decided as an emergency measure to extend to civilian workers, who are British subjects, out-of-work donation on lines similar to those on which it is proposed to pay out-of-work donation to demobilised sailors and soldiers. The terms and conditions of out-of-work donation in respect of demobilised sailors and soldiers are described in a separate leaflet; those applying to civilian workers are detailed below. The scheme as regards civilian workers will come into operation on Monday, November 25th, 1918, and will remain in operation for six months from that date.

2. Out-of-work donation will not be paid concurrently with Unemployment Benefit under the National Insurance (Unemployment) Acts, nor with out-of-work allowances under the special enrolment and other schemes, e.g., W.M.V.'s, W.W.V.'s, W.A.V.'s Colonial workmen, etc.

II. CLASSES OF WORKERS ENTITLED TO CIVILIAN OUT-OF-WORK DONATION.

3. Civilian workers in order to be entitled to out-of-work donation must be of 15 years of age or upwards, and if of 16 years of age or upwards must show that they became employed contributors under the National Health Insurance scheme at least three months prior to November 25th, 1918. If between 15 and 16 years they must show that they entered employment at least three months prior to November 25th, 1918.

III. RATE OF DONATION.

4. Out-of-work donation will be paid at the rate of 24s. a week (i.e., 4s. a day) to men over 18 years of age and 20s. a week (i.e., 3s. 4d. a day) to women over 18 years of age; boys and girls between the ages of 15 and 18 will receive donation at half these rates, viz., 12s. a week and 10s. a week respectively conditionally on their joining a Course of Instruction approved by the Board of Education or other Central Department concerned. In addition to the above-mentioned rates supplementary donation will be payable in respect of dependent children of both men and women over 18 years of age at the rate of 6s. a week for the first dependent child under 15 years of age and 3s. a week for each additional dependent child under that age, but supplementary donation will not be paid to more than one claimant in respect of the same children.

5. Out-of-work donation will be payable to civilian workers for a maximum period of 13 weeks (i.e., 78 days) during the six months for which the scheme is to be in operation.

IV. METHOD OF CLAIMING DONATION.

6. Civilian Workers desiring to claim donation for the first time should attend at an Employment Exchange, or Branch Employment Office of the Ministry of Labour and ask for an "Out-of-Work Donation Policy (Civilian Workers)." If over 16 years of age they will be required to produce a Health Insurance Record Card, showing that they became employed contributors under the National Health Insurance scheme at least three months before November 25th, 1918, and also the current Health Insurance Card. Unless both the Record Card and the current Health Insurance Card can be produced, only a provisional policy can be issued. If neither a Record Card nor a Health Insurance Card can be produced they will be asked to give the name of the approved Society to which they belong, or, if they do not belong to an approved Society, full particulars to enable the fact that they comply with the requisite conditions to be established; a policy will not be issued until the fact that the applicant became an employed contributor before the appointed date has been verified.

   Applicants between the ages of 15 and 16 will not, of course, be insured under the National Health Insurance scheme, and they will therefore be required to produce a certificate signed by their previous employer to verify that they entered employment at least three months before the appointed date.

7. The Out-of-work donation policy will be retained by the person to whom it is issued, except when he is unemployed and claiming out-of-work donation, during which period it must be lodged at the Employment Exchange or Branch Employment Office. When desirous of claiming out-of-work donation for a second or subsequent time, the holder of the out-of-work donation policy should attend at an Employment Exchange or Branch Employment Office and lodge his policy.

8. On attending at an Employment Exchange or Branch Employment Office to claim donation, the applicant will be required to sign a form of declaration contained in the policy. A coupon is provided for each week and constitutes both the claim for donation in respect of each day on which it is signed and a statement that the applicant is in fact unemployed, capable of work and unable to obtain employment.

9. Whilst unemployed the applicant must in general attend daily at the Employment Exchange or Branch Employment Office in order to sign the coupon in the policy as evidence of unemployment. Attendance on alternate days will be sufficient if the applicant resides more than two miles from the nearest Exchange or Branch Employment Office, and once a week if he resides more than four miles away.

10. Applicants for donation who are workmen in the trades insured under the National Insurance (Unemployment) Acts, 1911-1918, will be required to lodge their unemployment books at the time of making application for donation and when the right to receive donation is exhausted he will be entitled to claim unemployment benefit in respect of his contributions, if any, under these Acts.

701/41

V. SUPPLEMENTARY DONATION.

11. An applicant desiring to claim supplementary donation in respect of dependent children will be required to complete a form of declaration, as to the number and ages of the children in respect of whom the claim is made. This declaration will have to be confirmed by

(a) a local magistrate, or

(b) a minister of religion, or

(c) a registered medical practitioner, or

(d) a secretary of the applicant's trade union, or approved society, or branch thereof.

Supplementary donation will not be paid until confirmation of the declaration is received, but when such confirmation is lodged at the Local Office the supplementary donation will be paid in respect of the same days as ordinary donation.

VI. WAITING PERIOD.

12. Donation will not be payable for the first three days of any continuous period of unemployment; in other words, an applicant in order to become eligible for payment of donation must, in addition to satisfying the other conditions, be first of all unemployed for three consecutive working days and sign the coupons in the policy in respect of each of these days as described above. He will then become eligible for payment for each subsequent day of unemployment (subject to the usual conditions) in respect of which he duly signs the coupon in the policy, until he fails to attend and sign the coupons for six consecutive working days or more. When such failure to sign occurs a further waiting period of three consecutive working days must be fulfilled before he can again become eligible for payment of donation.

VII. ADJUDICATION ON DISPUTED CLAIMS.

13. In any case of doubt as to whether a claim to donation should be admitted the claim will be referred to a Court of Referees which sits locally and consists of an independent chairman together with two industrial members taken by rota from panels of representatives of employers and workpeople respectively. In the case of allowance of the claim by a Court of Referees payment of the donation, subject to the conditions above described, will commence immediately but the Ministry of Labour will be entitled to appeal to the Umpire, if they think fit, against the allowance. Pending the hearing of the appeal donation will continue to be paid. If the claim is disallowed by the Court of Referees, an appeal against disallowance may be made to the Umpire by the Ministry of Labour or by a trade union of which the applicant is a member, or, if leave is given by the Court of Referees, by the applicant himself.

VIII. CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH DONATION WILL BE PAYABLE.

14. In order to be eligible for donation the applicant must be capable of work but unable to obtain suitable employment. In particular he must not refuse an offer of suitable employment, but he will not be disqualified for donation by reason only that he has declined—

(a) an offer of employment in a situation vacant in consequence of a stoppage of work due to a trade dispute; or

(b) an offer of employment in the district where he was last ordinarily employed at a rate of wage lower, or on conditions less favourable, than those which he habitually obtained in his usual employment in that district or would have obtained, had he continued to be so employed; or

(c) An offer of employment in any other district at a rate of wage lower or on conditions less favourable than those generally observed in such district by agreement between associations of employers and of workmen, or failing any such agreement, than those generally recognised in such districts by good employers.

15. An applicant who has lost employment by reason of a stoppage of work which was due to a trade dispute at the factory, workshop or other premises at which he was employed is disqualified for receiving donation so long as the stoppage of work continues, except in a case where he has, during the stoppage of work, become bona-fide employed elsewhere.

Where separate branches of work which are commonly carried on as separate businesses in separate premises are in any case carried on in separate departments on the same premises, each of those departments shall, for the purposes of this provision, be deemed to be a separate factory or workshop or separate premises, as the case may be.

16. An applicant who loses employment through misconduct or who voluntarily leaves his employment without just cause, is disqualified for receiving donation for a period of six weeks from the date when he so lost employment.

17. An applicant is disqualified for receiving donation whilst he is an inmate of any prison or any workhouse or other institution supported wholly or partly out of public funds, and whilst he is resident temporarily or permanently outside the United Kingdom.

18. An applicant is disqualified for receiving donation whilst he in receipt of unemployment benefit or any sickness or disablement benefit or disablement allowance under National Insurance Acts.

IX. PAY DAYS FOR DONATION.

19. The pay week for civilian workers will be from Thursday to Wednesday, and donation will be paid on Friday of each week up to and including the previous Wednesday.

X. PAYMENT OF HEALTH INSURANCE CONTRIBUTIONS DURING UNEMPLOYMENT.

20. In order to prevent unemployed workers falling into arrears under the Health Insurance scheme it has been arranged that on presentation of their Health Insurance Cards when drawing donation they will be entitled to have the card impressed with a rubber stamp at the Employment Exchange or Branch Employment Office for the week preceding that in which the payment of donation is due, provided that they have not worked during that week and a Health Insurance contribution in respect of employment during that week has therefore not become payable.

XI. EMERGENCY CHARACTER OF SCHEME.

21. The provisions described above are solely intended to bridge over the inevitable period of dislocation immediately following the cessation of hostilities, and it must be emphasised that the non-contributory scheme is a purely emergency measure. Whilst it is in operation the existing compulsory unemployment scheme will in effect remain in suspense so far as benefits are concerned. Contributions will, however, still be payable in order to build up a reserve of benefit for contributors when the temporary scheme comes to an end. Thus the special interests of contributors are safeguarded and meantime the Government are pressing forward with a scheme for general contributory insurance and must not be prejudiced by the non-contributory scheme above described.

MINISTRY OF LABOUR,
November, 1918.

3,000M. 11/18. R. & L.

8/10/15

THE REBUILDING OF THE WORLD.

Women's Share After the War.

'REGENERATION' MUST INCLUDE THE WORKERS.

Though planned at a time when few people imagined that the war would not by now be rapidly drawing to a close, yesterday's conference at Westminster on "Woman's Share in the Work of Reconstruction After the War" produced a rich crop of practical suggestions. It may be many months before they can bear fruit, but it is still true, as one speaker pointed out, that "we must look ahead, so that we may find ourselves better prepared for the work of reconstructing the social life of our nation than we were for the sudden and tragic work of destruction which was thrust upon us."

Mrs. Creighton, the famous wife of a former Bishop of London, presided, and the members of the National Union of Women Workers, conveners of the conference, who were present included many of the ablest and most experienced leaders of feminine activity in this country. Discussion was divided into four sections—education, industry, legislation, and public health—and it soon became apparent that all four are even more closely interwoven than might be supposed.

"War," said Miss Catherine Marshall, expressing the undercurrent of thought in nearly every speech, "is pre-eminently the undoing of women's work. There is a danger that the cheapening of life may persist when the war is over. We have to see that the war does not leave us with perverted values."

Material Work.

Not only must the task of recreating new values fall very largely to the lot of women after the war, but it is they who will also have to take a major part in the rebuilding of the material world.

Miss Anderson, principal lady inspector of factories, emphasised the truth of this with regard to industry by giving examples out of her practical experience of the extraordinary ability with which the women of England are adapting themselves to new work under new conditions. "British woman labour is the best in the world for rising to emergencies and for maintaining steady output," an employer with wide American and Continental knowledge had told her. What is wanted now, she insisted, is that women shall be admitted to a larger and higher directing, as distinct from merely executant, share in the industry of the country.

The same point was taken up by Miss Margaret Ashton, of Manchester. "English girls," said Miss Ashton, "must go into the domestic business as they already do in France and America. Women must be leaders as well as paid workers. There must be very few old business houses that are not heavily hit by losing those who were taking the reins. The reins will have to be taken by women instead."

Perhaps the most brilliant contribution to the debate, so far as it concerned that rebuilding of the flesh and blood of the nation which women must also undertake, was made by Miss Alice Gregory, who is connected with a home for mothers and babies at Woolwich. It was, in form, a study of the psychology of the working-class woman, a psychology so difficult for other women to understand that "between class and class there can be no true commerce."

To establish that commerce women must work with might and main, for "there can be no regeneration of England which does not include our working women." "And England," urged the speaker, "must become regenerate, for I take it that to most of us there could be only one quite intolerable end to the war—that we should go on afterwards just the same as, perhaps even worse than, before."

To Help the State.

For young women of the upper or middle classes who are really set on doing something for their country Miss Gregory had this advice:

Leave your homes and go and live among the working people.

Choose as a profession either elementary school teaching or district midwifery.

There was much concentrated wisdom in a speech by Dr. Mary Murdoch on the same theme. She put forward as serious tasks for serious women the extermination of the housefly, the purification of the milk supply, and the cultivation of good cooking. There was also this hint of eugenics in her address, that "when so many of the healthiest and best young lives are being lost on the battlefield, and so many of the unfit remain, women will have to be very careful of the kind of men they will marry, or the whole English race will degenerate."

Daily Graphic.
4. 3. 15.

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TRADE AFTER THE WAR IS OVER.

PROFESSOR'S CHEERFUL VIEW OF THE FUTURE.

NO REASON TO BE ANXIOUS.

"There seems no reason to be over-anxious as to employment when the war is over" is the cheerful conclusion of Professor A. L. Bowley, Sc.D. To the admirable series of Oxford Pamphlets has just been added one by him on "The War and Employment" (Oxford University Press, 2d. net), which should be read by all who would learn the view of this subject held by one of the leading social statisticians in the world.

Professor Bowley traces the movement of employment through the months of war. He points out that the total number of men completely unemployed at the end of August was less than in a month of trade depression of not unusual severity.

Coming to the present conditions, he says the older men in the luxury trades; women workers in lace, earthenware, linen, and cotton; high-class dressmakers, and many other smaller groups have lost a great deal of their ordinary work and cannot readily turn to other work. The reasons why so little actual distress is found in most districts are that in very many households there are two or more workers, and if one is unoccupied the others may be busy, and in a vast number of cases the payments to soldiers' dependants ease the situation.

LESS COMPETITION.

When the war is over, "while we shall find the purchasing power of the belligerent countries greatly diminished and exports to them slow to recover, we shall also," adds Professor Bowley, "find some slackening in their competition, both at home and abroad; and, as regards our export trade to neutral countries, it seems probable that quite soon they will be desiring more than we, with our curtailed labour force, can supply; and if such a state of things exists at the conclusion of the war there will be a brisk foreign and colonial demand. No doubt there will be temporary trouble and individual hardship, but the wonderful elasticity of production, which has been so useful for the purposes of war, will be equally available for the service of peace."

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The discussion on educational prospects had more than a touch of gloom, due to the shadow of "economy." Bitter protests were made by several speakers against the abolition, on the score of expense, of housewifery and cooking classes. The most interesting suggestion for directed effort came from Mrs. Creighton, who insisted that less must be spent in future on buildings so that more may be available for teaching. The problem, as she stated it, became one of "plain living and high thinking."

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The Dundee Advertiser
22/6/15

WOMEN AT MEN'S WORK.

Many calculations have been made of the number of men Germany can send into the field, and in these, without exception, liberal deductions are made for the number who must be kept at home to carry on the necessary work. So far as we recollect, in none of the estimates has allowance been made for the possibility of a large development of women work, but the evidence is constantly growing that this development is taking place in Germany to an extent never hitherto experienced in a civilised country. Agriculture is now being carried on almost wholly by women, boys, and old men. In all the transport industries, including the railways and tramways, women in large numbers are taking the place of men. Clerical work is passing into female hands, and in every kind of factory and workshop, even in the iron industries, women are coming more and more to the front. In this way it is possible that Germany may be able to utilise in military service a million more men than our estimates have reckoned on. In this country the process has gone some way, but the extent of the substitution is quite insignificant compared with the case of Germany. From a note in the "Field," we learn that in one small department the Government is giving a lead in the matter, for in Kew Gardens a large number of women are at work. They are doing practically the whole of the work of two departments, and, though men are retained for the heavy work, some of the women object to the distinction, holding that a woman s quite competent to do any gardening vork than men can do. They are probably right, and we should say that this s one of the departments of male labour rom which women will not be easily ousted once they secure a footing.

The Economist
19/6/15

The Employment of Women.—The scarcity of men has been felt for some time, and is already showing itself in many ways. Women are acting as ticket collectors n many stations throughout the country, boys are doing nen's work, and girls are doing boys' work. Women are to be seen driving motor vehicles, and in country districts they are taking on a good deal of agricultural work. In all probability the milkmaid (who survives in Scotland and in a few parts of England) will again multiply. In some towns women constables have been appointed, but it is hard to see how this innovation can be a success. There is no doubt that if the war goes on much longer trade union rules will have to be modified in all directions, and, of course, there are a number of factory industries and shops where female labour is replacing male. One of the social evils of a war like this is that it will enormously magnify the evil of a great surplus population of women. On the other hand, it is all to the good that women should have more employment, especially in outdoor occupations; and we are glad to hear of experiments being made in the employment of women as haymakers. It is, of course, extremely important that the crops this year should be well harvested.

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The Manchester Courier
14/6/15

WOMEN WORKERS IN WAR TIME.

ARE THEY TO GO WHEN PEACE COMES?

A MANCHESTER PROTEST.

The need for women to replace men in workshops in order to liberate the latter for military purposes will be the subject matter of a meeting to be held in the Town Hall on Wednesday, at which the Lord Mayor (Alderman McCabe) will preside, and Lord Derby will be one of the speakers. Other speakers will include a number of local Trade Union leaders and Miss Kitchener, cousin of Lord Kitchener. So far, no definite appeal has been made to Manchester employers to liberate men for war service by the taking on of women, and the meeting on Wednesday will really be the first definite public appeal of the kind. It is estimated that 2,000 or 3,000 men could be obtained for military service or the production of munitions in this way. A further appeal will also be made at the meeting for women to register themselves. A former appeal had somewhat disappointing results, few women being willing to undertake manual labour.

The effect of women's emergency labour in industry is also being investigated by the Manchester, Salford, and District Women's War Interests Committee. The object of the inquiry is to discover to what extent and under what conditions women are replacing men in industry; what is the attitude of the Trade Unions to this replacement, and whether it is likely to be permanent. A list of eleven questions has been submitted to local Trade Unions by the above committee, who, when the interrogatory circulars have been completed and returned, will compile a report giving the result of the investigation.

The subject was discussed at a meeting of the committee on Saturday, when Mr. W. Mellor, formerly of the London Fabian Research Department, indicated the occupations in which women were now engaged, which prior to the war were closed to them. The list included tramway conductors, street sweepers, railway workers, such as porters, booking clerks, carriage cleaners, station mistresses, messenger girls, telegraph girls, grocery assistants, clerks in Government and insurance offices, gardeners, commissionaires, lift attendants, motor-van drivers, taxi drivers, and women police, irrespective of the large number engaged in armament works and aircraft factories.

Mr. Mellor suggested that in dealing with this problem trade unions hitherto closed to women should now admit them, and that the women should be paid the same wages as men. A record of emergency labour should be kept by the unions, and the trade unions concerned should be notified of every emergency worker aken on by a firm, with particulars as to wages paid and work done, and for women to be admitted into each industry on the distinct understanding that they would have to go when displacements occurred through men coming back rom the war and claiming their old jobs.

Mrs. Annot Robinson said it would not be fair or practicable to ask women to give up their work and give place to men at the end of the war. Were that to be done the result would be social chaos.

The Extension of Women's Work.

THE needs both of the army and of the new Munitions Department point to the greatly increased employment of women in the near future. On the one hand, whereas the supply of recruits must not be allowed to decrease, in some industries we are approaching the point where it is inadvisable to take more men—in mining it has already been reached,—and therefore we shall need, wherever possible, to open the way for the employment of women in order to release men for the ranks. The organisation of the munitions supply leads to the same conclusion; it will certainly draw in numbers of men not now engaged in munitions work who might otherwise enlist, and it will probably itself give employment, as it is already doing both in Germany and in France, to many women. Yesterday, at Nottingham, where the Railwaymen's Union meets this week, Mr. J. H. THOMAS was discussing the substitution of women's for men's work during the war. There is, of course, opposition to it among railwaymen, as in other occupations, and at this time not altogether without some ground. The men fear lest there should be a large irruption of women holding at lower wages the jobs of men who have thrown up their work to enlist, that the lower scale will tend to reduce the status and the pay of the workman, and that, when the war is over, the returned soldier will find it hard to recover his job, which, even when recovered, may not be worth what it was when he gave it up. The remedies and safeguards to which we must look are fairly clear. The first is that a woman taking on a man's work should receive also a man's wage. If that principle be followed there will be no worsening of pay or status. The second is that which has been promised in all occupations—that men who enlist shall be placed at the end of the war in no worse position than they held when they enlisted. That, of course, cannot be done in a moment nor—let us be frank about it—without great hardship to some of the women who will have taken on the work, will have done it well, and will have come to depend on it. In all occupations it ought to be made quite clear when work is offered to women whether or not it is likely to be only for the duration of the war.

British Assn. Sept to Dec.

Manchester Evening Chronicle. 9.9.15.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

Their Place After the War.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

Need for More Skilled Labour.

THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION.

Questions Discussed at To-day's Conferences.

The position of women in the industrial field was considered to-day at the Economic Science Section of the British Association meeting in Manchester, the discussion centring round the report of the conference appointed to investigate the outlets of labour after the war.

Mr. E. F. Hitchcock, in an interesting address, touched upon the main features of the report—an exhaustive document of 82 pages. While there was considerable distress among women workers last August and September, he remarked, by February of this year there was a shortage of a quarter of a million men in industry, and 170,000 women had been absorbed. But still there were at the time 40,000 women still unemployed, compared with the number working before the war. The luxury trades (dressmaking, etc.), and the cotton trade were those chiefly hit by the war conditions. By April, however, 50,000 extra women had gone into trades, apart from the very large number who had taken up munition work.

So far as industry proper was concerned women could not be said to have replaced men, however, in the sense that they were doing to any appreciable extent work previously done by men. It was largely an extension of work normally done by women. The exceptions to this were clerical work in banks, etc., and on railways, where women were engaged as carriage cleaners, ticket collectors, etc. As for the banks, at first there seemed to be a preference in favour of taking on young women, but it had since been found that professional women—who had worked as governesses, etc., before the war—were on the whole much better than young women.

THE SECOND STRING TO HER BOW.

The railway companies, Mr. Hitchcock proceeded, regarded the employment of women as purely a temporary measure, for the war only. On the whole railway managers said that they preferred men.

Generally, it had been proved that women's labour was untrained labour, and the most important problem in industry to-day was the need of skilled workers.

Whatever their relative inferiority, however, women were undoubtedly underpaid. They were considered well paid even when receiving from 50 to 70 per cent. less wages than men for more or less the same work. As an exception to this, some banks were actually paying more to women who had replaced minor male clerks, because the women were offered no prospects

Woman, however, with marriage in her mind, generally regarded industry as a second string to her bow and accordingly, from the point of view of the employer, she was not so good an industrial investment as man. When trained it was quite probable that she would not stay in industry.

With certain exceptions where women were doing the work better than the young men and youths whom they had replaced—he thought that the point of view of employers was that after the war the woman worker must go.

As for trade prospects after the war, he added, he thought that orders which had accumulated during the war would carry industry on for a considerable period afterwards. He thought that if they were to maintain the output and make up for the wealth which had been destroyed during the war they would have to have more and more women in industry.

BACK TO THE LAND.

Professor E. C. K. Gonner (of Liverpool) said he was not sure that there was a prospect of any large menace of unemployment after the war, but there would be a large change of employment. He did not believe that all the men coming back from the war were going to settle down to their former work. As a nation we should have to look ahead and make provision for the particular employments into which many of the young men wished to go. He hoped to see a considerable increase in the agricultural population in this country, and this was just the time when every care should be taken to make provision for office workers, etc., to have an opportunity of settling down on the land in this country or in the Colonies.

Professor Gonner added that the great difficulty was the large amount of unskilled labour in industry. What was wanted was to make a very great difference between the wages of skilled and unskilled labour. It was one of the effective means of making people become skilled.

Birmingham Mail.
14.9.15.

WOMEN AND WAR.

THEIR PLACE IN BIRMINGHAM INDUSTRIAL LIFE.

PROBLEMS OF THE FUTURE.

The most noteworthy feature in the industrial life of Birmingham and the district is the large and increasing part which is being taken in it by women and girls. The war has brought for them a hundred new occupations, and the outlook is that the number will be substantially increased. Owing to the depletions of the staff the Birmingham Post Office officials have organised staffs of women letter-sorters, and in several offices which were formerly entirely administered by male assistants lady assistants have been placed behind the counter. As an experiment a limited number of women have been appointed letter-carriers, and in some of the urban districts the duties of postmen are being carried out by them. So far women tram conductors have proved a success. In all there are over 200 in the service of the Birmingham Corporation, and if the women can withstand the rigours of an English winter, it is not unlikely the number will be substantially increased. At Manchester the Parks Committee are organising women gardeners. Locally, nothing has yet been done in this direction, though it is apparent that the lighter branches of horticulture can satisfactorily be done by women. At the moment the work in the parks is not heavy, and it is a common practice to reduce the staff during the winter months.

It is, however, in the Birmingham industrial community that women are chiefly in evidence. Many thousands are engaged in munition works—as attendants at automatic machinery, in work on the component parts of shells, and in the warehouses—and in several of the largest factories the normal staff of female operatives has been increased by several thousand persons. Many girls who had started in domestic service are now working at high pressure in electrical engineering shops, in rubber, leather, and hosiery factories, and in the tailoring trades. It is a common experience for capable female machine operatives, by working ten hours per day, to earn 30s. per week; and thousands of young girls, fresh from school, are contributing from 16s. to £1 per week to the family exchequer.

In a variety of other occupations woman is much in evidence. She has firmly established herself as shorthand writer and typist in the administrative offices of the Birmingham Corporation, and in banks, insurance, and solicitors' offices she has found a position (this is due to the dearth of male clerks, a few years ago a drug in the labour market); more women are employed in retail shops—having invaded the sacred precincts of the grocer and provision merchant—and there are others who are rendering effective service as lift attendants, railway employees (booking clerks and ticket collectors), waitresses, and uniformed picture-house "commissionaires." Married women, who were formerly school teachers, have also returned to school duties, and many women of education are qualifying for positions as dispensers of medicine, nurses, and other workers in hospitals and in the public health service.

The war has clearly given woman her opportunity. It has provided her with the chance for patriotic service, and it has given her a new order of life of work outside the narrow limits of domestic interest. The effect will assuredly be to widen and broaden her outlook, and to give her greater independence. "But when the war is over," said a prominent Labour member in Birmingham, "there is bound to be much trouble in industry. It is clear that women cannot be ruthlessly turned out of their positions—they will be too firmly installed for that—and one of the problems will be to organise them so as to prevent unfair competition with male workers."

The Daily News & Leader. 16. 9. 15.

WOMEN'S PLACE IN INDUSTRY.

British Association Debate.

EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS AFTER THE WAR.

The twelve sections of the British Association resumed their deliberations in Manchester yesterday.

The topics which came under review in the Economic Section included the question of the outlets for employment after the war, with special reference to the replacement of male by female labour. In connection with this question an interim re. rt was presented by an influential committee which included Sir H. Rider Haggard, Mr. C. W. Bowerman, M.P., and Archdeacon Cunningham. The report stated that the customary barriers to the employment of women having broken down the chief factors remaining were the fitness and willingness of women to undertake industrial work. The comparative shortness of women's industrial career had led employers to regard the time given to the acquisition of technical knowledge by women as wasted.

Since, unfortunately, for some time to come the female population would be decidedly more in excess of the male than even in the past, the number of women who would remain on the labour market all their lives was likely to be increased. Already it was stated in some works that during the last year promotion had been very slow because of the comparatively small number of marriages. Women in the main, however, did not regard their occupation as their life's work, and the desirability of a woman as a business investment was minimised by the probability of her marrying In any case it was stated that her attitude to marriage caused her attitude to work to be less stable than that of men. Women were less ambitious than men, and more content to remain in positions that made little demand on them.

DEVELOPMENTS IN STORE.

The question of wages was at once the most controversial as well as the most complicated question of women's employment. Roughly, women received from 50 to 75 per cent of the wages paid to men in similar occupations. Extremely interesting developments of women's employment were likely to occur within the next few months. Much, of course, would depend upon the industrial and economic position after the war and the rate of discharge from the Army.

Employers who had been seen on the subject almost unanimously stated that it was their intention to take back those of their former employees who returned after the war, not necessarily in their former positions, but in positions not inferior to those that they had left. In some cases the experience gained during the war had shown that certain jobs (i.e., lift attendants) could be more efficiently done by women than by men. In such cases employers intended to take back their particular men who returned, and as they were promoted or fell out of industrial life substitute women in their place, or else better jobs would be offered to the men, and the women kept on.

The great increase of women's employment could hardly fail to have permanent results, and it might therefore be anticipated that after the war the proportion of women in industry would be greater than before, and that the competition of men and women would increase.

To minimise the bad effect which would result emigration was suggested of men and women in something like equal proportions, as well as the better technical training of boys and girls, and an extension of the policy of equal pay for equal work, together with a minimum wage for unskilled labour, both male and female. It was also suggested that half-timers should be abolished and that widows and young children be withdrawn from the labour market.

BACK TO THE LAND.

The report having been presented and explained by Mr. E. F. Hitchcock, Professor Gonner, of Liverpool, said that after the war there was going to be a very large change of employment on the part of people coming back, and it would be necessary to look ahead to provide employment for many. Personally, he hoped to see a considerable increase in the agricultural population of the country, in which case a considerable quantity of the less skilled labour would be swallowed up. In order to get over the difficulty of such a small quantity of skilled labour he suggested that there should be a much greater difference than at present between the remuneration for skilled labour and that for unskilled If that were done it would encourage workers to become skilled.

Mr. R. Turnor, who followed with a paper on land service for ex-service men, urged that machinery for providing them with land should be created without delay. The work of settlement should be carried on by a land settlement commission composed of highly qualified men, and in some ways analagous to the existing Development Commission.

CHILDREN AND THE WAR.

The interest of children in the war at the different ages was the subject of a paper in the Psychological Section by Dr. C. W. Kimmins, of Southwark, who stated that in order to obtain the information required war essays were written by all the children in ten senior departments (five boys and five girls) of elementary schools. No preparation was allowed and no notice given. The children were told to write as much as they could about the war in fifteen minutes. In all 3,081 papers were written (1,511 boys, 1,570 girls).

The fact that emerged most clearly was the bellicose attitude of the girls of ten, the wave of depression at eleven, and the establishment of normal interests at twelve years of age. The boys, on the other hand, become more warlike at eleven, and though a period of slight depression follows upon this it is much less marked than in the case of the girls. From the age of eleven onwards great anxiety was felt with regard to the price of food.

A little girl, aged eleven, wrote: "The origin of the war was this, that when the German Emperor was at Windsor he insulted Queen Victoria, and so King Edward smacked him round the face. The German Emperor said, 'I'll be avenged,' and hence the war." (Laughter.) A boy of twelve wrote: "The advantage of the war is that the men have learned to knit;" and another boy wrote: "The main disadvantage of the war is that girls must remain old maids because there will not be any men left."

MILITARY TRAINING IN SCHOOLS.

The Educationists were concerned with military training in schools, and the High Master of Manchester Grammar School (Mr. J. L. Paton) said, very pointedly, that this war taught nothing more forcibly than the impotence of conscription to prevent war. It was conscription and military preparation which produced the war, and yet the authors of the conscription campaign in this country were prescribing a bigger dose of "the mixture as before" to cure the European malady.

Out of an interesting discussion in the Chemical Section on atmospheric pollution by domestic and industrial smoke a concrete proposal was carried to the Council of the Association to establish a special committee to co-ordinate the existing city committees who are investigating the problem, and to place the weight of the leading scientists on their side in a practical campaign for abatement.

Sir Arthur J. Evans, of Oxford, the well-known archæologist, was appointed President for next year, when the Association meets at Newcastle-on-Tyne. Bournemouth was chosen as the place of meeting for 1917.

Nottingham Express,
September 10th 1915.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

Replacement of Men Labour.

Particular interest was aroused by the subject of employment after the war, in respect to which an inquiry had been conducted at the instance of the Association by a committee of which Archdeacon Cunningham and Mr. C. W. Bowerman, M.P., and Sir H. Rider Haggard were among the members, assisted by a sub-committee.

In their draft interim report, which yesterday came before the Economic section, the committee stated that the customary barriers to employment of women having broken down, the chief factors remaining were the fitness and willingness of women to undertake industrial work, since unfortunately, for some time to come, it seemed probable that the female population would be decidedly more in excess of the male than even in the past.

Women and Marriage.

The number of women who would remain on the labour market all their lives was likely to be increased. Women in the main, however, did not regard their occupation as their life's work. It was stated that in many trades her attitude to marriage caused her attitude to her work to be less stable than of man.

Extremely interesting developments of women's employment were likely to occur within the next few months. Employers almost unanimously stated that it was their intention to take back those of their former employees who returned after the war, and to place them in positions not inferior to those they had left. Most employers treated the extra employment of women as a purely temporary measure, to be dropped on the conclusion of the war, but the great increase of women's employment could barely fail to have a permanent result.

It must be anticipated that after the war the proportion of women in industry would be greater than before, and that competition of men and women would increase.

To minimise the bad effect which might result, emigration was suggested, together with an extension of policy of equal pay for equal work, and minimum wage for unskilled labour, both male and female, and finally, the withdrawal of widows and young children from the labour market by the institution of an adequate pension scheme, at the same time introducing further restrictions with regard to home work.

Mr. E. F. Hitchcock, of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, in an address, said broadly speaking, the replacement of man labour by woman labour in industries proper was only now, after twelve months of war, beginning to assume any magnitude. Women were mainly engaged in industries for the production of goods demanded by the Government for war purposes. By July, 100,000 more women were employed in these trades than before the war. Most of these women were drawn from trades which had become slack owing to the war.

Women had not so much replaced men in industry proper as it appeared. What had happened was that the war demanded goods in the production of which women were already largely employed. In non-industrial occupations the replacement of men by women had been marked—in clerical work particularly. In banks it had been found in some cases that young women had not been satisfactory owing largely to lack of confidence, and older women had been tried with satisfactory results.

Women labour was untrained labour. The present demand was for skilled workers.

Women had not, industrially-speaking, "grown up." They treated themselves as adolescents, and were so regarded by their employers. The force of circumstances demanded a change.

Women were underpaid. They earned from 50 to 70 per cent. less than men for the same work. They had not considered their object in life to be industry. Marriage was a thing to be faced, and industry was perhaps a second string to the woman's bow.

Women After the War.

Women's work after the war must go. That with modifications was the view of employers.

But in some cases female labour was more valued than male labour.

Girls were found generally more efficient, careful, and conscientious than boys, and were much to be preferred to them, but the majority of employers considered adult women were less efficient than men.

The enormous accumulation of private and shipping orders would keep some trades in which women were largely employed busy for several months after the war—tailoring in particular.

If we were to maintain our output women must be more and more engaged in industry.

Demand for More Technical Training

Miss Anne Ashley, of Birmingham, also dealt with the report, and showed that in that city there had been a marked increase of women employed, but it was largely artificial in that the women were engaged on machinery specially constructed to suit them. A good deal of women labour would, however, be permanent. There would be an extension of that sort of work that women always have done.

She thought there was going to be a big demand to repair the ravages of war in countries which had been broken by it. There would generally perhaps be a shortage of capital, but there would also be a fair amount of capital in the hands of manufacturers who had done well during

Sept June 1915.

Women's Work.

The British Association.

Mrs. Henry Sidgwick, ex-principal of Newnham College, sister of Mr. Arthur Balfour, and the first woman to preside over the Education Science Section of the British Association, opened the session of her section by giving a description of the remarkable advance in the education of women and girls during the past forty years. Passing on to a general consideration of the nature and purpose of education, Mrs. Sidgwick criticised the official and popular view of education. She confessed that she could not share a "flaming" interest in mere school and college education, nor could she believe, as some seemed to do, that the regeneration or even a great improvement of mankind was to be attained by keeping children at school a year longer. To her the provision of educational opportunities was only the means to an end—either the preparation of teachers for their work or the opening of the door to the satisfaction of intellectual curiosity, to which progress in knowledge was mainly due. The general public, Mrs. Sidgwick thinks, is disposed to depend too much on the professional educator, and allows itself to be confused by using the same word "education" in the wider sense and also in the narrower sense of book-learning. She contended that learning was of little value unless it met a desire in the learner's mind, and this desire was more likely to be inspired by parents who possessed it than by the school. She highly commended the Workers' Educational Association for the way in which it encouraged the general public to satisfy spontaneous desire to learn. In expressing a hope that care would be exercised as to how far the State was entrusted with the regulation of education higher than primary, Mrs. Sidgwick said, "bureaucratic regulation may well be adapted to produce German *Kultur*, but it is not the way to secure the attitude of mind which leads to freedom, independence of thought, and culture in the best sense. And it is very apt to lead to a want of independence in the teacher."

In proposing a vote of thanks to Mrs. Sidgwick, Viscount Bryce said he considered it would be a misfortune if Government control of secondary and higher education were carried any further in this country.

Later on a paper on "Instruction in Ethics and Politics" was read by Miss E. E. Constance Jones. Other notable women who took part in the discussions were Mrs. Courtney and Miss Haldane, who spoke on the education of women in relation to careers; Miss Margaret Murray, who contributed to the Anthropological Section a paper on "Royal Marriage and Matrilineal Descent"; Dr. Sarah M. Baker, Miss Escott, Miss Charlesworth, and Dr. Marie C. Stopes, whose gifts for scientific research are inherited.

Trade Union League.

In connection with the Trade Union Congress at Bristol, the annual conference of the Women's Trade Union League was held under the presidency of Miss Gertrude Tuckwell.

Miss Mary Macarthur presented the annual report, which stated that within a few days of the declaration of war tens of thousands of women were without work. Any doubts that existed as to the Government action were set at rest by the intervention of the Queen, to whom was due the establishment of the Central Committee on Women's Employment, and the opening of the Work for Women Fund. Though the steady improvement in the state of employment, due mainly to the enormous demand for war materials of all kinds, happily curtailed the scope of the committee, it would be remembered for the efficiency and sympathy of its administration and the educative influence of its various schemes. With the revival in employment attention gradually returned from the problem of relief to that of industrial conditions, especially to the question of wages. Good results had attended a campaign for the enrolment in trade unions of women employed in the manufacture of war material.

Mr. J. A. Seddon, president of the Trade Union Congress, in referring to women's labour, said that their introduction, owing to war conditions, into many trades was causing misgiving and in some cases hostility. This was to be regretted. The only course to minimise any possible danger was to insist upon equal pay for equal work. The question was no passing phase and sex antagonism was the sure way to lower existing standards. He congratulated the National Union of Railwaymen on their success with the companies in securing recognition of equal pay for women.

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She thought there was going to be a big demand to repair the ravages of war in countries which had been broken by it. There would generally perhaps be a shortage of capital, but there would also be a fair amount of capital in the hands of manufacturers who had done well during the war.

The shortage after the war would be of skilled labour, whether male or female, and she advocated the extension of technical education in the staple trade. Every highly skilled person, man or woman, would relieve the situation instead of aggravating it.

CHILDREN AND THE WAR.

A Striking Comparison of Interests.

Dr. C. W. Kimmins, of London, speaking in the Psychology section on the special interests of children in the war at different ages, said the fact which emerged most plainly from an expert investigation into the subject was the bellicose attitude of the girls of ten, the wave of depression at eleven, and the establishment of normal interests at twelve years of age. The boys, on the other hand, became more warlike at eleven, and though a period of slight depression followed upon this it was much less marked than in the case of girls.

Curious instances were given of the extraordinary impressions produced upon children by new experiences, and interesting sidelights were obtained of discussions on the war overheard at home. The passage from matters of local to those of general interest as the age increased was very marked. From the age of eleven onwards great anxiety was felt with regard to the prices of food, and the excessive interest taken in the operations at the Dardanelles was clearly due to the supposed connection of the free passage to the Black Sea with the price of food.

commended the Welsh [illegible] association for the way in which it encouraged the general public to satisfy spontaneous desire to learn. In expressing a hope that care would be exercised as to how far the State was entrusted with the regulation of education higher than primary, Mrs. Sidgwick said, "bureaucratic regulation may well be adapted to produce German *Kultur*, but it is not the way to secure the attitude of mind which leads to freedom, independence of thought, and culture in the best sense. And it is very apt to lead to a want of independence in the teacher."

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Glasgow Herald, 8/10/18.

WOMEN WORKERS.

"RECONSTRUCTION" AFTER THE WAR.

Miss Burstall, head mistress of the Manchester High School, spoke at the conference of the National Union of Women Workers at the Central Hall, Westminster, yesterday on the subject of women's share in the work of reconstruction after the war. Dealing with the subject from the aspect of education, Miss Burstall said we should not borrow from other countries plans of education which might suit them, but were not the natural growth of our national character. We should not copy even Scotland or America, much less Prussia, which had influenced our officials too deeply, but these nations had had for a hundred years and more what we were only just beginning to acquire—a real faith in education. Schools must be wrong which were provided by one set of people for the children of another set of people—that had been the fundamental weakness of English elementary education, which would never be right till the parents were more closely associated with the government of the schools.

Lady Laura Ridding, referring to the Parliamentary representation of universities, urged that it should be increased anl extended to the modern universities.

Miss Adler, of the London County Council, who was to have delivered a paper on the subject of the conference as it related to industry, was unable to attend owing to illness. The paper prepared by Miss Adler set forth the following aims to be striven for to secure better conditions of labour after the war:—The elimination of the child under 14 years of age from the labour market, with the gradual raising of the school age up to 16 years; a better training of adolescents in the full time and part time trade school, with a wider scheme of scholarships and maintenance grants; the development of language teaching and the further training of commercial experts; an increase in the number of trades to which the minimum wage would apply, and a further limitation of the hours of work for women in shops and factories.

At the afternoon session Miss Catherine E. Marshall read a paper on the share women should take after the war in legislation. She said that women must see that the war did not leave the nation with a perverted sense of values. They must urge the supreme value of the human being apart from his value as a fighting unit, a munitions worker, or a wealth producer.

Opening a discussion on the part women will take in the future in the care of public health, Dr Mary Murdoch said that we wanted better mothers, and this applied to the rich quite as much as to the poor. Mothercraft did not come by instinct, but must be learned practically like any other profession. More attention would have to be paid to the study of eugenics in the future.

Daily Dispatch, 12. 10. 18.

WOMEN WORKERS.

Will They Remain After the War?

It is possible that the invasion by women of so many avenues of employment may have results more permanent than is generally supposed.

Though a great number of the men whose places have thus been taken while they are absent on military duty have been promised reinstatement, there is a margin where this is not the case. Unfortunately, too many men will never return to their posts, or will come home incapacitated. Will the women be kept on? Where they have proved their capacity it seems almost certain that their services will be retained.

In some of the work they have undertaken women have shown capacity superior to that of men who had previously been employed.

A *Daily Dispatch* representative was informed by a railway official in Manchester yesterday that the women carriage cleaners, for example, whose appointment was one of the experiments made by the railway companies to fill up the gaps, were discharging their duties quite successfully. The work was done more thoroughly by them than by men. Passengers had commented favourably upon the improved appearance of the carriages and their greater cleanliness inside.

The women tramguards, too, have given great satisfaction both in Salford and in other boroughs where they have been appointed. The fact that they are now engaged on the Manchester trams is another proof.

There are occupations, involving long hours of heavy work with continuous physical strain, where it is recognised that the employment of women is only a makeshift. But there are other cases where barriers against the employment of women have been broken down, and are likely to remain down. In banks and certain business offices women are adapting themselves so well to the routine and the mastery of detail that the end of the war may very well see them firmly established.

702/9

The New Statesman – October 9th 1915.

Correspondence

THE FUTURE DISPLACEMENT OF WOMEN WORKERS

To the Editor of THE NEW STATESMAN.

SIR,—It is not in any spirit of antagonism that I would like to refer to your article entitled "Hands Wanted," but rather in one of honest doubt and uncertainty. Since the beginning of the war, as men have been withdrawn from various industries and professions, their places have, in many instances, been filled by women workers, and the further extension of this policy you strongly advocate.

"Farmers and railway companies," you declare, "manufacturers and Government Departments alike, are, mainly for their own convenience, so as to avoid the trouble of having to train women, using all possible influence to prevent their men from going off to serve the State. . . .

"Why does not the Minister of Munitions get his colleagues to prohibit the use of motor cars by private persons—at least unless the owner drives himself and does his own repairs, or employs a woman—and simultaneously offer to each of these 50,000 mechanics employment at not less than forty shillings a week in munition factories? Similarly, there are, in the United Kingdom, about 50,000 tramcar conductors who can quite well be replaced temporarily by women. . . ."

What will happen to these women when the war is over? Are they to retain the positions for which they have qualified themselves and keep the men who return out of their original employment, or, if not, what is to be their future? A very delicate situation will be created, and it will require all the skill and tact of employers and workers as well as of politicians and public officials to solve the question. As one who has the highest opinion of women, deploring very deeply the attitude of many men towards members of the other sex, and being wholly in sympathy with the feminist movement, which has done a great deal for women and men alike, I must candidly confess that I view the future with very grave feelings of doubt and disquietude. A sex war is, of course, a phantasmagoria of overwrought pessimism, but it is quite possible that the organised bodies of male and female workers might find themselves in serious opposition, and this would be surely one of the worst things that could happen for the happiness of the country and the benefit of civilisation.

It is quite true that a considerable number of the men who went out will unhappily never return, while others will unfortunately be prevented from returning to their original positions through physical disabilities. But these will only be a minority. Again, it is highly probable that a much larger standing army than has hitherto been maintained will be retained by the Government, and this, too, will absorb a certain number of those who enlisted. But allowing for all these, there is yet a very large number of men who will return to civilian employment. In the Civil Service and in municipal offices, as well as in posts under many of the banks and private firms, their positions are being retained for them until they return, and in the meantime these are being filled in many cases by women.

In the article already mentioned, if I may make a further quotation, you say:

The necessary number of men is, however, not likely to be obtained until the nation gives certain definite guarantees as to the way in which, *after the war*, it will treat those who have either worked or fought for the State. What is primarily asked for is neither pay nor pension, separation allowance nor provision for disablement, but an assurance that the Government will not ruthlessly empty the munition factories and disband the Army, when peace comes, *without securing employment for those who have no situations reserved for them.*

Now, I feel sure that it is not through thoughtlessness or unconcern that you omit any demand for guarantees of continued employment for women workers now taking the places of men at the front, as that would be somewhat irrevelant to the subject with which your article deals, but it is a very important point. Is it possible while guaranteeing settled positions for the men when they return also to guarantee others for the women, or must the employment of the one be detrimental to that of the other? In the Great State such guarantees would be compatible, and men and women could have work according to their ability and qualifications, but when the war is over we are certain to have a Government supporting an increased army and burdened at least by £3,000,000,000 worth of national debt, either rightly or wrongly committed to a policy of economy if not of parsimony. Under such conditions it is highly improbable that they will greatly extend the scope for female clerks in Government offices, and though some little may be done to carry out the recommendations of the recent Royal Commission on the Civil Service, it is unlikely that any wide-sweeping changes will be made. The extension of clerical labour to women by Government will consequently employ only a few of the many women workers now filling the posts of men who have enlisted. Others, like the daughter of that suburban season-ticket holder whose father has "*allowed*" her to take a post as typist owing to temporary financial embarrassment at home, will return to their suburban villas when matters begin to straighten themselves out again. There are also a number who are filling the posts of their husbands and prospective husbands, and these will, after the war, naturally take up their positions as married women.

But allowing for all these, there are yet a very great many for whom "the unborn faces shine beside the never-lighted fire," and also those who having once tasted the sweets (as well as the bitters) of freedom will shrink from returning to domestic duties. And this is the number about whose future there is ground for disquietude. If they are to be thrown back upon the labour market, already overcrowded with regard to the clerical profession, it will be a real disservice to men and women alike, for the employers will certainly try to reduce expenditure by employing the cheapest material—the quantity of which is being continuously increased as a result of the advertisements of the correspondence colleges, who for their own profit are predicting a great trade boom after the war.

To suggest remedies is much harder than to point out difficulties I am aware, but sometimes it is of assistance to indicate difficulties so that they may be realised and to some extent combated before they arise. The Fabian Research Department is, I understand, investigating the question of "women in industry—how their condition is being altered by the war," and I hope the position of those professionally employed will not be overlooked, for it is equally important. Perhaps backed by so much intellectual ability and helped by a much wider outlook through longer experience, they may see light which is denied to individual observers.—Yours, etc.,

October 4th. HERBERT BROADLEY.

WOMEN'S WAGES

To the Editor of THE NEW STATESMAN.

SIR,—A joint Committee of the Fabian Research Department and the Fabian Women's Group is engaged on an enquiry into the new position of women in industry. Among the members are Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, Miss Mary Macarthur, Miss Margaret Bondfield, Miss Susan Lawrence, L.C.C., Mr. J. J. Mallon, and prominent Trade Unionists, in addition to representatives of the Economic Section of the British Association, the Women's Industrial Council, and other bodies.

The outlook at present is grave. History shows, unfortunately, that the entry of women into trades hitherto occupied by men has often been used by employers to cheapen the cost and degrade the conditions of labour. The fact that women enter the trade on a new or readjusted process obscures but does not alter the case. The blackleg process still goes on though its operation is indirect. The unprecedented demand for female labour since the war may thus quite easily be turned into a means for the creation of new forms of sweating.

Under the Munitions Act many Trade Unions have withdrawn or relaxed their rules and customs with regard to restrictions on female labour for the period of the war. The Government and the employers have given certain safeguards in return. Even if the promise given by Mr. Lloyd George, that women employed on war munitions should be paid for the same work at the same piece rates as the men, is kept to the letter, the fact remains that women are being employed on time-rates instead of piece-rates, which bear no relation to those of the men, or else processes have been so readjusted that, although the women are accomplishing the same result as the men, no one woman is engaged on exactly the same process as any one man. Meanwhile the standards of the men's Trade Unions are thrown to the winds, while the women are employed at rates that threaten the whole position of Labour. Unless the position is understood and faced, the probabilities are that Labour will wake after the war to find itself powerless as never before, while the women may well be worse off than they were.

The objects of the present enquiry are, then:

(1) To enquire how far, and in what occupations and processes, female labour is being introduced for the first time; or is increasing; or is replacing male labour.

(2) To find out at what rates and under what conditions women are now working, and what is the cause or explanation of or justification for any differentiation between grades or sexes.

(3) To enquire how far the readjustment of processes now being made have rendered easier the introduction of female labour, and how far they are likely to secure its permanence after the war.

(4) To enquire into the rules and customs which restrict the employment of men or of women, or influence the line of demarcation between their work, and to enquire in what way any alteration is likely to affect them.

Anyone able to contribute any facts is requested to communicate them to the undersigned.

But—and here we come to the main purpose of this letter—an enquiry which entails the collecting and sifting of a vast mass of technical material from every district and from nearly every industry cannot be conducted without funds. The claims of research may appear slight in comparison with other more pressing needs. Yet surely this enquiry is one which must be undertaken now, whilst the process is going on, or not at all, and we shall need the information for the reconstruction that will follow wreckage. So that we may not fail for lack of knowledge, we appeal to readers of THE NEW STATESMAN on behalf of the Fabian Joint Committee, for means to gain some part of that knowledge now. Cheques should be made payable to the Treasurer, The Fabian Research Department, G. P. Blizard, at the following address.—Yours, etc.,

25 Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W. BARBARA DRAKE, *Chairman.*

New Ways - 6th. Nov. 1918.

Women in Industry

"Wherever you turn you will find Employers in Productive Industries Welcoming Women into their Factories only because they are Cheaper than Men"

By ROWLAND KENNEY

SOME weeks ago, when Mr. Lloyd George was urging upon Trade Unionists that the employment of women for war work would not be permanent and would not enter into competition with men's labour, Mrs. Pankhurst is reported to have interrupted him with the remark: "Very healthy competition!" It was an apt remark. It showed clearly what was meant by many people who were prating grandiloquently of the opportunities then offered to women to "achieve their economic independence." But it was not quite complete. One word more was needed to give it its full significance. Mrs. Pankhurst should have said, "Very healthy for competition!" For we may be absolutely certain that only those who thrive upon competitive industry are going to become more "healthy" as a result of the intensification of the struggle for jobs between men and their wives, or men and their sisters or other female relatives.

Labour Suspicious.

Now, I realise quite well that, in such a struggle as that in which we are now engaged, every ounce of energy the nation can muster should be utilised. The labour of women should be expended so as to strengthen the hands of the men. But this realisation does not blind me to the fact that, of all the concessions made by labour during the war, of all the restrictions it has had removed, of all the dangerous innovations it has seen introduced, none is giving it so much thought and anxiety as that of the introduction of more women into industry; and labour is right to be suspicious.

I hope this will not seem an unpatriotic attitude, because, like the vast majority of the workers of this country, I believe that, whatever else happens, we must come victorious out of the war; and wherever women can be useful to the nation their help should be willingly accepted by the nation. The trouble is, however, that we are not united on this point. To win we want national unity. We want the willing co-operation of all classes and creeds in labour for national ends. Unfortunately, we have not got that. In the supremest crisis of our national history we have the class struggle still in being in the industrial world, and the Government acting as if the class struggle must remain a permanent feature of our national life. We have some employers making all the profits they can extract out of the nation's needs; or the Government, where it does assume control, actually guaranteeing more than usual instead of eliminating entirely the very element of profit from controlled establishments. In short, in the midst of a world-shaking war, we have British profiteering as usual.

A Quandary: Patriotism or Cheap Labour.

The quandary in which labour is placed with regard to this matter thus becomes obvious. It is anxious for victory, and because it is anxious for victory it desires the whole strength of the nation, including that of women, to be expended on the nation's behalf. On the other hand, it knows that, under the profiteering system, employers have to keep their eyes open for cheap labour. It knows, further, that any cheap commodity introduced into the industrial or commercial world tends to cheapen or drive out higher-priced commodities if it can be made to "do." And labour to-day is simply a commodity, to be bought as cheaply as possible and used to the enrichment of the buyer. The lower the employer can depress wages, the cheaper that is he can buy the commodity labour, the wider is the "margin" between the cost of the article he sells and the price he receives for it. Therefore any element that will help him to depress wages is a helpful element.

Government Action Needed.

And one of the most helpful elements that can be found is the element of female labour. It is cheap labour. Wherever you turn you will find employers in productive industries welcoming women into their factories only because they are cheaper than men. Women have certain handicaps in the industrial race which will always make employers prefer men to women, other things being equal. But other things never are equal where production is for profit. A woman who does sixty per cent. of a man's work for forty per cent. of a man's pay, and ruins her body—and perhaps her soul—into the bargain, is infinitely preferable to the man by an employer who, as such, must concern himself neither with her body nor her soul, but with the margin between her cost and the price of goods she produces. What then, it may be asked, should have been done? The reply is: The Government, if it had not the courage to take over industries outright, and itself, as a national employer, absorb all available women for national labour, should, at any rate, have seen that no employer engaged female labour in place of male labour without entering into an agreement to displace it at the end of the war and to keep up the price of labour, male or female, in the meantime.

For the War Only—But After.

At this point another objection will be raised. Have we not been told that all these new inroads on labour's rights and emoluments are but for the period of the war? We have been told so; and most of us who are interested in labour affairs refuse to believe it. We know very well, of course we do, that jobs will be found for a certain number of soldiers who return from the war; but we know equally well that if any labour is to be displaced for this purpose, the temptation will be terribly strong to displace the higher-priced men's labour. The newly-introduced cheap women's labour will be kept on. Look at the matter how we may, we can only come to the conclusion that the further opening up of the competitive labour market for women means the permanent depression of the wage of labour throughout the industrial sphere. Thus we have the patriotic instincts of our womenfolk being used to bolster up and strengthen the profiteering system, a system that showed its weaknesses as soon as the strain of war was brought to bear upon it.

Bath & Wilts Chronicle
19/11/15

THE WAR AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

MISS CONSTANCE SMITH'S VIEWS

FUTURE OF THE WORKING WOMAN

To further the objects of the Christian Social Union a public meeting was held at the Guildhall on Thursday evening. The Rev. R. C. L. Reade, Rector of Charlcombe, presided and among those present were the Archdeacon of Bath, the Rector of Bath (Preb. Boyd), Prebendaries M. E. Hoets, H. L. Maynard and T. L. Sissmore, the Revs. Alan Gardner, J. A. Gibson, and Dr. Preston King.

The Chairman was afraid one thing was certain whoever won this war—there must be a hard time after it. Following this tremendous boom of trade, caused by the expenditure of five millions a day on the war there must come a great dislocation of industry and a time of impoverishment. The plan of study of the Union for this year was the social and economical conditions of the war and how to meet them. This was what he believed Miss Smith would speak upon, for her address was entitled "To-day and to-morrow."

Miss Constance Smith, one of the senior lady Government Inspectors of Factories, who was welcomed as an old friend, said there were those who would deprecate calling attention at this time to the problems of to-morrow lest such consideration should weaken our concentration on the needs of to-day. But she did not think that would happen if the problems of to-morrow were approached in the right spirit. Many of these problems were already with us and it was only on those questions she proposed to speak. Social and industrial problems had been with us from the first minute of the war, they had been developing and many in directions quite other than those we expected; these would be clamouring for solution when peace came. When war broke out the thought was how to provide work for the workers, the difficulty now was to find workers for the work. The dislocation which the Chairman foreshadowed might not be so sudden or widespread as some people seemed to fear. There were many modifying circumstances which might mean that the dislocation would be gradual, and there might be time to reorganise the forces of peace, but only if we were prepared, not if we waited until the whole thing was upon us and then tried to improvise remedies.

PROBLEMS OF INFANT AND CHILD LIFE.

Some of the problems were already finding solution. Take the problem of the protection of infant and child life. It needed a European war to make the country say that the notification of births should be compulsory. Then the early shopping movement had come into being under war pressure and she could not believe we should ever go back upon it. For too many years we had been wantonly wasting the health and strength of young people. One problem which would be exceedingly insistent at peace, and concerning which it was necessary to reflect and lay plans, was what should be done about education? The whole lesson of the war and all that had led up to the war was not that we had had too much education, but had had too little and not good enough. She would be sorry to see German methods, with their rigidity, imposed in this country. There was too much child labour before the war and there was some danger in the relaxation of rules insisted on by the war. What was needed was a well-devised plan in which child labour could be, as far as possible, eliminated from our industries.

A LIVING WAGE FOR WOMEN.

Woman work was becoming every day more and more important. Many had no idea of the extent to which women were supplying the place of men in factories and workshops not under the public eye. And women were doing their work extraordinarily well to the quite naive and frank surprise, and pleasure, of their employers. After alluding to the psychological effect upon women of being taken out of the narrow routine and advanced to the turning out of the complete article, Miss Smith said women had now realised what it was to earn a living wage; in certain employments there was an agreement that the piece rates laid down for the women should be the same as those for the men whose places they had taken. Plans should be prepared by which women could get the training and the protection they needed in their work, and a public opinion should be created which would not permit women to go back, after their splendid efforts, to the old sweated wages of the past (applause).

FEMALE LABOUR ON FARMS.

The agricultural problem was one in which much headway had not been made. Some women who had gone on farms to learn agricultural work had been objects of ridicule by farmers' wives and others. But she felt that the educated women who were plucky enough to do this work must go on with it and educate opinion. In her old county of Wilts she remembered middle-aged women who were proud to undertake employment on the land, doing a great deal of weeding and hoeing and assisting in the harvest. But that ancient custom had died away. This agricultural problem needed much study and organised effort, for it was going to become extremely acute because many of the young labourers who had gone into the Army would not go back to the land. Serious sacrifice would have to be made. We did not want to turn our country women into [illegible]

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A vote of thanks was accorded Miss Smith and others who had helped to make the meeting a success, on the motion of the Archdeacon of Bath, seconded by Dr. Preston King.

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Daily News & Leader - 14. 12. 15.

A Sex Warfare: WOMEN AND THE FUTURE OF INDUSTRY.

By MARION PHILLIPS, D.Sc. (Econ.)

WOMEN who are not themselves closely connected with industrial life show great optimism as to women's future position in industry. They rightly congratulate the working woman upon her adaptability, her capacity for hard work, and her readiness to offer personal sacrifices for the nation's good. The situation would then seem of good augury for women. All that they have done in this time of stress and struggle, all the splendid power which they have shown to take up new tasks, and often harder tasks than in the past, the wonderful cool bravery with which they have worked in the hospitals and even on the field of battle, seem to point to a new recognition of their importance in national life, and give rise to a natural feeling of certainty that after peace has come women will readily receive those full rights of citizenship for which they have fought so long.

THE COMING DANGER.

But the industrial changes of to-day bear with them a real and a great danger. Their result may well be the opening of a most acute phase of sex antagonism.

The demand for women's labour is at present unprecedented, and it is a demand which is greatest in the heavier and rougher classes of factory employment. The demand is almost non-existent in the light, highly-skilled work of the luxury trades, and greatest in the very wide field of munition employment. The demand is not so much for women to take men's places in new kinds of work, as it is for more and more women to do the work which has always been done by them, but in which an enormously increased output is now needed. In addition to this, there is the demand for women to do skilled, but chiefly unskilled, work in factories where formerly no women, or very few women, were employed. There are also thousands of women who are taking the place of men in trades such as that of the ticket collector, the shop assistant, and so on—trades in which women have always been occupied in some directions, though not in such large numbers as now. In the clerking world also the increase of women and decrease of men is fairly marked.

EQUAL PAY FOR WOMEN.

In some directions this employment of women can be directed by the trade unions, and the railway unions, e.g., have already interfered to see that the rate for women shall be equal to that for men. Again, in the controlled establishments the position may be regulated by the Munitions Act on trade union lines after the war. That is, wherever the trade unions are strong enough, they can determine the employment of women and so regulate it as not to endanger the position of the wage earner.

But it must be remembered that throughout the country women are being employed in such a way as to displace men in establishments which are now occupied both on war and peace work, uncontrolled by any outside authority, and with one desire—that of cheapening so far as possible the cost of labour and production.

Moreover, we have in some directions a failure on the part of trade unions to grasp the need of organising women; and we find the old ideas prevailing and reluctance shown to accept the woman worker on equal terms, a reluctance which has its historical background in the fact that the introduction of women has almost without exception led to a cheapening of labour.

WHEN PEACE COMES.

As peace draws near the war industries will slacken their production. Factory after factory will reduce its output; factory after factory founded for war needs will close down. In the poverty which will succeed this time of stress, normal industry will be crippled, and trade will fall into a depression probably greater than any we have known. The staffs which will have been swollen to an enormous size during the war will be cut down to the barest minimum. Where the controlled establishment is concerned and the trade union is strong, the women will cease to be employed on men's work; and men will be taken back—so far as there is need for them. Enormous numbers of women employed at women's work in munition factories, etc., will be discharged. Many will have lost their skill for their old trades, and many who have not done that, will find that unemployment is rife amongst those also. Outside the controlled establishments there will be other establishments which gave more or less vague promises to take back enlisted men. These will keep them in some cases. In others they will have replaced the men by cheap women; and they will keep the women.

More than that, we must consider the changed proportions of the industrial market. Whatever our hopes of a speedy end to the war, we cannot look forward to a wastage in men of less than one million. For there is not only the wastage in the trenches; there is the wastage due to over-pressure of work upon the people at home. And this wastage means a lower rate of marriage and a consequent large increase in the number of women who will have to seek work outside their homes instead of within them.

A DREARY OUTLOOK.

The scene we have set forth is a gloomy one enough. A horde of men and women, many wasted by the hard work of these years of trial, a trade depression, a general wave of poverty and exhaustion. Men returned from the wars to find their work gone from them; women displaced to make way for men; women displaced because war work has ceased and peace work is not there for them; women displaced because they have lost their skill at the only trade now open to them, and men displaced because the employers driving the hardest bargains open to them have found women cheaper and no less efficient than the men they drew their wealth from in the old days. The very efficiency and adaptability of the woman is in itself a danger, so long as it is not combined with the industrial pride which demands a fair return for the labour given.

In this scene are all the elements of sex warfare in industry of a very terrible nature—a sex warfare in which the male workers and the women dependent upon them are ranked against the women who must work or die.

THE ONLY REMEDY.

The warfare can be prevented, but it can only be prevented if action is taken quickly and with intention to succeed. The basis of that action must be Trade Unionism. The organisation of women is essential. Thus ranked together, men and women, the demand must be made for the regulation of the wages of workers throughout both the controlled and uncontrolled industry of the country. A minimum wage for time as well as piece, based upon the standard rates for men, must succeed the present chaos, and place women definitely upon a basis of equality with men. But behind all this must come the responsibility of the community, through the Government, for every displaced man and woman when the war ends. That responsibility can alone stave off the cruellest of labour struggles, lead the way to future industrial as well as military peace and effectively prevent the pitting of men against women and the degradation of the whole industrial population of the community.

General article with photo 1915 702

Daily News & Leader — 18. 12. 15.

SWORD AND PLOUGHSHARE.

THE WAR AND THE LAND.

By A. G. G.

I rarely go into the House of Lords, and when I do I usually feel those damps of the grave that were the point of Beaconsfield's great jest on his elevation to the Upper House—"I feel as though I am dead and buried." Then, seeing the look of horror on his fellow peer's face, he added: "And awaiting a glorious resurrection." But occasionally the stately tomb vibrates with startling echoes from the world above ground, and then the very novelty of the experience gives it emphasis. That was the case with the remarkable debate this week on the subject of the resettlement after the war.

The urgency of that question can hardly be exaggerated. The war is only a stupendous interlude. It may continue for months, but it cannot be measured by years, and there are abundant signs that it may end as swiftly as it began, and at no distant date. And when that end comes we shall need the Peace Book of which Lord Haldane spoke as much as we needed the War Book of which he was the chief author, and which played so wonderful a part in saving Europe from the first shock of the German attack.

Back from the Battlefield.

For consider the situation. The whole nation has been violently swept into new channels of activity. Four million men have been or are being turned from citizens into soldiers, from producers of wealth into consumers of wealth only. Even the men who have remained behind have lost their industrial identity and have been turned into feeders of the gigantic instrument of war. There is hardly a tithe of us engaged in the work which we were doing when the tragedy burst on us. When the fever subsides there will be a task of readjustment unlike anything in history. It is impossible that the fabric that has been suddenly pulled to pieces will come together in its original shape. Millions of men, torn from their familiar settings, will have acquired new tastes, new ambitions, new views which will govern their future and ours. "No more office stools for me" is the familiar cry of the clerk turned soldier. No more drudgery on the land on the old terms, is the thought which must be fashioning itself in the mind of many a labourer who has learned what good food and good clothing mean and has discovered that society ultimately rests on his thews and sinews.

The Woman's Victory.

Nor is this all. I am not sure that in this vast displacement the emergence of woman will not be found in the end to be the biggest fact of all. She has established her independent industrial life with startling authority. Everyone who has seen anything of the munitions activity is full of astonished praises of the work she is doing, and in a large measure she has superseded the man in the general activities of the nation. Socially she can never return quite to her old place and industrially she cannot be expected to disappear with the end of the war. She has occupied new territory and she will hold it.

In these circumstances the problems we shall have to grapple with to-morrow are as great as they are complex. What is being done to solve them? The most constructive minds of the nation, minds like those of Lord Haldane and Mr. Sidney Webb, captains of organised industry, like Sir William Lever, great trade unionists like Mr. [illegible] and Mr. Smillie, women of [illegible]

to stay at home. This is not a question of sentiment, but of necessity. It is a necessity for two reasons: because as a State we need our vigorous manhood and because we can no longer afford the wasteful handling of our most precious inheritance, the soil. We have allowed that inheritance to be the spoil of the rich man, and even to-day we hear of foxes being turned down to ravage the fields that should feed us. What is the strength of France? It is its six million small cultivators, with their labour, their thrift, and their wholesome independent life. Against that solid phalanx of rural strength we cannot put a quarter of a million of smallholders, and labour on the land has been diminished to its lowest terms. Splendid soil that should employ multitudes of happy workmen is converted into solitudes of pasture; inferior land that industry and money would make rich is left rank and unprofitable or applied simply to the amusements of a selfish sporting class.

Co-operative Settlement.

Let us see this as a national question as much as the war. We have to beat the Germans in battle to-day; but we have to beat them in the development of our country to-morrow if we are to have the final and enduring victory. And it is in the field more than in the factory where we are imperilled. How is the thing to be done? It cannot be left to casual, independent action. Men cannot create a career for themselves on the land unaided no matter how much they desire to do so. The experience under the Small Holdings Act has shown the difficulties of breaking down the monopoly of landlordism in the interests of the smallholder. Moreover isolated action is futile. The smallholder must have a co-operative basis or he cannot live: as an individual he perishes. Only the nation can save the nation—and I say "Save the nation" in the literal sense. We may hope that the Verney Committee will realise this and that they will report in favour of a big scheme of co-operative settlement.

How It Works.

The idea of such settlements is well understood. That enthusiastic agricultural reformer, Mr. Christopher Turnor, has done much to popularise it. The root of the idea is that the small farmer cannot live alone either socially, economically or industrially. He must live in a community which will give him co-operative facilities without which he is helpless. The ideal is an estate of some 2,000 or 3,000 acres. In the centre will be an experimental farm under the control of an expert farmer who, with his assistants will educate the smallholder, manage the co-operative bank, buy the stock wholesale and market the produce for the growers much on the principle of the great Danish system which has converted a poor, sandy soil into a very treasure house of wealth. Around the experimental farm will be the small holdings, each with its farmhouse. They will vary from 100 to 300 holdings according to the character of the farming, the maximum holding being about 25 acres, the minimum five acres for the market gardener. Co-operative jam-making, dairying etc. will be associated with the scheme and there will be common pasture and a common use of utensils.

The Cost.

It is calculated that the scheme will cost £1,000 per settler. Do you shrink at the price? You will not shrink if you remember that we are spending five millions a day on the war, and that two months of expenditure on that scale

she cannot be expected to disappear with the end of the war. She has occupied new territory and she will hold it.

In these circumstances the problems we shall have to grapple with to-morrow are as great as they are complex. What is being done to solve them? The most constructive minds of the nation, minds like those of Lord Haldane and Mr. Sidney Webb, captains of organised industry, like Sir William Lever, great trade unionists like Mr. Shackleton and Mr. Smillie, women of affairs like Mrs. Creighton and Miss Macarthur, in short all the best available capacity of the State should be engaged upon the momentous task of preparing for the resettlement of society. It is the gravest indictment of the Government that no comprehensive step of this sort has been taken. We are leaving this great matter to this department and that, each working in its own water-tight chamber wholly indifferent to the essential unity of the problem. Or we are trusting to private action or such well-meaning charities as the Patriotic Fund or the Soldiers and Sailors Society.

The Tragedy of the Soil.

In only one direction that I can see has there been any real appreciation of the gravity of the business before us. The committee which has been sitting on the subject of land settlement after the war is about to report. It is to be hoped that it will report in a spirit of courage equal to the emergency. The question of the land is the keystone of reconstruction. If the war has taught us nothing else it has taught us that our national life depends on the manhood of the nation. In the final ordeal nothing else matters. And the roots of manhood are in the soil. "That nation is strongest," said Froude," which has the largest proportion of its people with a direct interest in the land." Judged by this axiom we have the most perilous tenure of any great people. There is hardly any tragedy like that of our village labourer, robbed of his common lands, housed worse than the animals, denied any possibility of a career of hope, turned adrift into the towns to make way for sport, solitary, unorganised, servile. In the last half-century, while the population of the country has doubled, the agricultural population has decreased by a million.

What Shall We Offer?

Is this terrible rot to continue or are we at last awake to its tragic meaning and determined at all costs to apply drastic remedies? There is a banal song of these days which has a refrain about "keeping the flag flying till the boys come home." But where are they going when they come home? Are we to offer them the old fourteen shillings a week on the land and when they refuse that, as they will, send them with millions of others to the desolation of the docks and the slums to revive all the old horrors of unemployment? Are we going to point with magnanimity to the plains of Canada and Australia and invite them to leave the country they have saved and find a living elsewhere? There will doubtless be an impulse to emigration, but we must remember that, after the enormous loss of our manhood in the war, we cannot afford a great drift of our most vigorous blood away from our shores.

When "the boys come home" we must see that we make it worth their while for the market gardener. Co-operative jam-making, dairying etc. will be associated with the scheme and there will be common pasture and a common use of utensils.

The Cost.

It is calculated that the scheme will cost £1,000 per settler. Do you shrink at the price? You will not shrink if you remember that we are spending five millions a day on the war, and that two months of expenditure on that scale would settle 300,000 smallholders on the land. And is it not as urgent a national task to build up England as it is to blow down Germany? Every soldier we send to the trenches costs this country £500 a year in the loss of his productive service and the cost of his maintenance. Is it not worth £1,000 to make him a soldier of the ploughshare and a profitable citizen for life? And think of the credit side. This money will not be blown into the air. It will be invested in the best security in the world, the lives of our people and the soil of our country. Every penny that is spent will come back. And it will come back with an enormous increment in the prosperity of the people, the productiveness of the soil, the development of a new peasant race in the rural solitudes of our land. It will readjust the balance between the town and the country and revitalise the blood of the race. It is the biggest piece of constructive work to which a nation was ever called by the stern compulsion of events.

And the Labourer.

But, it will be said, we cannot secure small holdings for all that we need to return to the land. What of the rest? What of the labourer? He will not return for his old pittance and yet he must return. How is he to be induced to do so? Only by better wages and better prospects. Here the Verney Committee will come up against the stumbling block that brought the Milner inquiry to grief. Give us Protection, says the farmer, give us stable prices, and we will give the labourer a living wage. We may hope that the Committee will be warned not to coquet with this vain thing. The thing that is wrong with agriculture is not prices, but the restraints of landlordism and the lack of organisation. The way for the State to help the farmer to pay a decent wage for his labour is to release him from the anti-social restrictions of his calling, especially "sport,' to organise his transport and his marketing, to help him with the credit he needs and which, with the disappearance of the old private bank, he has largely lost, to give him easy access to the best machinery of farming—in a word to stimulate his industry, not to give it the narcotic of protection. This is no time for toying with the antiquated folly of artificial food prices

Nor must we forget that sweated labour is not cheap labour in agriculture any more than in any other industry. The heresy that it is has been at the root of the miserable lot of the labourer. Let the nation deal with agriculture, as it has dealt with nail-making, shirt-making and other industries, as a sweated trade, let it fix minimum wages, deal with housing, set the alternative of the small holding at work, facilitate the marketing of produce and get the landlord off the back of the farmer and there will be no need to make the townsman pay dear for his bread in order that the peasant may earn a decent living on the soil.

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Illustrated Sunday Herald. 19. 12. 15.

"THE WOMEN WILL NOT GO BACK."

Girls Who Have Filled Men's Place During The War: What Is To Become Of Them After Peace?

By Edward Cecil.

Wherever one goes nowadays and two or three people are gathered together they talk about the war. If not the war they get on to some aspects of the new phenomenon in our midst, and of these the wholesale employment of girls and women in all sorts of occupations, many of them quite new to women, is among the greatest. Apart from the war, the great question of the hour is the woman question.

MR. EDWARD CECIL.

On the whole there is more profit to be gained by discussing the woman question than by wasting one's breath about the war. For almost all our war talk is utterly useless. We are for ever discussing situations which have really passed, or the advisability or the inadvisability of this or that course of action, in which the irrevocable step has already been taken or delay has rendered it impossible to take it. But the woman question is made up of certain essential issues and a number of minor questions which we have got to settle for ourselves.

Does anyone really think that the women being employed to-day in all the manifold varieties of work now thrown open to them will cease to be employed in these new fields of labour "when the war is over"?

We hear so much about the temporary employment of women. It doubtless sounds pretty to talk about the woman keeping the man's job warm for him while he is away fighting for her and his King and country.

But to me it seems unlikely that the newly-employed women will go back into their unemployment. It is not in the least probable, once woman knows what she can do, and employers of labour find out what good work she can give them, that she will go back, or be allowed to go back, into her pre-war obscurity. And there are many reasons why it is probable that the employment of women will be permanent.

A large number of men will not come back at all, or will come back disabled. Many more will remain in the Army. Many a man, once used to a free, open-air life, will not go back to a clerk's stool. For the days when the black coat was a fetish of respectability are quickly passing, and in the future the male clerk will be the exception and the female clerk the rule. Consequently the supposed temporary employment of women will in very many cases be permanent, for the very simple reason that the gaps in the labour market will be permanent, and not temporary.

That many women are already doing the new work well is undoubted. All, perhaps, are not a success in all their new callings.

But much of the work is of proved excellence. Such work can never be thrown aside. Every post well filled is prima facie a post which may be considered permanent.

For many years education, both primary and secondary, has been fitting girls for clerical and office work in vast numbers. These girls and young women have been trained for anything but the domestic virtues. They are hungry for the work which is now at last open to them on all hands. They will do it permanently, in so far as they prove they can do it satisfactorily, for one reason because there will be a permanent stream of supply created by the type of education we have been giving our daughters in all classes of the community.

Woman's Reward.

The work will be permanent, lastly, because women themselves, finding their powers, enjoying the money they earn, appreciating the value of a new freedom, will demand that it shall not be taken away from them. What they like they will keep. They will urge that they have helped the nation in a time of need, and, as a reward, they will feel entitled to a right to do work they have proved they can do. I see no reason against such an argument

Face to face with the employment of women being permanent one has to decide whether one approves of it or not, whether one will help it or hinder it, whether the new conditions it gives rise to are good conditions or bad conditions. It requires some courage to accept all that is involved. But that should not be wanting. Courage will be needed after the war, when we shall have many problems to face which must be solved and not slurred over. I accept the prospect of women having ample opportunities to earn their living with unfeigned delight.

If they do women will be much happier and more free. I do not like to see a bird in a cage, much less a woman. And thousands of women live in cages. Some of them are gilded; most of them are not.

After the war, as a nation, we shall not be rich enough to support a large body of unemployed women, as we have done in the past. In many households providing for unmarried daughters and other female dependants (who probably would be only too glad to earn their living, given the opportunity and the training) simply means a starved life. Children's education, reasonable amusement, good and necessary food and clothing have to take second place to the demand of the ever-insistent insurance premium.

Our views about marriage will get altered. They need altering. One thing which would alter them would be the greater economic freedom of women. I have no respect for the married life which the woman tolerates simply because if she left it she would starve.

Our lower middle class, heavily hit by the war, cruelly handicapped by the increased cost of living which will not go down when peace is declared, with the sudden fall which many hope for, will gain a veritable door of escape from financial hardship as it became a recognised thing for its women to have opportunities of earning money thrown open to them.

A Libel On Working Girls.

Life, in fact, will be eased generally. Already in the industrial classes it is the commonly accepted practice for girls to go out to earn their living. In future better openings will be at their disposal. The better education of the rising generation will fit them to take these openings, and the better money earned will give more to be contributed to the household expenses.

It is a libel on the girls of the industrial class to say that they waste their money on clothes and finery. As a whole they do not do so. There are fools among them, and in the long run they pay the penalty of their folly in various ways, as for instance, in impaired health. But that greater opportunities for the increasingly well-educated girls of the industrial class to earn better money will help to raise the standard of comfort in their homes seems to me indisputable.

For these reasons I welcome the increased opportunities now being given to women to earn their own living, and I am glad that I am able to think that these opportunities will not be withdrawn when the war is over.

If the new employment of women be permanent we shall all be the better for it, and let the men who are ousted from work which women can do be encouraged to seek the work which women cannot do. There will be plenty of that to be done in the days after the war.

EDWARD CECIL

Industrial Problems in Industry
The Contemporary Review
12/1915.
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WOMEN'S INDUSTRY AFTER THE WAR.*

THE inquirer who seeks to envisage industrial conditions, as they may exist after the war, has few economic precedents on which to base conclusions. Economic prophecies made at the outbreak of hostilities have proved to be singularly incorrect. Last year, during the early autumn, we were in the throes of endeavour to mitigate an impending prolonged period of industrial dislocation and unemployment. This year unemployment in the insured trades has shrunk from 6·28 to 0·96 per cent., while 60,000 fewer persons are in receipt of poor relief than in the best month of our most prosperous year, 1913. The last issue of the *Board of Trade Labour Gazette* chronicles a serious shortage of labour in many industries, not only among men but among women. Half-a-dozen small workrooms under the Central Committee for Women's Employment are still open, but they are the refuge of elderly women of the most helpless and unskilled type. The number of children receiving free meals in London has shrunk from 74,201 in September, 1914, to 14,168 in September of this year—a reduction of 60,000. To the poorer sections of the population, in spite of the high cost of living, the war has brought a measure of prosperity which peace has failed to confer on them. Separation allowances for the wives and children of soldiers, who before enlistment were in fluctuating trades, have produced a *certainty* in the weekly budget, the results of which are visible in the improved appearance of hundreds of school children. When we remember the poignant, personal anxiety that must yet be suffered in so many homes, there is a tremendous indictment of pre-war conditions in the assertion made by a poor woman to a friendly visitor in one of our greyest and most hopeless districts: "If them "that runs this war can keep it up another couple o' year, I shall "be on my feet again."

Certain points for consideration seem to issue from these facts:—

1. Are the industrial transfers now in operation likely to be of long duration?
2. If the present conditions are of a temporary nature, can any

* Prepared for the Conference of the National Union of Women Workers, October, 1915.

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measures be suggested which may prevent the inevitable dislocation at the end of the war?

3. Can we hope to improve on pre-war conditions in any steps taken in the work of industrial reconstruction?

It may be well at the outset to meet the inevitable criticism by stating at once that the rapidly changing conditions in industry and commerce have not yet attained a sufficiently static position to enable us to put forward suggestions of any permanent value. Although we have now realised the protracted nature of the struggle for national existence on which we are engaged, it is doubtful whether the lay mind can foretell in the slightest degree the extent to which our industrial and economic resources must be taxed before we can hope for a lasting and honourable peace. We know that nearly three million men have joined the forces of the Crown, but we do not know how many more may be required, nor can we gauge the toll of human life which may be involved. Recognising, therefore, the difficulties of all forecasts, it is probable that many of those present will sympathise with the point of view of friendly critics, who see a somewhat futile beating of the air in endeavours to poise the mind on what will happen "afterwards," an "afterwards" shut out from our gaze by an iron curtain, which has scarcely begun to lift.

There are, unfortunately, no complete official figures available proving the extent to which boys and girls below and above school age, and adult women, have been transferred to industries hitherto regarded as peculiarly the province of men. A Return issued in May by the Board of Education showed that 3,705 boys and 106 girls normally liable to attend school were excused attendance between February 1st and April 30th, 1915, for employment in agriculture. From September 1st, 1914, to January 31st, 1915, 1,388 boys and 49 girls received similar exemption. Among those set free in the second quarter were 49 boys between eleven and twelve years, 22 of whom belonged to Worcestershire, 12 to Somersetshire, 8 to Hertfordshire, and 4 to Gloucestershire. Two thousand one hundred and fifty-six were between twelve and thirteen years of age.*

The number of partial exemption scholars, or half-timers as they are usually termed, demonstrated a tendency to increase before the war, the number of those on whom grant was paid having been 71,718 in 1912-13 against 70,074 in 1911-12.† The demand for juveniles has increased so much that negotiations have recently

* *School Attendance and Employment in Agriculture.* Cd. 7,937. 1915. Pp. 4 and 5.

† *Report of the Board of Education for 1912-13.* Cd. 73,011. 1914. P. 82 (price 11d.).

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taken place between the master cotton-spinners and trade union organisations with the view of asking the Home Office to permit children not exempt for full time labour at thirteen, to be employed all day at the mill. It is also suggested that operatives should be permitted to work overtime at seventeen instead of eighteen years. Meanwhile appeals are being made by hard-pressed traders for relaxations of educational regulations on the ground of patriotism. Industrial activity has produced a claim on the labour of little children, which if not carefully watched may prove to be an insidious danger for the future welfare of the nation. Consequently many local authorities, hitherto backward in framing regulations, have been forced by conditions to take action. In Manchester a recent inquiry revealed a total of 6,081 school children working for wages, of whom 2,128 were under twelve years of age. Of the total number 2,324 boys and girls were engaged for more than twenty hours weekly, 1,061 working for more than ten hours on Saturdays.* 1,851 children were shown to be occupied on Sundays, of whom 30 per cent. were under twelve years of age.† In other districts of industrial Lancashire, boys who are engaged in half-time employment in the mills work at other occupations in their free time. This is done in direct contravention of Section 3 (sub-section 3) of the Employment of Children Act. The war has also brought an increase in street trading. In London the utmost vigilance was required to combat the evil, and to deal drastically with the undesirable adults who were in many cases employing boys of tender years. It is therefore not surprising to find the Chief Constable of Liverpool in his Report for 1914 expressing regret at the increase in juvenile crime. Figures are given showing that 877 street trading licences were in force on December 31st, of which no fewer than 675 were granted to children of school age. In London our bye-laws have succeeded in driving off the streets boys under fourteen and girls under sixteen years.

The high wages now offered to boys and girls leaving school, more especially in work which may prove to be of a temporary character, only call for increasing care from local authorities. At the outbreak of the war and for three or four months afterwards, great difficulty was experienced in finding work for children who were exempt from school attendance. In London an experiment was made in the establishment of day classes in commercial subjects, needlework, and general education, maintenance grants from the National Relief Fund being obtained in some of the poorer districts. The classes were all in close touch with the Juvenile Advisory Committees of the Labour Exchanges, the

* *Manchester Guardian*, September 25th, 1915.
† *The Herald*, August 7th, 1915.

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Secretaries of which notified all suitable vacancies at frequent intervals. The experience gained was of considerable value, and will be of use in the event of further activities in this direction being needed after the war. Briefly, the results obtained tend to show:—

1. The importance of providing a practical training in craft work as well as in subjects of general education.
2. That a maintenance grant is essential, otherwise the poorer boys and girls drift off in order to pick up odd jobs in the streets.
3. That there must be the closest co-operation between the National Fund which gives maintenance grants, the Labour Exchange which notifies vacancies for employment, and the Local Education Committee which provides the teaching and also organises the machinery by which the After Care Committees are in friendly touch with the homes of these young people.

In London too, recent developments of the work of Children's Care Committees will enable the Local Authority to build up and maintain a complete register of the school career of each boy and girl, their future occupation, the type of continued education recommended, and details of progress both at the evening institute and at work, at least up to the age of seventeen. Three agencies will be responsible for the welfare of the adolescent. The Care Committee will appoint the friendly volunteer to keep in personal touch with him, and to make this pleasant work effective hundreds of visitors will be needed. The Juvenile Advisory Committee will find employment in any case notified for "action." A free place at an evening institute will be given whenever there is immediate enrolment on leaving school, and the responsible teacher will be empowered to arrange for a personal visit to the employer when irregular attendance at the continuation school is said to be due to protracted hours of labour.

It will be seen that machinery in London which can enable the Local Authority to preserve contact with 70,000 children leaving the elementary schools, presents opportunities for the development of continued education which may have far-reaching results. The war has shown that the country has an insufficient supply of skilled labour. This is partly due in London to the unwillingness of employers to train young people, and to the ease with which they have been able to recruit skilled workers from the country. That this is a short-sighted policy has now been recognised in many industries, and there is an increasing willingness on the part of employers and trade unions to co-operate with the London Education Committee in securing facilities for time off during working hours for general education, for trade theory, and also for the more skilled operations of the industry. Joint Advisory Committees of employers

and craftsmen have given practical help in the printing, furnishing, and silversmith trades. There is a general disposition on the part of gas companies and engineering firms to take advantage of educational facilities for their apprentices, and since the outbreak of war their example is being followed by a cable telegraph company, by firms of piano makers, and by an organisation representing all the more important hotels and restaurants, which is organising the training of British lads as waiters.

While the full-time Trade School which provides a thorough initial training in every branch of certain skilled industries, coupled with general education, is undoubtedly the best method of securing the maximum of intelligence, adaptability, and resource from the individual student, at the same time safeguarding moral and physical development during the most important years of growth, questions of accommodation and of expense may render their extension less rapid than the part-time course. But certain essentials in training can only be effectively dealt with in the full-time trade school, and the experience gained there may be of vital importance in dealing not only with problems of reconstruction after the war in relation to adolescents, but also in the transfer of women from work on war equipment to the arts of peace.

The sudden commercial upheaval following upon the declaration of war produced a contraction of employment amounting to 10¼ per cent. in the case of men and 8½ per cent. in the case of women.* Women were mainly affected by the decline in the dressmaking trade, by the abrupt stoppage of production in furniture, by the shortage of sugar in the confectionery trade, and by the limited output in the cotton industry, which had begun some months before August, 1914. By December a marked recovery was apparent; there was increasing difficulty in finding men to meet the demand for labour in many industries, and the number of women and girls on overtime had nearly doubled.† The action of the Government in regard to the purchase of sugar had prevented disaster in the confectionery trades. By February employment was normal in the cotton towns and Government contracts in tailoring and shirt-making had mitigated the difficulties of women in dressmaking and skilled industries. The simplification of the khaki tunic enabled the smaller contractors to undertake work. The increase in the number of women employed was especially noteworthy in the leather trades, which showed an expansion of 36·6 per cent., with 55·2 per cent. working overtime, and in engineering with an expansion of 12·3 per cent., with 39·2 engaged on overtime. In the

* *Report of the Board of Trade on the State of Employment in the United Kingdom in October, 1914.* Cd. 7,703, 1914. Pp. 5 and 6 (price 4½d.).

† *Report of the Board of Trade on the State of Employment in the United Kingdom in February, 1915.* Cd. 7,850. P. 4 (price 2½d.).

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boot trade 22 per cent., and in the clothing 17·3 per cent., were similarly employed.* By February, too, the enlistment figure among the employees of banks and insurance figures was between 20 and 25 per cent., and the returns showed an increasing tendency to secure the services of women to fill vacancies.† During the past six months this movement has advanced rapidly. But it must be remembered that the trend towards the employment of women in industries usually regarded as the province of men has been gaining in impetus in recent years. The Census returns of 1911 show, for instance, that 117,057 women were engaged in that year as commercial or business clerks, against 55,784 in 1901. In insurance work 4,626 women are recorded, compared with 1,375 in 1901. There were 2,159 law clerks in 1911 against 367 in 1901. Even in the tramway service 607 women were found, as compared with 72 in 1901, and on railways 2,636 against 1,441 at the previous census.‡

In banks, the increase in the number of women employed is very large. One agency alone has trained, tested, and passed on 973 women to positions of various kinds. Hitherto the work given has not been of a very responsible type, but the calculations to be made need quickness and accuracy. The experiment must be regarded as still in the initial stages, but there seems a likelihood of permanent work for women in the pass book and coupon departments. The salaries given do not compare unfavourably with those obtained by the more competent among women clerks.

The *Board of Trade Labour Gazette* for July, 1915, points out that there is in the boot trade a demand for women workers in departments hitherto exclusively in the hands of men. In London the opportunities available for women in the leather machining trade led to the establishment of short courses of eight weeks' duration at the Cordwainers' College. The women in training came from the more depressed branches of the stationery and printing trades, a good many being folders and sewers. All those who took the course secured good positions on its completion at wages which advanced rapidly. Certain firms have introduced their own training schemes, one firm having taught leather stitching to nearly a thousand women since the beginning of the war, paying them 2d. an hour while learning.§

A scheme for the training of women as assistants in the grocery and provision trade has been organised by the London County Council with marked success, and has again emphasised the value

* *Report of the Board of Trade on the State of Employment in the United Kingdom in February*, 1915. Cd. 7,850. P. 7.

† *Ibid.*, p. 15.

‡ *Census of England and Wales.* Summary Tables. Cd. 7,929. 1915. P. 274 (price 3s. 5d.).

§ *Draft Interim Report of the Conference to Investigate into Outlets for Labour after the War.* British Association, Section F., Manchester. 1915. P. 59.

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of the short full-time course for the training of adults. An intensive scheme, by which teaching is given by highly-qualified trade teachers under circumstances as nearly as possible approaching workshop conditions, offers a possible solution to the problem of the transfer of women to other openings after the war.

It has been generally admitted that women have shown much resource and adaptability and a high degree of capacity in accommodating themselves to the changed conditions of industry. The investigators who conducted inquiries for the Report to the British Association on outlets for labour after the war point out that in the metal trades, and especially in the manufacture of projectiles, women are doing "work demanding intelligence of a high degree "and involving intricate operations."* They are being employed in complicated processes on shells, on difficult forging work, and on the delicate manipulation needed in producing time fuses.

These women have been mainly drawn from such trades as jewellery, clock, and barometer making, silversmith's work, and even from dressmaking. The possession of craftsmanship involves as a rule adaptability. Similarly the great expansion of work in the clothing trade (coupled, it may be noted, with an increase of wages of 56 per cent. as compared with June, 1914),† has been met by the influx of women from kindred industries such as baby linen making, juvenile clothing, wholesale and retail dressmaking, bespoke tailoring, underclothing, and the millinery trades. Government demands are so great that factories engaged on private work cannot obtain hands. One of the largest and best wholesale garment-making firms, employing 900 hands, has vacancies at this moment for 200 girls and women. In the boot trade the requirements of the retail firms cannot be dealt with at all. In fact the difficulty of meeting the normal needs of the population appear to be increasing daily, and may, therefore, lead to a period of industrial expansion after the war, drawing back large numbers of women to their usual trades, provided always that we have not reached a time of great financial stringency.

The question of transfer will be a matter of graver difficulty in the case of women employed on railways, on bookstalls, and in driving and distributing goods. Their work involves no hand training, there is more freedom than in the workshop, and the out of door life is likely to render them unwilling to take up the monotony of domestic service in towns. Possibly for these women emigration may prove an attractive solution.

In the commercial world the increase of women workers may probably be permanent. After the Boer War many men preferred

* *Draft Interim Report of the Conference to Investigate into Outlets for Labour after the War.* British Association, Section F., Manchester. 1915. P. 12

† *Board of Trade Labour Gazette,* July, 1915.

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emigration or other more interesting occupations to a return to the desk and the ledger. Unfortunately, in this far deadlier struggle there will be many who, alas! can never return, and women, in a greater degree than ever before in the history of the world, must therefore seek economic independence. The lighter positions in warehouses, counting houses—general commercial effort—are peculiarly suitable for them.

On the other hand, it may be hoped that the end of hostilities may see considerable developments in our commercial and industrial activities, more especially in trade with our over-sea dominions and with our Allies. A series of more than one hundred pamphlets was published some months ago by the Board of Trade, showing the opportunities existing for new markets for our wares, and the need for greater care and initiative in making known our resources, in pushing our manufactures, and especially in supplying the actual requirements of the market. Extracts are quoted from Reports of His Majesty's Trade Commissioners, and from consular officials, which are a surprising revelation to those who, like myself, were believers in the capacity of the British man of business. Instances are given telling how we have lost ground in Australia in the supply of agricultural machinery because, unlike the Canadian and American manufacturers, our firms are not represented by competent salesmen and travellers. American and Canadian firms, says His Majesty's Commissioner, think it worth while to have huge establishments for the sale of their manufactures in the agricultural line, officered by an experienced and thoroughly capable staff, and to employ each of them, it is understood, over one hundred experts who demonstrate their manufactures in Australia.* Without damaging the markets of our friends there appear to be, according to these pamphlets, innumerable directions in which the products of our skilled workmen should reach the ends of the earth. But better methods of business need to be adopted, more especially in the systematic use of foreign languages, in the setting up of price lists in foreign translations, and above all in foreign currency (it is astonishing and almost incredible to be told that firms quote for orders in English money). In the extension of English houses abroad, and the employment of technical experts to sell articles of British manufacture there seem to be possible openings for young men more attractive than the casting up of rows of figures or the typing of documents.

The appointment of waitresses in clubs and restaurants has denuded still more the ranks of domestic service. While it is

* *Competition with Germany and Austria-Hungary in Neutral Markets.* No. 80, p. 11. Commercial Intelligence Branch, Board of Trade, 73, Basinghall Street, E.C. October, 1914.

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probable that a simpler style of living may be the result of the drain on the national wealth, it seems unlikely that the supply of trained domestics will meet the demand, unless the conditions of work are made more attractive, and domestic service is regarded as a highly skilled industry on a par with dressmaking and the other skilled needle trades. Better teaching in the domestic trade school, the keeping of fewer maids, and those better paid and better equipped, combined with less onerous service, may prove one method of dealing with the problem.

Finally, to secure better conditions of labour after the war, we ought to strive for:—

1. The elimination of the child under fourteen from the labour market, the gradual raising of the school age with regulation of the hours of work and education in the hands of the local education authorities up to eighteen years.
2. A better training of adolescents in the full-time and part-time trade school, with a wider scheme of scholarships and maintenance grants.
3. The development of language teaching and the further training of commercial experts.
4. An increase in the number of trades to which the minimum wage will apply.
5. A further limitation of the hours of work for women in shops and factories. A measure of factory legislation is long overdue.

N. ADLER.

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WOMEN AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF INDUSTRY

SINCE the outbreak of war many changes have taken place in our industrial and commercial life. Some are of a passing character, others have the appearance of permanency. As to what will happen when peace is restored no one can say, but it is generally accepted that a considerable period must elapse before the economic conditions of the country can reasonably be expected to revert to pre-war times. Meanwhile it is interesting to watch the changes that are being made in various directions to meet the altered situation. In this article I propose to examine one of these changes—namely, the extended employment of female labour. The new order of things in this respect offers a wide field for investigation and suggests many possibilities to the student of political economy; more especially is this the case in connexion with the problems that arise out of the displacement of men by women.

During the early months of the War there was much depression in those trades which mostly depend on female labour, due mainly to the sudden falling off in the supply of raw material, the closing down of Continental markets, and the placing of large contracts in America. Then again, people began to spend less money and to do without things hitherto regarded as indispensable. The natural sequence of these adverse circumstances was to throw out of employment a considerable number of women workers, and the larger the industry the greater the dislocation. In the cotton and linen trades alone thousands of female operatives found themselves unemployed. At this crisis the Queen's 'Work for Women' Fund came into being, and there is no doubt that the large sum raised by Her Majesty and the practical way in which the Fund was administered did much towards warding off distress among women workers in many parts of the country. It was not long, however, before matters began to improve. Not that peace trades revived—that could not, and cannot be, until the War is over—but the increasing demands of the Navy and the Army as regards material and equipment, combined with the appearance in the home market of the Government as buyers on a considerable scale, caused old industries to be resuscitated and

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new industries to be started. Particularly was this the case with undertakings where female labour had been and could be largely employed. Then came the Ministry of Munitions, resulting in the taking over by the Government of ordnance factories and workshops, and the placing of a considerable number of private engineering works under State control. All this gave a further impetus to the employment of unskilled labour, especially that of women. Two difficulties, however, remained to be overcome, the shortage of skilled men and the lack of technical knowledge among women. Indeed it is not too much to say that the indiscriminate enlistment of so many skilled men, and the impossibility of obtaining skilled women to take their place, seriously interfered for a time with the progress of munition work.

With the object of securing the services of women, skilled and unskilled, the Board of Trade instituted a War Service Register for Women, but although up to the 15th of October 116,998 names had been recorded, only 50 per cent. were effective entries; and of these, owing in no small measure to the difficulty of finding overseers possessing the necessary skill and training, only one tenth were given employment. At the same time it should be mentioned that during this period employment in connexion with war work had been found for 183,000 women from the ordinary register. Meanwhile numbers of artisans have been brought back from the Front, and for some months past a commission has been going up and down the country for the express purpose of inducing skilled men stationed at the various camps to return to their old jobs or take up new posts. Much of the work formerly done by men has been subdivided and new processes, better suited for women, have been introduced, Home Office restrictions have been relaxed and Trade Union regulations suspended. Moreover, a number of centres have been opened under the auspices of the London County Council where women may obtain a knowledge of munition work. The course extends to six weeks,[1] at the end of which period the pupils are regarded as partially skilled and can earn enough money to maintain themselves, although it would be a mistake to describe them as skilled or even as semi-skilled workers. The remainder of their training is taken in the factory or the workshop, where the progress of the individual depends on capacity and opportunity. Mention should also be made of the introduction of what may be termed the 'dilution of skilled labour,' which means that a percentage of skilled workers, instead of devoting the whole of their energies to their own special tasks, spend a portion of their time in supervising and training the new hands. The result of all these efforts has been not only to enable many more women to be

[1] 144 hours.

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employed, but materially to increase the output. Indeed, so rapidly are women being absorbed in war industries that a general feeling prevails in well-informed circles that before many months are over every woman who wants industrial work, *and can do it*, will be able to find employment more particularly in connexion with one branch or other of munition work. The same may be said with regard to non-industrial occupations.

Some people argue that, as far as industrial work is concerned, no very great displacement of men by women has occurred. All that has happened, they say, is the transference of women from one occupation to another and a more considerable employment of female labour in special industries, such as the engineering and metal, leather, tailoring, and boot and shoe trades and their kindred occupations. Admittedly, it is difficult to form any accurate estimate in the matter, and this difficulty is increased by the absence of official figures. Invited to make a statement on the matter, the President of the Board of Trade replied: 'It is not possible to say to what extent the increase in the number of women employed has been due to women taking the place of men, as at the same time there has been an extension in the number employed in certain women's occupations.'[2] On the other hand, we learn from the same authority that since the War began the number of women employed in industrial occupations has increased by nearly 150,000, or roughly 6 per cent., while 'the substitution of women for men in clerical and commercial occupations is known to be considerable,' a statement endorsed by the fact that, during the thirteen months ended October 15, the Labour Exchanges alone had placed 342,242 women in employment.

Table Showing Number of Women over 17 *Years of Age placed from the Ordinary Register in the Undermentioned Occupations during the Thirteen Months ended October* 15, 1915.

Trade or Occupational Group	Number Placed
Insured Occupations.	
Engineering	19,193
Cabinet-making, etc.	157
Making of Vehicles	566
Uninsured Occupations.	
Manufacture of metals, metal goods	7,402
Textiles:	
Cotton	14,001
Wool and worsted	3,544
Silk, flax, linen, etc.	11,176
Dress:	
Boot and shoe workers	1,045
Tailoresses	7,428
Dressmakers and milliners	6,876
Others	14,268

[2] Parliamentary Debates, Official Report, October 14, 1915.

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Trade or Occupational Group	Number Placed
Conveyance of men, goods, etc.	4,429
Agriculture	11,762
Paper, prints, etc.	5,833
Wood, furniture, etc.	2,219
Chemicals, explosives, oil, grease, etc.	9,240
Brick, cement, pottery, etc.	1,573
Food, tobacco, drink, and lodging:	
Bread, biscuit, etc., makers	2,517
Waitresses	8,495
Tobacco manufacture	869
Others (jam, cocoa, mineral, etc., manufacture)	13,719
Skins, leather, hair, etc.	4,879
Precious metals, jewels, etc.	2,587
Commercial and clerical occupations	14,065
Domestic service:	
Laundry and washing service	19,074
Others: Indoor (in hotels, etc.)	31,094
,, (in private houses)	15,128
Outdoor (charwomen, day servants, etc.)	86,652
Shop assistants	5,959
Government and professional	5,799
All others	10,688
Total	342,242

Whatever view may be taken of the matter as regards industrial occupations, there can be no doubt that a steady and increasing displacement of men by women has taken place in non-industrial occupations. Exactly how far the movement will go no one can say; a good deal depends on the length of the War and the number of men required for the New Armies; but that it is destined to extend very far beyond its present dimensions there can be no doubt whatever. From the very beginning of the War, men engaged in clerical and commercial occupations have enlisted in large numbers, and since Lord Derby's scheme came into being thousands of additional recruits have been drawn from these sources. In some cases older men or men unfit for service have taken their places, but the majority of the vacant positions have been filled by women. In the Government Departments a large proportion of what are known as minor posts, hitherto occupied by men, have long since passed into the hands of women, and the view is entertained in certain quarters of female activity that women may yet enter the higher positions of the Civil Service. As far as clerical work goes, the War Office, the Admiralty, the India Office, and the Board of Agriculture are all utilising the assistance of women, while in the Post Office women have replaced men as sorters, telegraphists, telephonists, collectors, and postmen. Practically the whole of

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the clerical work in the new Department of Munitions is done by women, subject to the supervision and instruction by male officials of long standing. Similar changes have taken place in the offices under the control of local authorities.

In banks and insurance offices women clerks were employed, to a limited extent, before the War. Now, however, the employment of women in both these branches of business is general throughout the country. In most cases women employed for the period of the War have replaced men who have joined one or other of the fighting forces; in others, as in banks doing business with military men, where fresh departments have been opened necessitating large additions to the original staffs, women have been taken on to meet the demands of new business. The ages of the new female clerks vary between 20 and 30; some, however, are older, others younger: much depends on the nature of the post to be filled. I am often asked how the selection is made, a difficult question to answer as requirements differ according to district and employment. I can, however, say that every care is taken to observe traditions, and while merit plays the more important part, the suitability of applicants is very carefully considered.

So far the supply has easily met the demand, every vacancy bringing with it a fairly long list of inquiries, some from women of University education, others from women possessing a commercial training, while not a few women have entered the competition and been successful without any business experience at all. In many instances preference has been given to relatives of the existing staff or to daughters of retired servants; other sources of supply are the Civil Service Commission, the Labour Exchanges, and the Trade and Technical Schools. In view, however, of the further inroads now being made in the ranks of young men engaged in Government departments, municipal offices and business houses, for recruiting purposes, a very large number of additional vacancies may soon be expected.

In order to be prepared to meet any possible shortage in the supply of substitutes when the time arrives to fill these vacancies the Home Secretary, on October 16, appointed a Committee to consider the conditions of clerical and commercial employment with a view to advising the Government as to what steps should be taken 'by the employment of women or otherwise,' to replace men withdrawn from these occupations for service in the military forces. That Committee, over which Mr. Cecil Harmsworth presided, has now reported, and few persons, if any, will be inclined to oppose their ruling, that if the business community and indeed the country itself are to avoid a situation of considerable gravity in the near future, no time must be lost

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'in mobilising the reserves of possible clerical labour and especially of woman labour.'

The Committee give 300,000 as the number of men of military age engaged in clerical work in England and Wales, but nothing is said about Ireland or Scotland, and the omission seems to call for some explanation in view of the wider ground covered by the terms of reference. Nor is it clear whether this figure represents the number of men of military age engaged in these occupations at the beginning of the War or whether the reference is to the position at the date the report was signed and circulated.[3] Taking the more limited field, England and Wales, as their guide, and leaving unexplained the question of date, the Committee infer, and no doubt correctly, that 'one half and possibly more of the total number' will be available for military service. But if the uncertainty with regard to the premises makes it difficult for the public to form any accurate estimate as to the number of substitutes that will be required, there is no doubt the Committee are right in their conclusion that the number will be very large.

From the facts cited in the previous pages it will be seen that the number of men above the military age, and women trained in clerical work, unemployed at the beginning of the war, must now be very greatly reduced. Side by side with this reduction is the knowledge that many lads doing men's work in connexion with clerical occupations will by lapse of time soon become eligible for the Army. Two classes, and two classes alone, therefore, remain from which vacancies can be filled—sailors and soldiers previously employed in clerical work invalided out of the services, and women without clerical experience and not at present employed. With regard to the first of these classes the Committee offers what seems to me a very pertinent suggestion, namely that all invalided men should be returned as quickly as possible to civil employment. Pending, however, a decision on this matter they are of opinion that 'the bulk of the substitutes must be drawn from the ranks of women not at present employed.' And with this finding all who have studied the question will be in accord.

In these circumstances considerable interest attaches to the suggestions made in the Report for organising and training rapidly a supply of women clerks sufficient to meet the emergency. After stating that substitutes will be needed for many different types of work some of which will be of a routine or mechanical character, the Committee proceed to say that 'women of intelligence and education will be required to fill openings of a kind involving a considerable degree of responsibility.' Accordingly, they recommend that every effort should

[3] November 9.

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be made to attract this class of woman and make a special appeal to women who have passed through the Secondary Schools and Universities, and women who have had other educational advantages, to take this opportunity of rendering national service. Mention is also wisely made of the possibilities thus afforded to wives and relatives of men serving in the New Armies whose pay and allowances are inadequate to meet their domestic responsibilities.

Obviously, no very elaborate commercial training could be attempted in the time available, but the Committee believe, and their belief is founded on a conference with business men of considerable experience, that 'a short whole-time training, lasting from one to two months, will go some way towards familiarising women with business routine and business requirements.' To bring about this result the Home Secretary has addressed a letter to the Lord Mayors and Mayors of County Boroughs in England and Wales and to the Chairman of County Councils, in which the following passage occurs :

> The Committee recommend that arrangements for organising the supply and training of substitutes should be made locally in each commercial centre, and that for this purpose a body should be formed in each district which would be representative of the local education authority and of the commerce of the district. Such a body might take the form either of a sub-committee of the education committee reinforced by representatives of business firms, and other interests involved, or a special committee appointed *ad hoc* or any other form which may seem best adapted to local arrangements. It will be desirable that the local body should include women members.

Consultation and co-operation are essential for the success of the scheme and the local committees are reminded of the necessity of linking up with the Labour Exchanges. Nor has the matter of private enterprise been forgotten, and the Home Secretary points out in his letter that 'it will probably be desirable to take into account the work being done by local private agencies for giving commercial training and to encourage them to work in co-ordination with the local committees or at any rate on similar lines.' Indeed, co-ordination in this respect is very necessary if friction is to be avoided. For instance should the local committees fix too low a fee for the tuition (and fees, of course, will be paid, for the scheme is to be self-supporting), the private agencies would obviously be placed at a disadvantage unless able to make up the difference by extending the period of training or giving more individual attention. Again, I understand that some local committees, which have already started work, are sending their agents round to obtain orders from employers and that already an association of assurance companies has placed a large order with one committee on the understanding that the

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women trained to fill their vacancies should receive instruction from a special syllabus. While agreeing that it is only fair for the pupils to know beforehand that if they prove themselves efficient they will find posts awaiting them, I suggest that a better plan would be for the employers to go to the committees and not the committees to the employers. I fear the present system is likely to lead to difficulty, it is sure to lead to competition, and in a case of this kind anything like competition should be carefully avoided. I have not space to deal with the kind of training suggested by the Committee for general clerical work, but I may perhaps say that the period is not supposed to extend beyond a month. As to the Committee's observations with regard to the training necessary for shorthand-typists I shall have something to say later on.

In the distributing trades, wholesale and retail, the displacement of men by women is very marked. In many shops the salesman has disappeared altogether, even the shopwalker has gone, but so far women have not been employed to any great extent in the heavy trades, nor have they yet, as far as I have been able to ascertain, been given positions of responsibility over men. The female lift-attendant is everywhere, women commissionaires are now employed at several of the principal shops and stores, and much of the cleaning formerly done by outside porters is now performed by women. At the bookstalls boys have given place to girls, and girls are replacing boys as messengers and pages. In clubs and hotels the domestic staff is mainly supplied by women, no man of military age and fit for service, other than subjects of neutral States, being employed. Women are making their appearance as conductors on trams and motor omnibuses. They are also driving motor lorries and delivery vans, and although, at any rate in the Metropolis, they have not yet been placed in control of taxi-cabs, in many cases they have taken the place of chauffeurs as drivers of private cars. Some local authorities have even gone so far as to accept the services of women as street sweepers. On the railways, female ticket collectors and examiners are the rule rather than the exception. At country stations women are doing porters' work, and at main stations girls are acting in various ways as platform attendants.

Last summer farmers readily took advantage of the offers made by women and girls to assist in gathering in the harvest, and before next spring, if rumour tells truly, we may expect to see female labour very generally employed in agricultural work of all descriptions. The other day I came across an inquiry for a 'farmeress,' while the Minister of Agriculture recently observed that 'he had seen women ploughing in the West of England.'

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In dairy work, more particularly in milking and cheese-making, there are excellent openings for women. 'A capable girl,' said a Midland dairy instructress at the recent London Dairy Show, 'living in can earn from 30*l.* to 50*l.* a year, living out 60*l.* to 120*l.*, with allowances in the way of milk, butter, coal, and light.' Provision has been made in one of the English counties for training women in milking and dairy work, and it is expected that this movement will extend throughout the country, so that it may soon be possible to release some of the young men now employed on dairy farms, and to replace them by trained women. An instance of what women can do was quoted the other day by a Somerset dairy-farmer. 'Two girls, well educated, and of good family, qualified for farm work. They are now living in a cottage in Shropshire and working for a neighbouring farmer. They are a great success, and are earning from 15*s.* to 1*l.* each per week.' A society has been started for the purpose of promoting the employment of women in agriculture, and a number of landowners and farmers have very generously come forward and undertaken to have women trained in practical work on the land. The head of this movement is Mr. Henry Chaplin, M.P., and it need hardly be said that no more happy choice could have been made.

The shortage of doctors and the falling-off in the numbers of male students at the various hospitals have provided new openings for women in connexion with medicine. In the last six years the annual entry of students at the London (Royal Free Hospital) School of Medicine for Women has ranged from thirty-five to sixty. This session 110 new students have entered the school. Apart, however, from general practice there are certain well-defined directions, we are reminded by the *Lancet*, where women can meet with congenial occupations, assured income and opportunities for the recognition of their scientific work, such as the superintendence of children's clinics, the inspection of child-life, the treatment of diseases of children and women, and practice overseas, more especially in India. With the further advance of Lord Derby's recruiting scheme, a fresh sphere of employment presents itself for women in connexion with hospital work. Hitherto the duties of clerks, storekeepers, dispensers, and cooks at military hospitals have been carried out by men. In future these duties will be performed by women in all cases where the man is of military age and fit for service. Applicants for these posts do not require to possess first-aid or nursing certificates, but they must be members of the Voluntary Aid Detachment of the Red Cross Society. Dispensers have to be fully qualified, and cooks possess the necessary experience. Clerks are not required to have a knowledge either of shorthand or typewriting, but must be prepared to make themselves generally useful in the routine work of the hospital. There are no age limitations. Except in

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the case of cooks, who will receive three meals a day, the new women helpers will be required to feed themselves, and a scheme of hostels is under consideration where board and lodging may be obtained at a reasonable charge. The women, as was the case with the men, will be under the control of the War Office.

For some time past women attending the institutes under the control of the London County Council have been taught to mend their own children's boots and shoes and do small jobs about the house, such as the reparation of blinds, doors, water and gas fittings, and electric bells. Since the War started the number of women attending these classes has, I understand, greatly increased, with the result that, in many homes in the poorer districts of London, repairs that often depended upon the skill and time of the wage-earner are now readily and easily carried out by wives or daughters, as the case may be. Young women have also been trained at the Trade and Technical Schools to fill various callings in connexion with commercial and business life, and lately, to meet the new demands for female helpers, additional schools have been opened. Again, the services of women who have retired from the teaching profession are being requisitioned to meet the expected shortage of male teachers as the result of enlistment.

But not only has the War provided an incentive to women's work on a scale never dreamt of in times of peace, it has caused women, more particularly those engaged in new occupations, to realise, as they have never done before, their own capacity. Whether, in some callings they have entered, women are not doing a little too much and working excessive hours is a phase of the movement that requires watching. This matter has not escaped the notice of Parliament, and has engaged the attention of those members who devote themselves specially to problems connected with the social welfare of the working classes. Not many weeks ago, the Minister of Munitions was invited to appoint a Committee of Women possessing industrial as well as medical knowledge to advise and assist his department. The inquiry was based on the ground that women employed in munition works, if they were to maintain their health and efficiency, required to be protected against the dangers and complications arising from exhaustion, overstrain, and unhealthy conditions. The Minister, however, was able to satisfy the House of Commons that the points raised had already received his attention, for he had appointed a Committee on Industrial Fatigue on which were sitting two women possessing special experience in matters of this kind. This Committee had made proposals to him with respect to fatigue arising from continuous work and Sunday labour, and these proposals were under consideration. One would like to

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suggest that the scope of the Committee's labours be extended so as to include other occupations in which women are employed in connexion with work for the War. Neither the causes of public health, public utility, or public economy, can be assisted by allowing women to work too hard.

To return, however, to the question of capacity. Before the War women were employed in the engineering trades, but their work was almost entirely confined to manual operations and the manipulation of automatic tools requiring little skill and no physical strength: in other words, to what is called repetition work. Recent events, however, have widened their opportunities in this respect, and, as the editor of the *Engineer*[4] observes in the course of an interesting article on the subject, 'some of the most delicate operations, necessitating the exercise of great skill and high intelligence,' are now undertaken by women. In support of this contention he cites the case of a screwing operation, in which it was customary to rough the thread out with the tool and then to finish it off with taps. 'Some trouble having arisen owing to the wearing of the taps, the women of their own initiative did away with the second operation and are now accurately chasing the threads to gauge with the tool alone.' Women are also carrying out the arduous process of forging, and, 'with the possible exception of the heaviest tools—and their inability to work even these has yet to be established—have shown themselves quite capable of performing operations hitherto exclusively carried out by men.' Dealing with the same question, the engineering correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*[5] expresses a similar opinion. After pointing out that employers before the War were ready enough to utilise the labour of women in fuse-making and light electrical work, but declined to entrust them with heavy machine tools, he goes on to say that the experiment has been tried in the Midlands and on the Clyde, and that in each case the results have exceeded expectations. 'The women do their work with an exactitude, thoroughness, and conscientiousness that could not be excelled, and in one factory, where the workers consist entirely of women, the output from the machines has far surpassed that for which they were designed.'

And this brings me to the question of wages, always a thorny subject and one not easy to deal with without going into details. This one can hardly do in an article of this kind. I must therefore confine my observations to broad principles, and chief amongst these is that of 'equal pay for equal work.' From the testimony quoted and the evidence given it is clear that women employed in the engineering trades can and do perform operations that before the War were undertaken exclusively by men.

[4] August 20. [5] September 27.

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This fact, however, does not, of necessity, imply that the woman gives the same output as the man or that her work is done in the same time. To prove equal work not only must the woman be engaged upon the same operation as the man, she must also give the same output and in the same time. Where this combination is shown to exist, it follows conclusively that the work of the woman is equal to that of the man, and to equal work the natural and necessary corollary is equal pay. Where, however, the woman's work fails in either of these particulars, any claim for man's pay cannot, in my opinion, succeed. It is also clear from the same testimony and the same evidence that a factory staffed since the War solely by women can and does turn out the same amount of material as was the case before the War when the same factory was staffed solely by men. But no mention is made of time or the number of women employed. Yet these are matters which primarily affect the wages bill. If the output be the same and the wages bill not increased in spite of extra time or the extra hands employed, undoubtedly the same amount of money that was expended in wages in the case of the men should also be expended in the case of the women. Any other course would mean that the employer was taking unfair advantage of the change in personnel to cheapen production.[6]

It was doubtless to prevent anything of this kind occurring, as well as to maintain the rates of pay for skilled work in the engineering trades, that caused the men, when agreeing to the introduction of women for the period of the War, to insist upon recognition by employers of the principle involved in 'equal pay for equal work.' 'To this principle' Miss Mary Macarthur,[7] whose knowledge and experience in regard to all matters connected with the employment of women need no demonstration from me, tells us 'lip service, at any rate, was given on all sides, and it was affirmed in the Crayford Agreement in November 1914, in the Shell and Fuses Agreement in March 1915, and in a modified form in the famous Treasury agreement.' And she adds, 'the principle was supposed to find legal expression and legislative sanction in the Munition Act, but here its only safeguard is found in the somewhat vaguely-expressed phrase, Section 2-5, that the "admission of semi-skilled or female labour shall not affect adversely the rates customarily paid for the job."'[8]

Addressing a deputation of women on the subject last April, the President of the Board of Trade indicated that the Government intended to follow the practice usual in private industry. 'In the replacing of men by women,' he said, 'we have provided

[6] This argument is used without prejudice to wages having risen since the War.

[7] Woman member of the Munitions Supply Committee.

[8] *Daily News and Leader*, October 26.

that under Government contract the same piece rates are to be paid for women as for men, but in regard to time rates no special conditions have been laid down.' Since that date, however, the Munitions Labour Supply Committee have had the whole matter under their consideration, and a few weeks ago they made certain recommendations to the Government. These recommendations the Government accepted, and decided not only to adopt them in the munition factories for which they were directly responsible, but to commend them to other employers engaged in similar work.

Under the new regulations women employed in munition factories and workshops under Government control, if they have reached the age of eighteen years, and are employed on time and on work customarily done by men, will receive 1*l.* a week, 'reckoned on the usual working hours of the district in question for men in engineering establishments.' In the case of women doing work ordinarily performed by fully skilled tradesmen, the women will be paid the time rates of the men whose work they undertake. Overtime and night-shift and Sunday and holiday allowances payable to men are also to be paid to women. If prevented from working owing to breakdown, air-raid, or other cause beyond their control, the women are to be paid for the time lost.

Other changes have reference to piecework and premium-bonus systems. In neither case are women to work these systems until they are sufficiently qualified, but in the matter of shells the period of qualification should not, as a rule, exceed three to four weeks. Women employed on piecework will be paid the same piecework prices as are paid to men. This has always been the case, and can hardly therefore be regarded as a new regulation. Where women are engaged on premium-bonus systems, the time allowed for a job is to be that usually allowed to men for the same job, and the earnings of the women are to be based on the man's time rate. But where the job in question has not hitherto been done 'on piecework or premium-bonus system in the establishment, the piecework price or the time allowed is to be based on a similar job previously done by men, on piecework or premium-bonus system as the case may be. Again, in cases where there are no data from previous operations to enable the parties to arrive at a piecework price or time to be allowed, the price or the time to be allowed is to be so adjusted 'that the women shall receive the same percentage over the time rate of the class of man customarily employed on the job, as such man would have received had he undertaken the job on piecework or premium-bonus system as the case may be.'

Piecework prices and premium-bonus basis times are to be fixed by mutual agreement between the employer and the woman or

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women who perform the work, but this provision relates to individual adjustments, and must not be held to prejudice the principle of collective bargaining. On piecework every woman's time rate will be guaranteed irrespectively of her piecework earnings. On premium-bonus systems a woman's time rate will in all cases be paid. Overtime and night-shift and Sunday and holiday allowances are to be paid to women employed on piecework or premium-bonus system 'on the same conditions as now prevail in the case of men in the district in question for timework.' Piecework prices and premium-bonus time allowances, after they have been established, must not be altered unless the means or method of manufacture are changed. It only remains to be said that the principle upon which the recommendations proceed is that on systems of payment by results, 'equal payment shall be made to women as to men for an equal amount of work done.'

These changes mark a distinct advance on the Government programme as laid down by the President of the Board of Trade last April. As Miss Macarthur says, they are 'an attempt to apply in practice the theory of equal wage for equal work.' It must, however, be remembered that these recommendations are only mandatory in those munition factories for which the Government are directly responsible. Similarly with regard to the 1*l.* a week. Unfortunately an erroneous impression got abroad that the Government had fixed a general minimum wage for all women engaged in the production of munitions. The report was the more unfortunate as it gave rise to expectations which the Government had no intention to realise; at least that is the only conclusion to draw from the official contradiction made by Mr. Lloyd George in the House of Commons.[9] Where, however, the recommendations are adopted, a time wage of 1*l.* for a normal working week will be guaranteed to all women, of eighteen years of age and over, learning to do any part of a job previously done by men, or employed on piecework or premium-bonus system, in cases where their earnings fail to reach the standard amount.

In railway employment efforts have also been made in the direction of equal pay for equal work, and last August an understanding was come to between the railway companies of Great Britain and the National Union railwaymen by which the companies agreed that 'the pay of women employed in grades in which they were not employed prior to August 1914, shall, for the duration of the War, be the minimum pay of the grade.' Not long afterwards a number of women employed in cleaning railway carriages declined to work the same number of hours as the men

[9] October 28.

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they were replacing in order to qualify for the same rate of pay. I do not pretend to any knowledge with regard to the merits of the case, but I have no hesitation in saying that it would be better for these women to work fewer hours for less money than be placed in a position which apparently carries with it the condition, at any rate on the part of the employer, that to secure the same rate of wages the women must work the same number of hours as the men. A far better working arrangement is that suggested by the London County Council regarding the employment of women conductors on the Council's tramcars. If their suggestion be adopted, the same principle will be in force as in the arrangement with the railways, but instead of the women being compelled to work the men's hours to get the men's pay, they will be paid proportionately for the time worked, at a rate equivalent to the present minimum daily rate of pay of male conductors with the usual increments according to length of service. They will also receive the War bonus of 3*s*. a week.

In business houses and in clerical work generally, it has been the custom to pay women less than men. Nor does a woman entering non-industrial occupations expect to get the same wages as a man. Everything depends on the kind of work the employer requires and the nature of the services the woman renders. Moreover it should always be remembered that in dealing with rates of wages, especially in clerical work, matters such as training and continuity of service have to be taken into consideration. For instance, while an employer may reasonably count upon retaining a man's services as long as his health lasts and the chances of promotion are good, with a woman the position is different: the employer has always to face the fact that sooner or later marriage may end her business career.

The question of wages in clerical occupations has not been lost sight of by the Home Office Committee, and, as was the case with the Munition Labour Supply Committee, the Report makes it clear that the employment of women 'brought in to act as substitutes during the present emergency under the scheme suggested is intended to be temporary, for the period of the War only.' An obvious difficulty, however, attaches to the possibility of an over-supply of women substitutes, and, with this end in view, the Home Secretary has impressed upon the local committees the importance of avoiding any risk 'of depressing wages below a fair rate by bringing into the market a greater number of workers than is needed.' So far, so good, but I would point out that while the local committees can, and no doubt will, exercise a useful discretion as regards supply, they will find it difficult to place the same restrictions on the activities of private agencies.

The Committee also follow the line taken by the Ministry of

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Munitions as to the principle of 'equal pay for equal work,' and suggest 'that in the present emergency the scale of wages payable to women should, as far as circumstances permit, and as the work deputed to them reasonably justifies, be based on the rate of wages paid to the men who have been engaged in similar duties.' But while the Ministry of Munitions can command, the local committees, set up for the purpose of working the Home Office scheme, have no control over employers. In these circumstances the suggestion made in the Report, while it may serve its purpose as a concession to Trade Union intervention, can in reality make no possible difference with regard to the terms of employment. As a matter of fact, things in this respect should right themselves. The female clerks trained by local committees will be required mainly to replace junior male clerks, and their wages may be expected to range, on entry, from 20*s*. to 30*s*. a week, with the usual increments as time passes on. In other words, they will receive the same emoluments as male clerks on probation, and, like them, proceed gradually on the upward scale. Where women replace men of more experience it may be assumed that their wages will approximate in similar proportion to the wages of the men displaced. In any event care must be taken to see that the payments to women do not interfere with the scale of payments allowed by employers to men who have enlisted. I do not say women of high attainments will not be required in clerical occupations, but I join issue with the Committee on the statement that women are likely to be wanted in any numbers to fill openings 'involving a considerable degree of responsibility.'

With regard to the distributing trades, from time to time movements have been promulgated for the purpose of raising the wages of women but, so far as I have been able to ascertain, the women who have replaced men in these callings are receiving satisfactory pay, and there has been no concerted effort to compel employers to give them men's rates, although I believe in some cases this is done.

Complaints, however, have been made that the wages paid to some of the temporary women clerks employed in the Government departments do not compare favourably with the rates paid for similar work outside. Nor is the case met by the fact that the Government are not only paying the women they engage but are also paying the salaries of the men for the time displaced. Many business houses, banks, and insurance offices are doing the same thing. In connexion with the pay of young women in the Government service I recall an incident which occurred when the late Mr. Fawcett was Postmaster-General some thirty-three years ago. At that time the employment of girls in the postal service was in its initial stage. One morning Mr. Fawcett, who

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always took a kindly interest in the welfare of Post Office employees, inquired of Miss Smith, one of the few women then on the permanent staff, how the work suited the health of the girls under her charge. Her reply revealed much; it was to the effect that the health of the girls would become much better if their salaries allowed of their dining more frequently.

My own experience in the matter of women's work has only been on the clerical side, but I have no hesitation in saying that taken as a whole, whether for accuracy, patience, or assiduity, women are to be preferred to men. As a rule I have found managers of banks and insurance offices to whom I have talked on the matter well satisfied with the women clerks in their employ, and this notwithstanding that the work in many cases has to be further subdivided, and that it often requires the services of three women to perform the work formerly done by two men.

Opinions differ as to whether or not it is better to set apart a room for the exclusive use of female clerks, or to mix them up with the men. Where only a few women are employed perhaps the latter plan is the better, but I am inclined to think, and in this view I am supported by many heads of large corporations, that where numbers of young women are employed in the same building as men it is better for the female clerks to work apart. An excellent example of organisation in this respect is that of the Munitions Ministry. There everything goes like clockwork. So many young women are placed under the superintendence of an older woman, the whole staff being under the control of a few permanent officials. In this way a kind of general training may be said to be always in progress, with the result that, as time goes on, greater proficiency is attained and no waste of time or energy takes place.

A woman, unlike a man, does not always trust to her memory, she makes a note, with the result that things are not forgotten. She is also more methodical and more careful of her time, and does not get behind with her work. For sorting and filing a woman's services are invaluable, but I would suggest to typists and stenographers that more is required of them than the mere act of typing and taking down a letter. It is too often supposed that typing is nothing more than a mechanical act. This is not so. Training and education enter the profession of a typist just as they do in any other profession. And so it is with stenographers. A woman who cannot take down accurately or transcribe her notes without mistakes is of little use in business life. Speed is nothing like so necessary as accuracy and an attentive mind. And here let me say that the training for shorthand typists suggested by the Home Office Committee leaves much to

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be desired; it will, I am afraid, if carried into effect, tend to flood the market with inexperienced women. The average time taken by women to learn shorthand thoroughly and to typewrite from dictation is six months. What the Committee propose is a full-time course extending over eight or ten weeks. This period, in their opinion, should 'enable suitable students to attain to a serviceable degree of skill in both shorthand and typewriting.' And they add, 'some instruction in office routine' may be usefully introduced at the same time. It is, I think, unfortunate that so valuable a Report should have been marred by so crude a proposal.

It is often said that young women do not take the same interest in their occupations as men, that they are more frivolous, and allow their thoughts to wander from the work in hand. This is not the experience of the heads of departments where women have been introduced to take the place of men. The general opinion is, and I do not speak without knowledge, that the woman who has entered business since the War began takes her position seriously; even the younger women seem to regard their new life as carrying with it responsibilities which necessitate close attention and careful thought. I do not say that the failings of women do not come out in business girls in the same way as the failings of men, but as far as my inquiries go, and I have taken care to make them as wide as possible, the women who have replaced men in clerical work are a steady, earnest, and well-disciplined class. There are, however, two points in which women are not the equal of men. They have not the man's initiative, and cannot work long hours; at hurried work they are also at a disadvantage. But taking women's work as a whole, and provided it is not of too strenuous a kind, it may, I think, safely be said that the majority of women are quite up to the standard of the majority of men.

And this brings me to what perhaps is the most important problem of all. What will happen after the War? Will the woman, who has been doing man's work and doing it well, be content to relinquish her post and return to her occupation, that is assuming she had an occupation, of pre-War days, and if she be content to make the change, will her employer be willing to release her? Discussing the first of these matters with a lady holding decided pro-suffrage views, she brushed aside any forebodings I might have had on the subject, by asserting at once that 'of course every woman now occupying a man's place will give it up when the man comes back.' Her reply, however, if I may venture to say so, does not touch the real issue. I can well understand, and believe that if an employer promised to keep a place open for a man, should he return, the employer will redeem his

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promise. I am also aware that Schedule II. of the Munitions of War Act, among other matters, provides that 'in any readjustment of staff which may have to be effected after the War priority of employment will be given to workmen in the owners' employment at the beginning of the War who have been serving with the Colours, or who were in the owners' employment when the establishment became a controlled establishment.' But my point is not what will happen if the man returns, but rather what will happen if he does not return. What will then be the woman's position? Will the employer dismiss her for the sole purpose of taking on a man? I do not think so. Neither do I see any logical reason for the woman resigning her post. On the other hand I see very good reasons for her remaining where she is.

Many men whose places have been kept open have already fallen on the field of battle, others are incapacitated by wounds, and the number of casualties is increasing daily. Then again, a large percentage of men, who before the War were ready enough to follow indoor occupations, will have no desire to return to the counter or the desk. I refer more particularly to single men, as for obvious reasons married men may have no alternative. Indeed, the possibility of many young men not returning has not been lost sight of by the managers of business houses, banks, and insurance offices, and not a few of the 'temporary' women assistants and women clerks are destined for the permanent staff when peace is concluded. And it is the same with the distributing trades. For instance, men who have faced the perils of war, and endured for two or three years in succession the life in the trenches, are hardly likely to return to the draper's shop. When these men enlisted they left behind for ever the effeminate duties of measuring out yards of silk and satin and unwinding ribbons and laces. Ninety years ago last month an editorial note in the *Sunday Times* observed 'That the sedentary, or rather stationary, business of shops is not very generally entrusted to women. Why should men intrude at all into modes of industry which those of the other sex are equally capable of exercising? It is a sort of robbery of destitute females.' My own views on this subject so entirely agree with these sentiments that to me it is gratifying to find that a reform, which the Crimean and South African Wars failed to secure, bids fair to be accomplished at the close of the present one. I do not, of course, mean that no man will be, or ought to be, employed in the drapery business. For heavy work they are essential, and will remain so, but as a career for young men I think one may safely say that its days are numbered.

Some critic will probably ask, 'If, as you say, these men will not return to the desk or the counter, what occupations are they to follow?' My answer is, they will emigrate. I call to mind

Nineteenth Century Dec 1915 (an incredible article)

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what happened after the South African War, and history repeats itself. The conclusion of peace, in my opinion, will see a rapid rise in emigration statistics, and the rise will be a continuing one for some time to come. If I might venture to make a suggestion, it is that the Government would do well to take time by the forelock and give this matter their prompt attention. Some joint understanding should be arrived at between the Home and Dominion Governments, some imperial scheme formulated. I use the word imperial in its broadest and correct sense, that of Empire. I warn the Government this is not a case of 'wait and see.' Everything points to a period of emigration following close upon the War. Not only will the men wish for a freer atmosphere than is possible in the Homeland, they will desire to avoid the fall in wages that must inevitably come with the cessation of hostilities, they will desire to escape the burden of the heavy taxation which awaits this country no matter how complete the victory may be. And if a further incentive to emigration is wanted, it will be found in the imperial character of the War itself. The higher pay our oversea kinsmen are receiving for their services in the field is not likely to be lost upon the private soldier hailing from the British Isles. Countries that pay their soldiers so liberally may also be expected to pay men in civil employment on a similar scale. Then the openings on the land in the Dominions are practically unlimited and, if farming is a bit of a struggle in the early days, steady work and careful living ensures in the long run an eventide of contentment and success.

On the other hand, that a large number of women will be displaced by men after the War goes without saying, and the question naturally arises what will become of the women thus thrown out of employment? Many, no doubt, will transfer themselves again to their old occupations, that is, assuming those occupations to be still in existence and that the women can arrange the wages problem to their satisfaction. But, even allowing for considerable absorption in this way, there must still remain a large surplus of women workers for whom no work will be available, and in this surplus will be found women who have been doing skilled work and receiving men's pay. Will these women sit down with their hands before them and remain idle, or will they enter the open market by placing themselves in competition with men? For myself, I have no hesitation in saying they will choose the second alternative, even though it may result in an overcrowded labour market and the consequent dangers of unemployment and low wages.

Nor do I see that the organisation of women workers on their own account will solve the difficulty; in fact, a movement of that kind might bring them into conflict with the men's unions.

[illegible] sooner this car-
[illegible] fact is recogn[illegible] concerned the sooner will the situation right itself. To [illegible]e matter in other words, in business the male clerk of the future will have to compete with the female clerk, in the distributing trades the male assistant with the female assistant. And so it will be in industrial occupations. The whole economic position of labour will be changed after the War, and for that change both employers and employees should prepare themselves without delay.

Nor must one forget that thousands of women have found an outlet for their energies in Red Cross work and kindred occupations. With the cessation of these activities many, no doubt, will return to their place in the home or the hospital; on the other hand not a few will desire to find employment in other directions. How that employment can be secured is a problem yet to be faced. In many cases marriage will settle the difficulty; another solution is emigration. Untrained women the Dominions do not want; but trained women are always welcome, and can find plenty of work to do in Canada, Australia, or New Zealand. Then there is the land at home. Much can be done in this direction by women with health and youth on their side, and who are not afraid of hard work.

The question of women's employment after the War needs the closest attention, not only of economists, but of the Government itself. And what I should like to propose is that an inquiry be undertaken by a Select Committee composed of members of both Houses of Parliament, that the reference be made as wide as possible, and the proceedings conducted in public and carried on from day to day. If this course were taken, I feel convinced that some at least of the difficulties touched upon in this article, and others that I have not been able to deal with, would be well on the road to solution when peace is proclaimed.

CLEMENT KINLOCH-COOKE.

Manchester Guardian
7.2.16

WOMEN'S WAR WORK.

PROBLEMS WHICH WILL ARISE LATER.

DEMOBILISATION DANGERS.

A conference was held in Manchester on Saturday to consider the position of women in the readjustment of labouh after the war. It was called together by the Manchester and District Women's War Interests Committee.

Miss Margaret Ashton, who presided, drew attention to two dangers which would arise at the end of the war out of the fact that so many women had been brought into industrial employment in place of men. One was the danger that women might be retained in factories as cheap labour to do work which men had done before, and the other that an enormous number of would probably be thrown suddenly out of employment to drag down the whole industrial market. A scheme was being debated by the Demobilisation Committee for dealing with the soldiers before they got drafted back into ordinary industry. The Committee was discussing things solely from the point of view of the men who would return after serving the nation in the war, but the case of the women who had been doing national service by taking the men's places at home ought also to be considered. The Women's War Interests Committee felt, therefore, that the Demobilisation Committee should be reformed so as to make it capable of dealing with the women's problem as well of the men's.

In addition to the official proposals laid before the conference, Miss Ashton made one suggestion of her own for meeting the situation. She said there was a distinct tendency for women to work more rapidly than men, but they broke down under the strain. Her proposal was that women should be paid at exactly the time sates as men, but that they should work only half time.

"Come to Stay."

Mrs. J. R. Tomlinson laid before the conference a series of proposals drawn up by the War Interests Committee. The chief proposal was that a woman displaced at the end of the war should receive, if a member of a trade union, adequate out-of-work benefit until she found work or for an agreed period; that a woman who was not a trade union member should receive a weekly money payment conditional upon registration at a special bureau connected with the Labour Exchange. Attached to this proposal was a subsidiary one, that while women are in receipt of this maintenance they should be given opportunities of training for new occupations or acquiring greater skill in that which they have been following.

Another proposal was that "no woman be retained in work done by men before the war at less than a wage of £1 for a week of 48 hours."

Mrs. Annot Robinson, speaking in support of these proposals, expressed her belief that in many industries women had come to stay. In some trades new machinery and new divisions of processes had been introduced in order to make the work suitable for women. It was impossible to conceive that that new machinery would be scrapped at the end of the war.

The Conference accepted the principle of the proposals, but some alterations in detail were made. Objection was taken to the clause in the first-mentioned proposal in favour of a grant to unemployed women who were not members of trade unions. Mr. George Titt, the representative of the National Federation of Women Workers, said that such a practice would have an injurious effect upon the trade union movement, because it would give to the non-member for nothing the same benefit as to the member who had been paying contributions.

Eventually the first proposal was amended as follows:—"That a woman displaced at the end of the war should receive through a trade union adequate out-of-work benefit, either until she gets other work or for a period to be agreed upon, and that the Government should subsidise the trade union to enable it to meet the increased unemployment benefit."

The Need of the Vote.

Speaking at the Caxton Hall last night, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst touched on many aspects of the women's movement in the light of the present war. She asked her hearers to realise the condition of labour after the war. Incidentally Miss Pankhurst described "the political truce" as one in which conscriptionists and protectionists were working as hard

Yorkshire Herald
3.2.16

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WOMEN AND THE WAR.

A REVOLUTION IN WORK.

LADY PARSONS' SUGGESTIONS.

Speaking on the subject of "Women's Work During and After the War" at the Society of Arts, last evening, the Hon. Lady Parsons said the extremely businesslike management of the voluntary workrooms, and the high standard of the work produced in them, suggested the lines on which a factory, run by women for women, might be carried out on economic lines.

Lady Parsons said that attracted by the stirring outdoor life, and the movement and change, hundreds of healthy young girls were taking the place of boys as messengers, telegraph and errand girls. They rode on vans and delivered parcels, and sometimes drove the vans themselves; they conducted trams and drove taxis; they mounted ladders and cleaned windows and street lamps; they punched your tickets and carried your luggage. That many of these occupations were blind alleys did not disturb the joyful young spirits, who found them an easy and congenial task; and, once escaped from dressmakers' workrooms, they would not be easily shut up again in these respectable sanctuaries. (Hear, hear and applause.) Coming to the professions for women that the war has brought into special prominence, and describing the medical as the most important of the professions open to women, she said the Scottish Women's Units in France had set up a standard of efficiency that astonished the French authorities. In the absence of so many medical men called to the service of the Army, and so few young men taking up the medical profession at present, the woman doctor was becoming a very real necessity to the country. (Applause.) The training and employment of women in agriculture and gardening, and their absorption in clerical Government work, releasing hundreds of young men to join the colours, was also described by Lady Parsons, who went on to say that a new field for women's enterprise was likely to develop in the important industrial profession of engineering. In the munition areas new factories were springing up and old firms were changing their plant and adapting their machines to munition work. In all of the larger factories thousands of women and girls were employed. The aeroplane factory possessed great advantages for the training of women, and in the motor industry several enterprising firms were holding special classes for women. It would be well, the lecturer added, if women could specialise on making some of the innumerable articles we bought from Germany before the war, such, for instance, as motor cars and cycles, sewing machines, and cheap clocks and watches. (Applause.) While young men were using their best energies in fighting the enemy, and elder men were using their brains on inventing machines for his destruction, it should be made possible for women to begin a careful study and preparation of the business methods to be followed after the war was over. (Applause.)

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In addition to the official proposals laid before the conference, Miss Ashton made one suggestion of her own for meeting the situation. She said there was a distinct tendency for women to work more rapidly than men, but they broke down under the strain. Her proposal was that women should be paid at exactly the time rates as men, but that they should work only half time.

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The Need of the Vote.

Speaking at the Caxton Hall last night, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst touched on many aspects of the women's movement in the light of the present war. She asked her hearers to realise the condition of labour after the war. Incidentally Miss Pankhurst described "the political truce" as one in which conscriptionists and protectionists were working as hard as ever, and a Board of Trade Committee had now recommended a system of preferential tariffs. We had seen how the capitalists had forced up the price of bread. At the outbreak of war the Government was behind the banks and the money-makers; it had never been behind the people of the country. Women ought to be enfranchised, especially working women, who were the greatest sufferers by this exploitation. There must be votes for all women, and their only chance to wield political power was for the majority of women to line up with the men, to join the trade unions and fight the forces of oppression that were getting stronger every day.

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The Daily Dispatch Leader 19/5/16

Darlington Times 5-5-16

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WOMEN WAR WORKERS.

Restoration Committees to be Appointed.

Mr. Runciman, President of the Board of Trade, received yesterday the members of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress in regard to a number of resolutions passed by the Congress held at the end of last year at Bristol.

The resolutions, amongst other matters, had relation to women as war workers in engineering trades and the extension of the Trade Boards Act to those engaged in the making of women's clothing in the tailoring industry.

Mr. Runciman listened sympathetically to the views placed before him on the various topics. In regard to the position of women war workers, he stated that he and his colleagues had anticipated the visit of the deputation by agreeing among themselves the desirability of establishing what would be known as Restoration Committees, so that when the war ended some machinery should be available for dealing with questions which might arise owing to the return of men and women to their normal occupations. The committees, when established, would, he hoped, be fair and impartial, and of such a character as to prevent any suspicion arising in the minds of workers that pledges given by the Government would not be carried out in their strictest sense

As to the request for additional inspectors under the Trade Boards Act and the extension of the Act to the women's clothing industry, Mr. Runciman said he was unable to give any assurance to the deputation, but added that when the Trade Boards were first seriously discussed and established those of the Manchester school of thought, and he was one of them, felt very grave doubts as to the wisdom of such a step, but in the light of experience he and others had come to the conclusion that those fears were groundless, for the Boards had fulfilled a useful function and had been very helpful to the workers. That being so, any request for an extension of the Boards at the proper time would receive his support and encouragement.

Bradford Daily Telegraph 21-5-16

One of the questions that working men are thinking hardest about is that of the future of the women who have been drafted into industry in such large numbers to take the place of men, and the effect on men's wages and the general standard of living. On this subject (writes the London correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian") a series of conferences was started by the Women's Labour League yesterday. A very large and interesting gathering was called together at the Kingsway Hall. There were delegates from 127 societies, and among them were representatives of all the most important federations of women's societies, such as the National Union of Women Workers, and federations of trade unions, suffrage societies, and organisations like the Women's Tariff Reform Association. They all represented bodies deeply interested in the future of "women in industry after the war."

Mr. Bramley, who represented men trade unionists, expressed the belief that the women newly come into skilled trades have come to stay, that the Government will not be able to keep its promise that the men returning from the front will find their places open. His expectation was that employers will do their best to retain this cheap labour, and he urged that women should organise to protect both their own interests and those of the men.

WHEN THE MEN COME HOME.

Dr. Marion Phillips committed herself to a startling prophecy. She thought that at least two millions of the men who had gone to the front will never return to their old positions, and that women will refuse to be excluded from the new work which they find so much more attractive and profitable than their own dull employments. She instanced the woman who used to go out washing to support a sickly husband and three children, who now draws a separation allowance (after all, a good many sickly men have been taken by the army), and earns 26s. shillings a week on a large and lively railway station, and the other case of a girl typist, who now, dressed in becoming garb, drives a milk cart all her happy day. Men, she thought, are at last beginning to realise that women are permanent competitors, and the trade unions must make some provision to protect the women and themselves.

WOMEN WAR WORKERS AFTER THE WAR.

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People 28-5-16

At a conference representing 127 societies, held at Kingsway Hall yesterday, convened by the Central London branch of the Women's Labour League, to discuss the position of women in industry after the war, Dr. Ethel Bentham, who presided, said that of all the problems which had been roused by the war this was probably one of the most difficult. After the war, and even possibly before the war ended, it might be necessary that women should come into full citizenship, and women's responsibilities would be very greatly increased thereby, but she did not think that many of these questions could wait for that solution. So far as she had been able to see, most of the married women who had gone out to do hard physical work were in health the better for it.—Mr. Fred. Bramley, organiser of the National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association, said he believed there was a great danger of a conflict between employers and the men's uion respecting the employment of women, and a conflict in which the interests of women would not be looked upon as of primary importance, and there was also the danger of a conflict between women now employed in industries and the men who would come back to these industries.—Dr. Marion Phillips said the leading trades' unionists and trades unions should consider what was the best policy to pursue on the presumption that women remained in positions they had taken up during the war. There would be no objection to her remaining where she had proved her capacity.

Manchester Guardian
22.2.16

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WOMEN'S WAGES AFTER THE WAR.

At a meeting of the Manchester Branch of the Women's International League in the Onward Buildings yesterday, Miss Ellen Wilkinson spoke on women's wages, and emphasised the importance of women being organised in the same trade unions as men. It was hoped that this would be a means of preventing women who had learnt new trades from being thrown after the war on the scrap-heap of sweated industries, to lose the valuable experience they had gained, and to work for wages infinitely lower than those of men.

Yorkshire Post Leeds
18.2.16

WOMEN'S WORK AFTER THE WAR.

To the Editor of The Yorkshire Post.

Sir,—I have been reading with much interest the articles in your columns and elsewhere on the subject of the work of women and their opportunities during this national crisis. I read somewhere that the war has proved our women and girls splendid, and our methods of education wrong both at school and at home. Now, if this be so, will the rush of women to do the work of men in factories, on trams, etc., really benefit the national life after the war is over? There will be the great problem of displaced men, the lack of employment, and all the evils which come in its train. My point is this—would it not be better if we could divert some of this keenness into domestic channels? One urgent need is to rebuild the home life of the nation. I have been chairman of a committee to deal with unemployment among women and girls formed at the outbreak of war, and scores of cases have come under my notice in which girls, who have been thrown out of work, absolutely refuse to do anything of a domestic character; the work may be anything but the tasks of household details. Cooking is no longer an occupation they will tolerate, and the cases I allude to showed also an utter ignorance of such womanly work as sewing or knitting. Now, with these facts before us, what is to become of the science of home life, motherhood, and wifely care? I am almost daily entreating women and girls to use the opportunities offered to-day to learn something that will be useful to them after the war is over.

In connection with the matter of work on farms, which we hear so much about, I am informed by one farmer of a large farm, that the same spirit is manifest there; they will do the man's work, or try to do it, but when asked to do purely women's work, such as cooking (and where could our girls learn this art better than in one of our Yorkshire farm kitchens?), or mending of clothes, they reply that they came out to do farm work.

I am confident that if our homes are to become, what I am old-fashioned enough to still desire, places of training of the next generation, it can only be done by the future mothers being educated in the best school of learning, viz., the home of one who herself has learned the noble science of mothercraft. I would appeal to all who in any way agree with the ideal I have feebly tried to voice to do their utmost in these difficult days to prepare the future mothers of our land to fulfil the noblest destiny and to uphold the loftiest ideal of our national conscience, and that is to rebuild the broken walls of the home life of old England.—Yours, etc.,

ARTHUR C. ENGLAND,
Vicar of St. Mary's, Sculcoates.

Hull, February 17, 1916.

Evening News
19.2.16

WOMEN WAR WORKERS.

Trade Unions and Their Position After the War.

At the Board of Trade yesterday Mr. Runciman received the members of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress in regard to a number of resolutions passed by the Congress held at the end of last year at Bristol.

Among the matters discussed were the position of women workers in engineering trades after the war and the provisions of a Bill to facilitate the amalgamation of trade unions.

Mr. Runciman listened sympathetically to the views placed before him on the various topics. In regard to the position of women war-workers, he stated that he and his colleagues had anticipated the visit of the deputation by agreeing among themselves the desirability of establishing what would be known as restoration committees, so that when the war ended some machinery should be available for dealing with questions which might arise owing to the return of men and women to their normal occupations.

Speaking of the amalgamation of trade unions, the president said he recognised the difficulties of obtaining a satisfactory vote under present provisions, and he suggested that if the law could be modified so that it would only be necessary for four-fifths of the membership to vote, and that a two-thirds majority of that number would be sufficient to allow amalgamation, perhaps that would meet the views of the committee and ease the present position.

STATE AND WOMEN'S WAR WORK.

MR. RUNCIMAN ON TRADE BOARDS.

The President of the Board of Trade yesterday received a deputation representing the Trade Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, which presented resolutions passed at the recent congress at Bristol. These dealt, among other things, with the position of women as war emergency workers, the extension of Trade Boards to women employed in tailoring work, the appointment of additional inspectors, and the extension of the unemployment section of the Insurance Act.

Mr. RUNCIMAN said that however much the Government might desire to do so, it was impossible for them just now to deal with questions involving legislation, but he expressed the hope that when normal times returned the broader view on labour matters which actuated his department to-day would be seen in the facilities which would be granted for labour measures.

In regard to the position of women war-workers, he and his colleagues had anticipated the visit of the deputation by agreeing among themselves as to the desirability of establishing what would be known as restoration committees, so that when the war ended some machinery should be available for dealing with questions which might arise owing to the return of men and women to their normal occupations. The committees, when established, would, he hoped, be fair and impartial, and of such a character as to prevent any suspicion arising in the minds of workers that pledges given by the Government would not be carried out in their strictest sense.

THE MANCHESTER SCHOOL.

He went on to deal with the request for additional inspectors under the Trade Boards Act and the request for the extension of the Act to the women's clothing industry. He was unable to give any assurance to the deputation, but said that when the trade boards were first seriously discussed and established, those of the Manchester school of thought—and he was one of them—felt very grave doubts as to the wisdom of such a step. But in the light of experience he and others had come to the conclusion that those fears were groundless, for the boards had fulfilled a useful function and had been very helpful to the workers. Any request for an extension of the boards at the proper time would receive his support and encouragement.

Speaking of the amalgamation of trade unions, Mr. Runciman said he recognized the difficulties of obtaining a satisfactory vote under the present provisions, and suggested that if the law could be modified so that it would only be necessary for four-fifths of the membership to vote, and that a two-thirds majority of that number would be sufficient to allow amalgamation, perhaps that would meet the views of the committee and ease the present position. He could not hold out any hope of legislation on these lines meantime.

On Clause 87 of the Insurance Act the Congress sought an explanation as to whether unemployment benefit should be paid to men thrown out of work owing to a strike in another part of the works in which they were engaged. In view of this interpretation of the section he felt that legislation would be required to alter it, and he invited the Parliamentary Committee to draft such a provision.

Among those present were Mr. Harry Gosling (chairman of the Trade Union Congress Parliamentary Committee), Mr. Will Thorne, M.P., and Mr. C. W. Bowerman, M.P.

Daily Mail
19.2.16

WOMEN & TRADE UNIONS.

AFTER-THE-WAR RESTORATION OF RIGHTS.

Mr. Runciman told members of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress yesterday that he and his colleagues had agreed as to the desirability of establishing what would be known as restoration committees, so that when the war ended some machinery shall be available for dealing with questions arising from the return of men and women to their normal occupation.

The Common Cause 25/4/18. 702/45 Westminster Gazette

Restoration Committees.

On Friday last the President of the Board of Trade received a deputation representing the Trade Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, which presented resolutions passed at the recent Congress at Bristol. Among the issues raised was the employment of women as war emergency workers in the engineering trades and their replacement by men after the war. Mr. Runciman stated that in regard to the position of women war workers the Government had anticipated the deputation, and the Board of Trade had already under consideration the setting up of Restoration Committees, so that when the war ended some machinery should be available for dealing with questions which might arise owing to the return of men and women to their normal occupations. The Committees, when established, would, he hoped, be fair and impartial, and of such a character as to prevent any suspicion arising in the minds of workers that pledges given by the Government would not be carried out in their strictest sense.

It is essential that a considerable proportion of women should be placed upon these Committees. The restoration, after the war, of trade union restrictions, which has been definitely undertaken by the Government, may mean that thousands of women will be thrown out of skilled employment which they have only just been allowed to enter by a temporary suspension of union rules. We hope that, having grown accustomed to working with women, men in the engineering trades will take a more broad-minded view than in the past. But it would be folly to count too much on this. Plans must be made in advance for drafting women into other trades, and, where necessary, for providing training. Much is being written about capturing German trade, and in this future industrial competition women can play as important a part as they are doing now in keeping our troops supplied with munitions. But if full use is to be made of their services they must be trained and organised.

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being cut down by the officials of the Ruhleben camp, and that this is being done in a vindictive spirit of which we have the strongest right to complain.

The best practical remedy for the moment is to continue to send supplementary food in as large quantities as possible through the Prisoners of War Help Committee, and at the same time to press incessantly for the exchange of these prisoners, on the plan proposed by Lord ROBERT CECIL. We should have supposed that the German Government would have been ashamed to let it go out to the world that it was either unable or unwilling to maintain its prisoners according to the standard usual among civilised Powers. We should have supposed that it would have taken special pains to avoid the implication that it was not to be trusted in this respect. The discrimination between civilian and military prisoners, to the disadvantage of the former, is specially indefensible, according to the usually accepted standard, for many of the civilians are elderly men in indifferent health, and those who are of military age are only prevented by their detention from doing their duty to their country in arms. The idea of reprisals in kind upon interned civilians in this country is extremely distasteful to Englishmen. Whatever comes, we do not desire to lie under the imputation of behaving harshly or inhumanly to innocent people. But there are other ways than starving interned Germans of bringing home to the German Government that we are determined to protect our people.

INDUSTRY AFTER THE WAR.

A SUGGESTION.

BY ARTHUR PATERSON.

The war is reaching its final stage, and there are indubitable signs that in a few months peace may be in sight. This gives no cause whatever for relaxation of effort on the part of the Allies—indeed, quite the contrary. Nations, like men, fight hardest and most furiously when they are beginning to despair. But to us as a people who have taken out of our industrial life and thrown into military service or training five million men, and who have engaged in munition work or other Government employment, probably from five to ten millions of persons of both sexes and all ages, it must surely mean that we shall seriously take in hand preparation on a systematic basis for the day when our sailors and soldiers return to civil life, and our munition and other emergency workers are dismissed from their present work and will have to find their way back to their former occupations, or, if those do not need their services, to new work altogether.

The Government, its hands full of the responsibilities of the war, has done nothing in this direction beyond the appointment, it is understood, of one or two inter-Departmental Committees of officials who, in their very scanty spare time, meet to consider the administrative machinery which may have to be put in motion to provide opportunities of employment for the men from the Navy and Army upon their return home.

This does not, and cannot, meet the need to which the nation is gradually awakening, and which must be met without delay if the issues with which the country will be faced upon the arrival of peace are to be dealt with with any chance of success.

The main issue we have to face is that this war and the consequences arising out of it have caused upheaval in the industrial world.

The men belonging to skilled and organised labour are earning in most cases higher wages than the most sanguine trade unionist, before the war broke out, had ever hoped to attain. Able-bodied persons of any age and of both sexes who can endure the strain of sustained labour find work at twice or three times the wage of pre-war days.

Then the men in the trenches. They are told that the services they are rendering are to receive recognition of the fullest and most generous kind from a grateful country when they return to its shores. These men read the daily papers, and are as well aware as any of us of the wages their fathers, their brothers, their sisters, and their wives are earning at the present

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Then the men in the trenches. They are told that the services they are rendering are to receive recognition of the fullest and most generous kind from a grateful country when they return to its shores. These men read the daily papers, and are as well aware as any of us of the wages their fathers, their brothers, their sisters, and their wives are earning at the present time. They think about these things and they discuss them.

Next, the women. The clever and the strong ones have forced recognition, economically and industrially, from employers which will be a far more formidable weapon in the uphold-

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interest; that he holds his opinion by right of reason and not through bigotry.

* * *

There ought to be a code of rules drawn up for all who administrate affairs, a fixed cross-examination through which a man should go each morning to himself before his judgment is put to the test. This reminder that no human being is infallible should hang over his desk. And people suffering from his bias should have the right to point to the text which warns man of his love for preconceived ideas!

If this was made a general rule an employer's or an official's pride would prevent him running the danger of thus having his good judgment rebuked. . . . He would take good care to have a satisfactory reason for his veto every time, or else give way with grace.

* * *

I speak from personal experience when I say that those in control at Selfridge's fight deliberately against reactionary feeling. There is no place where new ideas are so freely welcomed, or where there is more open invitation to state one's case and air one's views. And that attitude of mind is largely responsible for the character this House of Business has for progressiveness and gain. If ever that were lost all forcefulness would vanish from its

ng of the rights of women to be placed on a level with men politically than anything the Suffragist agitation could accomplish before the war. The women will refuse to be displaced.

Lastly, our juvenile workers. From a social and moral standpoint this part of the demobilisation problem is going to be the most serious of all. Everywhere our lads and lasses, to meet the immediate needs of the nation in its time of industrial stress, have been forced forward and upward, and sometimes downward, into occupations, into the receipt of high wages, into habits and an outlook upon life which are likely to gravely prejudice their future.

The nation must realise, in short, that workmen everywhere are prepared to strike and agitate aggressively for a continuance of their present rates of pay, or of as much as can possibly be squeezed from their employers with or without the aid of the Board of Trade and that our soldiers have not the smallest intention of allowing their claims to preferential treatment over ordinary industrial workers to be neglected when they return home. They will not be a pitiful handful of a few thousands, unorganised for agitation, thankful for any sort of work which will bring in enough for bare existence; they will be millions strong, with thousands of capable organisers among them. A very considerable number of soldiers are members of the most powerful trade unions in the country, who are determined that the men coming back from the trenches, and the workers coming out of munition factories, women as well as men, shall join hands at the critical moment so that as far as numbers and labour—and votes—can secure it, the nation shall pay the highest price for the labour it will need to compete for world markets.

The employers must also be considered. They have benefited undoubtedly even more than the men where their goods have been required by the Government, or have been so necessary to the maintenance or comfort of consumers that double prices have been paid for them. In spite of taxes and of investments in Exchequer Bonds and the like, therefore, there may well be in the country a vast amount of capital available for the creation of new industries and the reintroduction of former industries, and the money required for production after the war be found. But it is useless to expect that employers can then pay the wages they are now paying in addition to all the extra expenses involved in the reconstruction of machinery, the purchase of new plant, &c., and yet compete successfully against America and other neutral countries who have not undergone any abnormal inflation in the value of labour or enormous losses of capital in the production of munitions and other waste product, involving very heavy taxes on all property and business. Still less can they compete against the dumping of German goods into China and the South American Republics, and other neutral countries. With the return of the Army and the rush into the labour market of munition workers all employers will look for labour at far cheaper rates than are current at the present time. If they do not get such labour, they will declare they cannot launch out into productive operations on a scale sufficiently large for national needs, nor take the risks of a small profit upon a large output if they have to anticipate extensive and bitter labour troubles.

There is, of course, in addition, the cross-currents of women's labour and industrial position in the future, the weighty question of the outlook for juvenile labour, and the immense field, which requires treatment I have not space to give here, of the social welfare of the elderly and partially unfit, and those men returning from the front who, from moral and physical reasons, will be a drug in the labour market of the most serious kind.

In these circumstances it is plain that anything like adequate or effective preparation for our industrial future at the end of the war must rest on a wider basis than any administrative measures the wisest of Departmental Committees can suggest. The basis we need on which to build an organisation and combination of forces powerful enough to secure industrial prosperity and peace in this country after the war is nothing less than an agreement upon how to meet these issues of the best minds in the kingdom drawn from the ranks of Capital and Labour, from women, and from those who stand for juvenile workers, and those who know best what will be needed for men and women who, with the return of peace, will, if unaided, fall back upon the support of charity or the workhouse. This agreement can only be obtained by national effort of the most strenuous and sustained kind. As a first step, a Committee should be appointed by the Government composed of well-known and representative men and women drawn from the classes above mentioned, presided over by a chairman of commanding personality, experienced in both military and industrial conditions, and above suspicion in the eyes of all honest men, whether employers or workmen, as one who will set the welfare of the nation as a whole above that of any class or party.

The functions of such a Committee would be (1) to inquire and report to the Government the facts and the needs of all classes upon demobilisation, the plans or schemes put forward by experts, whether from labour or from capital, from commercial men or from departmental officials, and, having given full and fair consideration to all plans and suggestions, recommend to the Government the course which should be pursued in the interests of the industrial community and the nation, and the actual machinery of administration or organisation which should be set up to carry it out. (2) To arrange in each industrial centre throughout the country conferences of an entirely friendly and informal character between employers and representative workmen, the set purpose of such conferences being to promote agreement between employers and workmen upon the main principles which must guide national action, so as to place this country in a commanding position among nations after the war. (3) To secure through these local conferences and by all other possible means mutual goodwill and confidence among employers and workmen, and by so doing effectively promote the industrial security of the country.

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The Committee, in addition to representative men and women from the various sections of the industrial community, should include among its members selected experts on emigration, agriculture, the care and training of the disabled, and social welfare. In this way the Committee would carry out its functions without overlapping with bodies already at work upon these several subjects, and yet be in a position to advise the Government on every side of the demobilisation problem. It is not suggested that this Committee should possess any administrative functions. What is needed, and, I suggest, urgently needed, is the establishment, *without delay*, under official auspices and the chairmanship of a trusted leader, of a carefully chosen body of selected and thoroughly representative men and women to knit together all classes directly affected by demobilisation and industrial conditions after the war. Through such a Committee, supported by local leaders and industrial workers, the spirit of our lads when they come home, of our workers who have borne the heat and burden of the day in munition factories, and, not least, our employers and our capitalists, who bear the heaviest responsibility of all, should become that of comrades who, being faced equally with a great and serious crisis in their affairs, meet it hand-in-hand, each placing before any selfish interest the welfare of the nation for which all classes alike have given of their best to win this war.

Next week Mr. John Lane will publish in book form Mr. Louis Parker's latest historical play, "Disraeli." It contains a portrait of Dennis Eadie in the title part, and is issued uniform with "Drake" and "Joseph and His Brethren."

The Statesman. 1916. March 11 702/46

particular places, which may be expected immediately peace is assured, will not go far in the absorption of the millions of men and women who may, if nothing is done to prevent it, be simultaneously unemployed and seeking situations. What steps will the Cabinet approve in the way of issuing grants in aid of Housing schemes (for which the House of Commons actually voted £4,000,000 in August, 1914, never drawn upon)? What action will the Local Government Board take now to ensure that Local Authorities everywhere have their plans ready (and officially approved in advance) for promptly putting in hand their considerable arrears of road mending, school building, and other works of utility, in order to keep up the aggregate volume of wage-earning employment in the Kingdom as a whole to its normal level? The Board of Education will, presumably, have ready not only its circulars pressing for an immediate restoration of all the educational facilities impaired during the war; but also its proposals for educational advance in all grades and, we suggest, for utilising the probable surplusage of labour to obtain the much-needed reform of a universal raising of the school-leaving age, so as to keep out of the labour market for a year the crop of a million boys and girls by which the crowd seeking situations would otherwise be swollen. And the Board of Trade, we hope, will press for an immediate extension to all trades of the Unemployment Insurance which at present covers only one-fifth of the wage-earning population, but to which the Government has already decided, it is announced, to admit (though as yet only for one year) the three or four millions of men to be discharged from the Army and Navy, whatever their previous or future occupations. The Peace Book, it is clear, must be the work, not of any one office, but of a Departmental Committee from which practically no Government Department can be excluded. What is to be the policy as to standard rates of wages? No more momentous social problem has ever been set to this country. The Labour Exchanges will naturally be eager to place as many as possible of the thousands of men and women who will be thronging the exiguous accommodation to which the parsimony of the Office of Works has limited the Exchanges. The Statutory War Pensions Committee, with its network of Local Committees for disabled soldiers and soldiers' widows, will be full of philanthropic ladies seeking to get situations for their *protégés* at any wage. The employers, notwithstanding the fact that "war prices" will certainly continue far into peace time, will naturally expect wages to come down with a run, and will be prompt to offer the shilling a day for the adult woman, and the two or three shillings a day for the adult man, to which the wages for what is called unskilled labour are always in danger of falling. We hope that the Peace Book will lay down definitely the policy of No Reduction in the standard of life of the wage-earning population. The Government has its own responsibility in the matter, which its several Departments cannot shirk. Every Department is itself an employer of labour, and also enters into contracts for supplies and work. Every Department, as well as the Treasury itself, must therefore decide whether it will maintain and enforce the Fair Wages Clauses on which the House of Commons has repeatedly insisted. The Board of Trade, besides supervising the legal minimum rates fixed under the Trade Boards Act, will not be able to look the other way when trouble begins between the railway companies and the National Union of Railwaymen on any threatened reduction of railway wages. The million of coal miners enjoy a minimum wage fixed under Act of Parliament; but there will be attempts to lower the local rates, to which the Home Office, responsible for preventing another national stoppage of the coal supply, cannot be indifferent. If the standard rates are artificially upheld in the Government service, under Government contractors, throughout the range of the Trade Boards Act, and in the railway and coal mining industries—these amounting, in the aggregate, to one-fifth of the wage-earning population—with what feelings will the Trade Union world, *with a General Election pending*, meet any attempt by unrestrained employers to cut down wages? For the Trade Unionists have now on their side, in this matter of determinedly resisting any fall in the standard of life of the wage-earning population, not only the whole of working class opinion, including that of the soldiers returning from service with the Colours, but also the economists themselves. No greater social calamity can befall a nation, nothing is more calculated to injure alike its industrial productivity and its trade, than a general reduction in the standard of life of its mechanics, its labourers, and its manual-working women.

THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

THERE are a good many people who feel that there is something very much wrong with the whole system by which the Foreign Policy of this country is determined and administered. The main grounds of criticism are that the system is "undemocratic," that the diplomatic service is recruited exclusively from the upper class, that there is too much secrecy and consequently too little parliamentary control, and that in the absence of such control our foreign affairs are conducted in accordance not with the real interests of the people but with traditions and shibboleths—*e.g.*, the maintenance of the "Balance of Power"—which are not only outworn but actually pernicious, tending rather to endanger than to preserve the peace of the world. The indictment is to a large extent justified; nevertheless the critics, indefatigable as they have been in their exertions during recent years, have never succeeded in gaining any substantial body of public support.

This failure may be ascribed partly no doubt to the notorious indifference of the British public in regard to foreign politics, but still more, we suggest, to two facts: (1) that the diagnosis of the disease has been faulty and unconvincing, and (2) that the grounds for dissatisfaction have been more theoretical than practical. The Foreign Office *is* an undemocratic institution. It is easy to conceive circumstances in which it might commit the country to a course which public opinion would strongly disapprove. But the fact remains that it is difficult or impossible to find instances in which this has been done. Incidental failures apart, there appears to be exceedingly little fault to be found with

exuberances of [illegible]age. But there is a further reason. It is, especially, defensive victories that gain by being unreported. If we made naval attacks on Germany, whether by air or water, we could afford to report the results, which would be better known to the enemy than ourselves. The curtain which has descended over the Navy's achievements is a testimony that they have ceased to possess an offensive character. It is a perception of this which has stimulated some of the cries for Lord Fisher's recall. The public know very little for or against his successor, Sir Henry Jackson. He probably gains as much as he loses by his laudable abstention from self-advertisement; just as Lord Fisher has rather lost than gained by his weakness for excursions into it. But what is getting widely said is that while Lord Fisher was at its head our Navy was constantly worrying Germany, whereas under Sir Henry Jackson's régime the initiative has been allowed to pass to the enemy.

Now, here again we are far from saying that all public criticism should be silent. Incompetent though laymen may be in questions of strategy, there are multifarious ways in which evidences of energy or the reverse in Admiralty administration do leak out, and enable a general impression to be formed, which may not be misleading. But it is between such general impressions and criticisms and a definite judgment on policy, like that between the offensive and the defensive, that a line of demarcation should be sought. The layman must beware of formulating strategic demands. Nelson acted on the "defensive" for two and a half years, until the enemy's fleet came out and gave him the opportunity of Trafalgar. Until the German fleet has given Sir John Jellicoe a similar opportunity it seems premature for newspapers to be quarrelling with admirals because the latter elect to follow Nelson's example.

THE PEACE BOOK

NEARLY ten years ago, when Lord Haldane was at the War Office, the Government decided to have a "War Book" prepared, such as every Continental State possesses—a highly confidential set of plans and projects, draft proclamations and orders, elaborately worked out so as to provide in detail for all that was likely to happen on the outbreak of war. In this way it was hoped to prevent any flurry and confusion in the several Government Departments, and among those charged with specific responsibilities, and to secure from all concerned a prompt, consistent and well-considered policy. The War Book was, in fact, found extremely useful, during the first few weeks of war, so far as its scope extended, and it has been more than once regretted that this departure from the traditions of "muddling through" had not been carried further. Last Tuesday, speaking to a deputation of business men, headed by the Lord Mayor of London, Mr. Asquith announced that the Government hoped to have ready, before the War came to an end, something similar in the way of a "Peace Book" on trade and gency legislation, which, so far as can be foreseen, will be required on the declaration of peace.

We rejoice at this decision, and we only hope that the Prime Minister will definitely order the preparation of the Peace Book to be begun at once and pressed forward without delay to completion. For, as we have more than once indicated in these columns, the conclusion of peace will usher in, throughout all the belligerent countries, not least in our own, a period of social and industrial conflict, of unemployment and distress, of economic and financial strain, that may, in its calamitous effects, come second only to the war itself. Never have we had to face the difficulty of converting spears into pruning hooks on so large a scale. How can the transfer of seven millions of men and women from war and war trades to economically productive employment be effected with the least social damage?

Unfortunately, as we gather, the War Book, prepared almost exclusively by soldiers and sailors, was too limited in scope. It provided in minute detail for the despatch of the Expeditionary Force, but it did not concern itself much about the soldier's wife. It had worked out the sudden seizure of the railways for Government use, but had not foreseen the growing scarcity of merchant shipping. It dealt with the commissariat and the ambulances, but neither with finance nor with civil distress; though even the War Office can now see that the maintenance of credit and the feeding of the labouring population were really as necessary to keep up the firing line as the organisation of the Army Service Corps. We hope that the Peace Book will not be similarly restricted in scope. There is no Government Department, no Local Authority, no branch of industrial or social activity, and no part of the Kingdom, that will not be profoundly affected by the sudden cessation of an expenditure of five million pounds a day and the return of seven millions of workers to the employments of peace.

So far, we gather, the Government has confined itself to thinking out proposals for looking after the disbanded soldiers and sailors, and to providing for them by furlough and gratuity, registration at the Labour Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance for a year. An agricultural committee has proposed the setting up of a few thousand out of the four millions as small holders, and is considering how to induce a hundred thousand more to return to their happy lot as farm labourers. Nothing has yet been devised for the assistance of the three millions of men and women now at work in the war trades, though these will be thrown "on the streets" equally with the discharged soldiers, very soon after peace is assured. Those who compile the Peace Book could, at any rate, ascertain which of these two armies will be most promptly dispensed with —the munition workers or the soldiers. It will be of some consequence, as Mr. Naylor has pointed out in our columns, whether the workers in war trades or the men from the front are to get the first chance at the Labour Exchanges for the situations that will need to be filled when peace comes.

The spurts of activity in particular trades, and a

Manchester Guardian. 20/2/16.

WOMEN'S WAR WORK.

CONDITIONS TO-DAY AND AFTER THE WAR.

A conference convened by the Women's War Interests' Committee was held on Saturday afternoon in the Minor Hall of the Manchester Y.M.C.A. Councillor Margaret Ashton presided. The Committee was formed last May to meet the crisis arising from the withdrawal of a large number of men from industry and their substitution by women. In order to combat the danger of the fall of the standard rate of wages, the lowering of the standard of life of the workers, and the injury to health of the women workers themselves, the Committee formulated the following demands:—

(1) A minimum wage of £1 a week of 48 hours for adult women engaged on war work, with piece rates as for men.

(2) A three-shift system, or restriction of night work for women to three weeks out of six.

(3) The provision of proper canteens for night workers.

A considerable part of these demands to be included in the recommendations of the Munitions Supply Committee on the remuneration of women.

About 170 delegates were present on Saturday from trades councils, trade unions, the Women's Co-operative Guild, women's suffrage societies, the Women's Liberal League, branches of the Independent Labour party, and other organisations. Three resolutions were set down for discussion, but most of the time was devoted to the first one, which read: No woman shall work now or be retained after the war in engineering shops at less than the recognised trade union rate of wages when employed on work hitherto done by men. Where a recognised trade union rate does not exist the wages should be not les than £1 for a week of 48 hours.

Mrs. Annot E. Robinson moved and Mr. G. K. Grierson seconded this resolution, Mrs. Robinson pointing out that many women in Manchester engineering shops were getting less than 20s. a week. One delegate said that women were wheeling shells at 12s. a week, a job that the ordinary male labourer was paid 25s. for. After appeals from other delegates it was decided to substitute the words "in any trade" for "engineering shops."

Views of Engineers.

During the discussion on this resolution a representative of the Leigh Trades Council, who is the secretary of an engineers' society, said that the engineers had not agreed that women's labour should be retained after the war. The agreement with the Government was that the women should only work during the war. In answer to a question, the delegate said that the engineers after the war were going to weed out the women. This view was opposed by several delegates, who said that women would have to work after the war in the occupations they were now in.

Councillor Titt said he wanted the engineers to recognise that the women were in the shops for ever. The engineers' delegates were trying to create a sex war. Were they going to turn the women into the streets after the war? They could no more stop the increase of women in industry than they could stop the evolution of the machine in industry. An amendment to leave out the reference to conditions after the war was defeated by 63 votes to 53 (most of the male delegates voting with the minority), and the resolution was carried.

The second resolution was carried with two dissentients. As slightly amended it read:—"That a woman displaced by the cessation of the war should receive in addition to any benefit she is entitled to under Part 2 of the Insurance Act, or from her trade union, adequate out-of-work benefit, either till she gets work or for a period to be agreed upon, and that the unemployment benefit should be a charge upon the Government."

Sheffield Independent 20/3/16.

A NEW INDUSTRIAL WORLD.

WOMEN WAR WORKERS AND THE FUTURE.

By Frank Dilnot.

The war is going to set up a number of new conditions in the life of the country, and one of them will be the employment of tens of thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, of women in industries previously run by men. The emergency of the war has brought into requisition armies of young women all over the country who have never before worked for their living, and a great many of them have entered into occupations in which they are doing extremely well, not only for employers and themselves but for the community at large. It is impossible that these women will ever be entirely dispossessed and the country will have to make up its mind to the fact. Is it to be conceived that the girls who have been installed at the banks will not continue to be utilised there? It was but the barrier of custom which kept them up till war time from valuable service in these very conservative institutions. Who is there that has seen the very excellent work which the young women do on the railways, whether as booking clerks or ticket collectors, will imagine that they can ever be banished? Those who travel by tram car or omnibus in our big cities, be it Glasgow or Sheffield or London, will bear ready witness to the courtesy and dexterity of the young women conductors, and neither the public nor their employers will want to see their departure. The girls themselves will not want to go.

The Woman Engineer.

Then there are the vast number of young women employed in the munition factories—most of them semi-skilled in a few weeks, and a large number of them really skilled mechanics before the war comes to an end. With the restitution of the engineering business—and the demand on it cannot fail to be tremendous directly the war is over—the skill and aptitude of these young women will find a ready market. It has to be remembered that these war women, belonging not only to the working classes but to the middle classes, have been largely stay-at-home girls, helping in the household, or leading a rather aimless life in a round of petty duties. To many there is a zest in their new existence, to a large proportion there is a new found independence by reason of earnings, to others again there is the satisfaction of helping to support the household instead of being a burden on it. Here, then, are some of the facts of the industrial situation which will certainly be upon us. I daresay there will be difficulties and troubles about the matter, but the one big consideration to be taken into account is whether the huge additional supply of willing intelligent labour is to the advantage of the country or not. It can hardly be denied that it ought to constitute a very great advantage. The increase of productiveness on the one hand, the increase in the wage-earning powers of individual families on the other, provide the obvious answer.

New Times, New Manners.

There are, however, serious incidental questions. What will the trade unions say? Are the men coming back from the war to find themselves out of work because the women have taken their places? Will employers get women to do men's work at less than men's remuneration? Satisfactory answers have got to be found to these questions, and I believe they will be found. Speaking generally the trade union position is that women doing the same work as men should receive the same remuneration, and work under similar conditions. There may be special difficulties in certain trades or in certain localities, but these will probably be capable of accommodation. The main thing the unions will have to meet is the possibility of exploitation of women at the expense of men. Supposing this and the other obstacles were satisfactorily surmounted, there remains the question as to whether there will be sufficient scope for the employment of this new element in our industrial life. I do not think there is any doubt about it for some years ahead—and by that time a general adjustment may have changed the old position.

Scope for British Brains.

Certain developments are inevitable when the war comes to a close. First of all thousands of businesses in this country which have been shut down will have to be reestablished, not merely trading concerns, but manufacturing businesses and big productive establishments. We shall be busy not only providing afresh for ourselves, but also setting up the dismantled Belgium. Many parts of that unfortunate country have literally to be rebuilt, and with all the energy that may be brought to bear the operation will take years. Vast quantities of machinery

combat the danger of the fall of the standard rate of wages, the lowering of the standard of life of the workers, and the injury to health of the women workers themselves, the Committee formulated the following demands:—

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Mrs. Annot E. Robinson moved and Mr. G. K. Grierson seconded this resolution, Mrs. Robinson pointing out that many women in Manchester engineering shops were getting less than 20s. a week. One delegate said that women were wheeling shells at 12s. a week, a job that the ordinary male labourer was paid 25s. for. After appeals from other delegates it was decided to substitute the words "in any trade" for "engineering shops."

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Scope for British Brains.

Certain developments are inevitable when the war comes to a close. First of all thousands of businesses in this country which have been shut down will have to be re-established, not merely trading concerns, but manufacturing businesses and big productive establishments. We shall be busy not only providing afresh for ourselves, but also setting up the dismantled Belgium. Many parts of that unfortunate country have literally to be rebuilt, and with all the energy that may be brought to bear the operation will take years. Vast quantities of engineering material will be required, manufactured or semi-manufactured goods of many kinds, and probably also large drafts of our skilled workers will be called for. France will be busy with her own re-birth, but it is at least probable that we may be asked to lend a helping hand. Russia is certain to enter on a period of progress such as she has never known, and with her illimitable natural resources there will be more scope than ever not only for British money, but for British brains and British workmanship. All these things together mean an enormous drain on the labour of this country. There is one other factor in the situation, and sad as it is, we must take it into account. Some hundreds of thousands of our brave fellows will be permanently out of action, and their places will have to be filled.

The outlook, therefore, is that the irruption of women labour into our national life will actually meet a want. All those who have learned to labour in these times of stress will be required to rebuild the world afresh when peace comes. There can be no doubt that the organised forces which control our workers will be well advised to survey the problem as it affects themselves at an early date.

Common Cause
24. 3. 16.

The Future of Women War Workers.

At a conference convened by the Manchester Women's War Interests Committee on Saturday, the chief subject of discussion was a resolution that "No woman shall work now or be retained after the war in engineering shops at less than the recognised trade union rate of wages when employed on work hitherto done by men. Where a recognised trade union rate does not exist, the wages shall not be less than £1 for a week of 48 hours." Delegates were present from trades councils, trade unions, the Women's Co-operative Guild, Women's Suffrage Societies, and other organisations.

In moving the resolution, Mrs. Annot Robinson pointed out that many women in Manchester engineering shops were getting less than 20s. a week, and one delegate stated that women were wheeling shells at 12s. a week—work for which the ordinary male labourer was paid 25s. During the discussion a representative of the Leigh Trades Council said that the engineers had not agreed that women's labour should be retained after the war, and were going to weed the women out when the war had come to an end. This view was opposed by several delegates, who said that women would have to work after the war in the occupations they were now in. Councillor Pitt said he wanted the engineers to recognise that the women were in the shops for ever. The engineers' delegates were trying to create a sex war. Did they, he asked, mean to turn the women out into the streets? They could no more stop the increase of women in industry than they could stop the evolution of the machine in industry.

"To Rebuild the World Afresh."

In an article in *The Daily News*, entitled "A New Industrial World," Mr. Frank Dilnot expresses the same view. Speaking of the armies of young women now employed in industries previously run by men, he says: "It is impossible that these women will ever be entirely dispossessed, and the country will have to make up its mind to the fact." He continues by showing that only the barriers of custom have hitherto kept women out of these industries, and advises trades unions to concentrate on the question of preventing the exploitation of women at the expense of men. In his opinion, there will be sufficient scope for some time to come for women's employment in the new industries, that have been opened to them, and "the irruption of women's labour into our national life will actually meet a want." "All those," he concludes, "who have learned to labour in these times of stress will be required to rebuild the world afresh when peace comes. There can be no doubt that the organised forces which control our workers will be well advised to survey the problem as it affects themselves at an early date."

Daily Dispatch (Manchester)
28.3.16.

WOMEN WORKERS.

The Problem of Their Status After the War.

Interesting remarks on the future of women workers were made by Miss Margaret Ashton, addressing the members of the Manchester and Salford branch of the National Union of Women Workers yesterday.

Many young women of to-day, she said, would not find husbands, and they would have to be self-supporting. Consequently steps ought to be taken by older women to see that they advanced by their abilities as the men advanced by their own abilities, in order that they might take places of trust.

This idea was not one of grasping, but an honest desire to improve the condition of women in facing problems after the war. If they allowed good posts to be filled by women for small remuneration there would be difficulties for the women who sought good posts for a livelihood.

Miss Ashton expressed the view that many of those women who had come out into the world at the call of the nation would not be at all likely or willing to go back to dependence on a male worker. There would be much closer co-operation between men and women in the commercial life of the future than in the past.

Common Cause
24 3 16

702/48

Cambridge.

An interesting meeting was held at Clough Hall, Newnham College, on March 8th, in aid of the British Women's Maternity Unit in Russia. There was a fair audience, in spite of atrocious weather, and £21 was collected, including some donations from absentees. Miss Clough gave an account of the work of the Unit, as reported by Miss Thurstan, with the details of which COMMON CAUSE readers will be already familiar. Mrs. Heitland, President of the C.W.S.A., remarked that a new alliance was being formed between the women of Russia and England.

In the absence of Miss Gladys Rinder, who had been announced to speak, Mrs. Oliver Strachey then gave an address on the "Employment of Women as Affected by the War." She pointed out the danger of shifting employment—*e.g.*, 15,000 women had left the textile factories for munition work, tempted by the higher wages. As a result, the employers were hard put to it to carry out important orders from China which had been placed with English instead of, as formerly, with German firms. Mrs. Strachey gave a most informative account of the new openings, and, in some cases, the excellent wages paid for women's work, some of which might be only temporary; but others might, with wise management and foresight, prove permanent. Among the latter she instanced specially: commercial chemistry, business and advertisement management, dental mechanics, scientific instrument making and tool making, and institutional housekeeping. For many of these training is needed, and the London Suffrage Society from the beginning of the war has specialised in supplying information about training, and has started classes, where they were non-existent, so as to enable women to make the fullest use of present opportunities. Mrs. Strachey urged the formation of a Women's Interests Committee in Cambridge.

Miss Allan, Principal of Homerton College, then gave an all-too-brief account of the appalling condition of education and the culpable indifference of local and even central authorities to the needs of school children. "The education of the working-man's child, like ostrich feathers and cigars, may wait till the war is over!" With 40,000 men teachers gone to the Front, how are vacancies to be filled? Already there was a shortage of teachers before the war; now the superannuated are being pressed into service, as well as the untrained and immature, and yet it was impossible to supply 315 vacanacies in London alone. Children were herded in unwieldy classes, or, worse still, shut out from school altogether below the age of six and left to roam the streets. Boys and girls of tender years were being removed from school to become wage-earners. Already 150 boys of twelve had gone from Cambridge alone.

Evening Standard
29-3-16.

702/49

FROM THE HOME TO THE WORKSHOP.

The Status of Women After the War.

Women's virtues are enjoying a "boom" such as they have never experienced before. Of course, women knew long ago that neither literally nor metaphorically were they intended by nature to sew an eternal "fine seam" and subsist on a diet of strawberries, though unfortunately men, or, at any rate, all men, did not share this view. But the war has altered all that, and woman's "amazing adaptability" and "astonishing capacity" for work and organisation of every description are the subject of naive comment on the part of those least disposed to grant her even the possession of ordinary intelligence in pre-war days.

At the outbreak of hostilities gloomy predictions as to financial and industrial collapse, economic distress, dislocation of labour, and an unprecedented amount of unemployment filled the air. But the prophets have been proved wrong. Never has there been greater activity in the large industries, never have wages been better; and the demands of our own Government and those of our Allies have created opportunities for employment which are even now not adequately filled, and there is scarcely an industry in the country in which women workers are not playing a strenuous and an honourable part.

Public Opinion's Volte Face.

There was a time, not long ago, when a very large number of people maintained that a "woman's place was in the home," but with the entry of women into occupations hitherto closed to them that idea has been decidedly, if gradually, modified, until some of its quite prominent supporters have openly declared that it must be met and combatted. Mrs. Fawcett, who was the principal speaker at a meeting held to consider "The Status of Women After the War" at the Caxton Hall yesterday afternoon, attributed this change to two causes—the whole-hearted enthusiasm with which women of all classes have thrown themselves into active, unselfish work for their country's cause, and the splendid quality of the work which they have shown themselves able to do.

Now, though the value of women's work is universally acknowledged—and, indeed, they are paid the immense compliment of being expected to learn in three or four days work which it takes men in ordinary circumstances weeks to learn—it is scarcely likely that when peace is concluded they will be content to return to their old, pre-war status.

"The general progress of the women's movement," said Mrs. Fawcett, "has been more rapid during the last twenty months than during any period of its history," and she added that the progress had been marked by a corresponding change in public opinion in this country. Reviewing the part played by women since war began, she said that the national necessities, as revealed by the war, had broken down the monstrous injustice by which women had been excluded from earning their living in skilled trades, and that the first-rate work done by women in every department of industry would be bound to make a difference to the professional status of women now that attention had been called to it.

It was clear from Mrs. Fawcett's remarks that she confidently expects that the granting of the Parliamentary franchise to women will be one of the results of the war, and that the awakened sense of nationality will not want to keep women at work merely making lace butterflies for the hair or painting gloire-de-Dijon roses on American leather. M. T. H.

The New Age.
29-6-16.

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than had I not fought at all. Ah, here comes a letter from you. How well timed, for I was becoming unreadable, was I not?—Shall I, you ask me, have time before leaving England to write any more letters to you? You would like to hear my views on men, women, religion and so on. Men and women! The Alpha and Omega! But really, let me thank you, for I know your request is designedly medicinal. Well, I am an obliging patient, ready to contribute anything to my improvement. As for time!—I must say hospitals move in a procrastinating way their wonders to perform! I have eaten my farewell dinners so often that I am now embarrassed to meet my hosts. However, we are all to be ready to leave at the end of next week. But the week before last it was last week and last week it was this week: so that next week may well be next month if not next year. If therefore I can arrange my thoughts on any of such subjects as you mention you shall have them.—Yours sincerely, ACTON REED.

The Disposal of Disabled Soldiers.

A FEW SUGGESTIONS TOWARDS THE SOLUTION OF THIS PROBLEM, ADDRESSED TO THE GOVERNING CLASS.

By W. Mears.

THE disposal of the human débris created by the war is a question that demands the serious attention of the best minds in this country. Unfortunately, the whole matter has been obscured by a sentimental agitation carried on by an irresponsible baronet, assisted by the disloyal section of the Press. It is most regrettable that such an agitation should be initiated by a member of the one class that has shown no disposition to hamper the successful prosecution of the war by selfish concern for personal interests. If the demand for extravagant pensions for disabled soldiers had been made by the Labour leaders there would have been no danger of any of the cultivated and patriotic members of the community being diverted from the destruction of Prussianism by insidious appeals to their generosity. The one satisfactory feature in this unfortunate affair is the upright conduct of the Labour leaders. They have treated the interests of the disabled soldiers with the same careful consideration for profits that they have shown when dealing with all the other interests of the class they represent. Their patriotism has, not only in this case, but throughout the war, been a standing rebuke to the disloyal section of the working class. The attitude of the bishops and clergy towards those maimed in the war has also been most exemplary, although there is less cause here for any feeling of gratified surprise, as they have never pretended to represent the lower orders, or to be swayed by foolish notions of humanity when profiteering interests are at stake.

It is essential, when considering this problem, that all sentiment should be rigidly suppressed. When the Empire is fighting for its very existence, victory cannot be imperilled by the wasting of national resources on those who can never be of use in the production of profits. Our wealth is not inexhaustible, and if Prussianism is to be utterly destroyed our financial resources

The Status of Women After the War.

Women's virtues are enjoying a "boom" such as they have never experienced before. Of course, women knew long ago that neither literally nor metaphorically were they intended by nature to sew an eternal "fine seam" and subsist on a diet of strawberries, though unfortunately men, or, at any rate, all men, did not share this view. But the war has altered all that, and woman's "amazing adaptability" and "astonishing capacity" for work and organisation of every description are the subject of naive comment on the part of those least disposed to grant her even the possession of ordinary intelligence in pre-war days.

At the outbreak of hostilities gloomy predictions as to financial and industrial collapse, economic distress, dislocation of labour, and an unprecedented amount of unemployment filled the air. But the prophets have been proved wrong. Never has there been greater activity in the large industries, never have wages been better; and the demands of our own Government and those of our Allies have created opportunities for employment which are even now not adequately filled, and there is scarcely an industry in the country in which women workers are not playing a strenuous and an honourable part.

Public Opinion's Volte Face.

There was a time, not long ago, when a very large number of people maintained that a "woman's place was in the home," but with the entry of women into occupations hitherto closed to them that idea has been decidedly, if gradually, modified, until some of its quite prominent supporters have openly declared that it must be met and combatted. Mrs. Fawcett, who was the principal speaker at a meeting held to consider "The Status of Women After the War" at the Caxton Hall yesterday afternoon, attributed this change to two causes—the whole-hearted enthusiasm with which women of all classes have thrown themselves into active, unselfish work for their country's cause, and the splendid quality of the work which they have shown themselves able to do.

Now, though the value of women's work is universally acknowledged—and, indeed, they are paid the immense compliment of being expected to learn in three or four days work which it takes men in ordinary circumstances weeks to learn—it is scarcely likely that when peace is concluded they will be content to return to their old, pre-war status.

"The general progress of the women's movement," said Mrs. Fawcett, "has been more rapid during the last twenty months than during any period of its history," and she added that the progress had been marked by a corresponding change in public opinion in this country. Reviewing the part played by women since war began, she said that the national necessities, as revealed by the war, had broken down the monstrous injustice by which women had been excluded from earning their living in skilled trades, and that the first-rate work done by women in every department of industry would be bound to make a difference to the professional status of women now that attention had been called to it.

It was clear from Mrs. Fawcett's remarks that she confidently expects that the granting of the Parliamentary franchise to women will be one of the results of the war, and that the awakened sense of nationality will not want to keep women at work merely making lace butterflies for the hair or painting gloire-de-Dijon roses on American leather. M. T. H.

The New Age.
29-6-16.

than had I not fought at all. Ah, here comes a letter from you. How well timed, for I was becoming unreadable, was I not?—Shall I, you ask me, have time before leaving England to write any more letters to you? You would like to hear my views on men, women, religion and so on. Men and women! The Alpha and Omega! But really, let me thank you, for I know your request is designedly medicinal. Well, I am an obliging patient, ready to contribute anything to my improvement. As for time!—I must say hospitals move in a procrastinating way their wonders to perform! I have eaten my farewell dinners so often that I am now embarrassed to meet my hosts. However, we are all to be ready to leave at the end of next week. But the week before last it was last week and last week it was this week: so that next week may well be next month if not next year. If therefore I can arrange my thoughts on any of such subjects as you mention you shall have them.—Yours sincerely, ACTON REED.

The Disposal of Disabled Soldiers.

A FEW SUGGESTIONS TOWARDS THE SOLUTION OF THIS PROBLEM, ADDRESSED TO THE GOVERNING CLASS.

By W. Mears.

THE disposal of the human débris created by the war is a question that demands the serious attention of the best minds in this country. Unfortunately, the whole matter has been obscured by a sentimental agitation carried on by an irresponsible baronet, assisted by the disloyal section of the Press. It is most regrettable that such an agitation should be initiated by a member of the one class that has shown no disposition to hamper the successful prosecution of the war by selfish concern for personal interests. If the demand for extravagant pensions for disabled soldiers had been made by the Labour leaders there would have been no danger of any of the cultivated and patriotic members of the community being diverted from the destruction of Prussianism by insidious appeals to their generosity. The one satisfactory feature in this unfortunate affair is the upright conduct of the Labour leaders. They have treated the interests of the disabled soldiers with the same careful consideration for profits that they have shown when dealing with all the other interests of the class they represent. Their patriotism has, not only in this case, but throughout the war, been a standing rebuke to the disloyal section of the working class. The attitude of the bishops and clergy towards those maimed in the war has also been most exemplary, although there is less cause here for any feeling of gratified surprise, as they have never pretended to represent the lower orders, or to be swayed by foolish notions of humanity when profiteering interests are at stake.

It is essential, when considering this problem, that all sentiment should be rigidly suppressed. When the Empire is fighting for its very existence, victory cannot be imperilled by the wasting of national resources on those who can never be of use in the production of profits. Our wealth is not inexhaustible, and if Prussianism is to be utterly destroyed our financial resources must be carefully husbanded. Furthermore, after the war the struggle for trade will be severe, and it is essential that taxation should be as light as possible. Let those who are inclined to receive favourably the demand for extravagant pensions consider the effect of a heavy annual charge for such. It would be impossible to pay all the interest on the national debt. There is no need to press the point further; every patriot knows that the Government stock-holders must obtain their full interest, or the whole capitalist system, which has made the Empire what it is, will be in danger of collapse. P.J.O.

Another aspect of the d[illegible] f[illegible] [illegible]ge pension deserves the careful attention [illegible] [illegible]ptains of in[illegible]dustry. If pensions are gra[illegible]ed libe[illegible]ly there wi[illegible] be thousands of partially disab[illegible]d sold[illegible]rs capable o[illegible] performing some work who w[illegible] be able to live i[illegible] idleness. Now this will have a serious effect on wages If we are to hold our own against foreign competitio[illegible] after the war the present high level of wages must b[illegible] greatly reduced, and it will be difficult to cut dow[illegible] wages if disabled soldiers can live on their pensions No man will work for wages if he can live in any othe[illegible] way. It is, therefore, essential that disabled soldiers glad to get work on any terms, should be thrown o[illegible] the labour market. Besides, if men of the lower order, are permitted to live in idleness it will have a ba[illegible] effect on the working class generally, quite apart fron[illegible] the moral effect on the pensioners themselves. Ther[illegible] is a possibility that some pensioners, relieved from th[illegible] economic control of employers, may become Socialist[illegible] and agitators. The moral effect of idleness on th[illegible] pensioners, however, need not be dealt with here, a[illegible] there is no doubt that the clergy, the economists, and the Labour leaders will do full justice to this question.

Of course, it will be useless to throw the totally disabled soldiers upon the labour market; they woul[illegible] only fill up the workhouses and become a burden t[illegible] the ratepayers. The more logical members of th[illegible] governing class would undoubtedly be glad to dispos[illegible] of them according to recognised profiteering principle and let them starve like worn-out workmen; nor is i[illegible] likely that the English people would do more than pro[illegible]test in a pacific manner. There is, however, a dange[illegible] that the able-bodied soldiers might prove refractor[illegible] out of foolish sentiment for their comrades. Unde[illegible] these circumstances the most suitable method of dealin[illegible] with the commercially useless soldiers would be t[illegible] place them in compounds, where they could be kep[illegible] at a cheaper rate than if pensioned, and their maimed bodies would then cease to be an eyesore to members of the plutocracy travelling about the country.

Another very serious problem will arise if pensions can be claimed by disabled soldiers as a matter of right. The workers in the factories have been told again and again that their service is just as essential towards winning the war as that of the men in the trenches. Now many of the men and women who are making munitions have had their constitutions permanently impaired by overwork, and not a few have been totally disabled. If a soldier can claim a pension as a right, then it is inevitable that a munition-worker will demand one too, and the demand will not stop here, but will extend to all the workers. At a time when the lowe[illegible] orders have been successfully deprived of such rights and privileges that they happened to possess it is surely the height of folly for the governing class to present them with new rights.

There is nothing in the above proposals that is contrary to the morals of a capitalist State. It is almost universally recognised that the profiteering class has the right to impose such conditions of existence as it chooses upon the proletariat. Indeed, the lower orders will, if the above suggestions are carried out, be much better treated than they have any right to expect according to those principles of profiteering which few of them deny.

It will have been observed that no suggestions have been made as to pensions for the widows of soldiers. There is not the slightest likelihood of any member of the governing class being so foolish as to reduce the numbers of a type of labour so cheap, unorganised, and so easily exploited.

Now that the true aspect of the matter has been pu[illegible] before them there can be no doubt that our rulers wil[illegible] deal with the pensions question in a manner beneficia[illegible] to themselves. Whatever solution they adopt they can rest assured that there are plenty of journalists and others ready to persuade the public that the interests of the profiteers are the interests of all true patriots.

Bath & Wilts Chronicle
March 29 1916

702/50

AFTER-WAR PROBLEMS

UNDER-PAID WOMEN WORKERS

THE DANGER TO MALE LABOUR

Members of the Bath branches of the Christian Social Union and the National Union of Women Workers held a joint meeting in the Guildhall on Tuesday evening to consider the industrial and civic position of women after the war, the subject being introduced by Miss Councillor Margaret Ashton, of Manchester. The Mayoress (Mrs. H. T. Hatt), who is president of the Bath branch of the N.U.W.W., took the chair, and among others present were the Rev. R. C. L. Reade (president, Bath branch, C.S.U.), Lady Lawrence, Mrs. Long, the Misses King, Miss M. L. Morris (secretary, Bath branch, N.U.W.W.), Miss Philipps (secretary, Bath branch, C.S.U.), Miss Hatt, Miss Ellis, etc.

WOMEN WORKERS AFTER THE WAR.

Miss Ashton said that after the war they would be face to face with a great many new industrial problems, and they must be ready to face them. They would have all the war industries—munitions, clothing, boots and other leather work, etc.—stopping. Army expenditure would be cut almost as with a knife. It would be impossible to allow women who had been taking men's work to be "scrapped" merely because the men had returned. The Government was making proposals for the redrafting of the men back into their occupations, but women, who had been called out owing to the war, to help the trades and industries going, were entitled to Government consideration and to sustenance while they were turning round and trying to adjust themselves to the new conditions. They were entitled as much to consideration as the men were; they had done their national service, which was just as essential for the national well-being as was the fighting of the men at the front.

WOMEN'S LOWER WAGES.

One of the great difficulties was that they could never persuade employers that women were worthy of the same wage as men. It was an age-long tradition that a woman, because she was a woman, must be paid less than a man, when she did the same work and turned out exactly the same amount. It was an awfully degrading fact that in only one profession—the medical profession—and in only one industry—Cotton spinning—were men and women paid the same for the same work. With such low payments to women for skilled work it would be almost impossible to reinstate the men and keep their wages up to what was a living wage before the war because there would be that power of undercutting them by the skilled, underpaid labour of women. Women's war interests committees had been formed to see how they could meet what would become absolute tragedy later on. She indicated the enormous differences—34s. and 14s.—between men's and women's wages in munition work, and asserted that the difference went into the employers' pockets and was robbed from the families of those at the front whose women were working in their places. She predicted that when the men came back fault would in many cases be found with their work, that their services would in a short time be dispensed with, and that women would be appointed to take their places on scandalously low wages. In these days when so many women were self-supporting, and when after the war there would be so many more women who would have to be self-supporting owing to so many of their men having been killed, it was more than ever necessary that they should recognise that payment should be made for the work done and not for the sex of the worker. Women, Miss Ashton said, worked at higher pressure and much more rapidly than men, but they could not work as long hours as men, who went slower. She emphasised that if they lowered wages by letting in low-paid labour they were demoralising family life and injuring the whole fabric of the State.

CLASSES MOST AFFECTED BY THE WAR.

The industrial and working classes were suffering most by the war, because more men in those classes were being killed, injured, and maimed, and their wives and families were suffering partly because there was less money coming in; partly because women were dragged out of the home to help in national service in munition factories; and partly because Education Committees were taking less care of the children by stopping free meals and letting children run wild in the streets more than they did. Women would be the heads of families, and they must be paid a rate which would enable to make provision for their children at home. Women must come out and take a much larger share in civic life, for on Councils they missed the woman's care, the motherly suggestion and intuition. She described the Government as the worst employer of female labour, and strongly urged that no woman munition worker who was not ready to be put on piecework should receive less than £1 per week and that women should not overwork themselves, as many were doing, in order to earn big money, for eventually there must be more or less a breakdown, a lowering of their average output, and thus an injury to the national service. In conclusion, she suggested that societies such as theirs might do excellent work by taking up such questions and offering suggestions for the reconstruction of industry after the war.

General discussion as to the conditions of women's work and their wages ensued, and the argument was advanced that if women had votes many of the existing unfair conditions under which women worked and the general sex disability in the labour market would disappear.

On the motion of the Rev. R. C. L. Reade, seconded by Lady Lawrence, Miss Ashton and the Mayoress were cordially thanked.

Tramway & Railway World
7-10.

WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT AFTER THE WAR.

The Board of Trade Advisory Committee on Women's War Employment (Industrial), in a pamphlet issued for the use of their local committees, urge that difficult questions, such as the reinstatement of enlisted men after the war, the limitation of the new employment of women to the duration of the present emergency, and the like, should not be deferred, but faced immediately and settled by the employers and the workers at once.

At the congress of the Tramways and Light Railways Association on June 30, the Hon. Arthur Stanley, chairman of the Council, expressed the opinion that women would not generally be suitable as drivers. Several speakers observed that if women were to take the places of motormen who are being called to the colours, the cars should be equipped with air brakes.

Testimony was given at the congress to the endurance of the young women, over a thousand in number, now working as conductors on motor omnibuses of the L.G.O. Company. Mr. H. E. Blain, the operating superintendent, stated that only 37 had had to give up the work, from which the remainder appeared to derive physical benefit, judging by the number of instances in which larger size uniforms were soon required.

Daily Mail
1-4-16.

1916
April.

Daily Express.
20.4.16.

THE WOMEN WORKERS.

"Are you being paid?" some of the workers in one factory turning out munitions asked a newcomer, a woman who was busy at a bench. The woman looked up with a smile. "No," she said, "I am working because I want to help the country." "Umph," grunted one of her questioners, "you wouldn't work half as hard as you're doing if you were paid." I am not going so far as to say this is a typical incident, but it is certainly suggestive of much. The women workers, volunteer and others, who are going into our factories are revolutionising many of the old conditions there. The old rules, "Never do owt for nowt" and "Get as much as you can for as little as you can do," do not count with them. The new woman in the factory works hard, works honestly, and in some cases of repetition work she is making the machines produce quantities unheard of in this country before. The women do not understand the policy of ca' canny. What they do understand is that England wants munitions and they are going to produce them. The workmen and the workmen's organisations, which imagined that after the war was over things would go back to exactly the old conditions, will find themselves very much mistaken. Things cannot go back to the old way any more than we can live yesterday to-morrow. The new spirit that has come into the factories owing to the necessities of the war is going to be most useful to us in the years ahead. When the war is over the great battle for the world's trade will have to be fought and English factories will be better equipped, better controlled, and better managed than ever before to fight for their share of it. There is one point, however, in which one is bound to sympathise with the old workers. It is for the women to see that their coming into callings formerly kept for men does not lower the standard of wages and living.

Common Cause
14.4.16.

Surrey, Sussex, and Hants Federation.

GUILDFORD.—For two months, Mrs. Hartree has superintended a working-party for the Scottish Hospitals, through which we have obtained several new members and kept on old ones. Mrs. Green, of Dr. Hutchison's staff, paid us a visit, and related her experience of the awful retreat from Serbia before Christmas. Immediately after the Council, the starting of a "Women's Interests Committee" was discussed at a meeting with some Trades Union leaders. Almost at the same time an appeal from the National Federation of Women Workers for help towards the organisation of women munition workers gave us an object for which to work. A committee has been formed, supported apathetically by women workers, but strongly by men. We hope to hold a public meeting, with Miss Bondfield as speaker, on April 19th, with the Secretaries of the principal Trade Unions present. Many contributions are hoped for to a jumble sale, to be held shortly at the office.

WOMEN AND THEIR WORK.

BRAINS FOR THE TRADE AFTER THE WAR.

Women do not perhaps fully realise how very much good work they can do for the Empire through their influence on trade, nor what opportunities are possible to the woman with a keen brain and good business qualities. At a meeting held at the Connaught Rooms recently by the Association of Advertising Women, Miss Carey gave an excellent address on "Trade After the War, and how British women can help."

She stated that the withdrawal of men on all sides for military purposes has left gaps which must be filled by women. The trade of the country must be kept going, and in countless instances there are essential articles which are made by one firm only in this country, and when the war is over these goods will again be imported from Germany if we cannot supply enough ourselves.

This can be remedied if women will encourage home industries now, demand British goods, and turn the trade of the Empire into an export trade after the war. Here all women can do much to help. They are the purchasers, and can demand only British-made goods. In the advertising world women can bring together home industries and the buyers of the world. There are shipping difficulties now, but orders are placed far in advance, and now is the time to create a desire to trade with England throughout other lands.

A discussion followed regarding the economic conditions of our own and other countries, and an interesting point was raised by the revival of the suffrage question, to which Miss Carey replied that women must prove that they are capable of governing by first governing large business enterprises, unaided by men's brains or capital—a proof which has not yet been given.

Any advertising or business women who would like to know the conditions of membership of the Association of Advertising Women are cordially invited to apply to the secretary, 66, Avenue-chambers, Bloomsbury-square. A special room for members' use during the day has been engaged in the West End, and the work of the association is now being widely developed under the presidency of Mrs. A. M. Mortimer.

ON THE REGISTER.

We give below particulars of some vacant posts that offer good prospects to suitable applicants. All applications should be addressed to the Secretary, Women's Employment, "Daily Express," 23, St. Bride-street, E.C., and must be accompanied by a stamped addressed envelope.

1. Well trained fifth housemaid (seven kept and basement maid) for establishment of titled lady in Bedfordshire, where there are twelve convalescent officers and five nurses. Wages £20 and 4s. 6d. per week for beer and washing.
2. Vacancy in nobleman's establishment for soldier's widow or otherwise if respectable and reliable. Required to do men servants' rooms, housekeeper's sitting-room, to help wash up in still room, etc. Not too young; take one been general. State wages. Staffs.
3. Good opening for under-laundrymaid in cottage laundry connected with large private establishment. Six laundrymaids in all, and required to do the housework of the cottage and cooking for the staff. Wages £16, with 13s. per week board wages, milk and vegetables found. Beds.

Common Cause
12.4.16

PROTECTION OF THE MALE WAGE-EARNER.

MADAM,—I hope you will excuse the liberty I take in calling your attention to the action of the Government and trade unions. The Government are giving signed guarantees to men's unions that their respective trades will receive Government protection after the war against the occupation of women. It seems likely, if women are not very vigilant, their economic and industrial position will be in a worse state after the war than before. Such Government guarantees could be interpreted to women's disaster. Besides, it looks like now exploiting women.

WORKING WOMAN.

Express & Echo Exeter 5-4-16

702/52

AFTER WAR PROBLEMS

Christian Social Union Meeting at Exeter

FORCEFUL ADDRESS

Chancellor Pryke presided last night at the annual meeting of the Exeter branch of the Christian Social Union, held at the Oddfellows Hall.

The Chancellor, in opening the meeting, alluded to the address which was to be given by the Rev. A. J. Carlyle, D. Litt., lecturer in economics and political philosophy, of the University College, Oxford, on "The need of preparation for the social and industrial conditions at the end of the war." He said while they could not say when the end of the war would be, and what kind of peace would result, they ought to think seriously of the probabilities and possibilities that would arise, and endeavour to meet them in a Christian spirit. The more they prepared themselves by careful thought to consider these things in the spirit of the Christian Social Union, the better their chances would of meeting them successfully.

The Rev. A. J. Carlyle, in the course of his address, remarked that he was not quite sure that in the last thirty years we had not been growing rich too quickly. The accumulation of wealth in that period had been almost fabulous. It had grown a good deal faster than was good for their morals, and even than was good for their manners. It was probably that one of the problems to be faced after the war would be comparative poverty among the middle classes, while also there would be unemployment among the labouring classes, such as they had not experienced in their time. They must provide for this. A good deal could be done locally by the resumption of public works which had been suspended. He did not mean the inauguration of relief works, because these were not only useless but demoralising. What they should do was to carry out works of public utility, and not by loafers, but by people competent to do the work. They must make a call for skilled labour of all kinds. Provision, too, would have to be made for the soldiers and sailors. It rested with them to see that these poor fellows could make their lives real and useful again for themselves and for the community. Then the agricultural problem would face them again. Large numbers of the agricultural labourers in the Southern Counties, at any rate, would not come back to the land unless the inducements were better than before. They would go to the towns or emigrate, and while he would say nothing against emigration, they would after the war want every capable man at home. The most serious question, however, would be the industrial relations after the war. Instead of being more united they might find themselves more disunited. They knew that industrial troubles existed before the war broke out, and if the war had not come they would have had in the winter of 1914-15 far more serious industrial complications. The war, however, acted as a charm; it brought home to them that there were great common interests, and their disputes disappeared like magic. The Factory Acts were suspended, and the machinery of the Trades Unions were set aside for the time being. This was the last and the greatest sacrifice of the Trades Unions. What would happen when the war was over. In the first place the Government were pledged to restore the normal conditions existing previously. It was a solemn pledge that the whole system of the Trades Unions should be replaced exactly as it was before, and it would have to be done whether some people liked it or not. But if the pre-war conditions were restored it did not mean that they would be continued. He believed there would be a great effort by the employing classes to get the regulations altered or abolished, and there would be a plausible case for that. The country would be poorer, and the case for the removal of every obstacle to the volume of production would be very great. They had seen it was possible for the half-skilled man to do a great deal of the work formerly done by the skilled man, and that a great deal of work, hitherto done by men, could be done by women. They had discovered unknown resources of industry in this country—resources of employable persons which they never suspected—and no reasonable person would maintain that these lessons should go unheeded. They would not be able to maintain themselves under the old conditions, and therefore he did not doubt an effort would be made to change them. That would probably mean a violent conflict. Trade Unions would not surrender their regulations unless there was something better to offer them; they would only do it by economic force or the discovery of a better method. Middle-class people had had a singularly inadequate idea of what those regulations meant. They took a middle-class view of things, and their notion of the situation was by no means founded on knowledge, but largely on the fact that they paid attention to one aspect of the question that these regulations were restrictions on production. Directly they obviously were, but take the case of the restriction of the output of machinery. They must limit the machinery to the capacity of the man who worked it. The measure of the limitation must be the capacity of the man to keep pace with the machine at his highest continuous efficiency. It was clear, therefore, that some limitation was necessary in the interest of the health, the very life, of the wage earner. A man could work up to a certain pace and keep his health and capacity, but to drive him beyond that would be to destroy the man. So, in asking for a limitation, the Trade Unions acted in the interest of the worker and in the highest interest of the State itself. With regard to unskilled men doing the work of the skilled men, the skilled workers had built up for themselves a certain standard of life. That standard had been minimised by men coming in who had not got that skill, and the delimitation conditions were really intended to secure a standard of life for the unskilled as well as for the skilled men. These regulations were not only reasonable, but necessary. It was quite true they had been abused and perverted in various ways, but that merely showed that Trades Unions were composed of men and women who, as in other walks of life, were possessed of different tempers and desires. It was no argument for the abolition of the regulations, and the Trades Unions would never consent to their being abolished. But he did anticipate that, after the war, there would be a great effort to change them. Therefore they were faced with a renewal of the social conflicts in a much more aggravated form. The probabilities were, therefore, that unless something could be done they must look forward to a period far more acute than any they had seen in their time. They had been content to allow their whole system of industry to be founded upon a conflict of interests, in which the masters on the one side, and the men on the other, armed and protected themselves against each other. That was what was bluntly called a class war. Masters had been in the habit of working their men unduly, and the men had insisted on conditions which made it impossible for the masters to carry on their industries efficiently. Were they to hope for anything better, or were they to return to the menace of a great controversy? There was no short and easy way out of the difficulty. He hoped, in some measure, that Englishmen who had during the war consented to lay aside their quarrels and stand side by side in their grief and trouble, would find they had been drawn together by bonds of sympathy and good feeling. He hoped that with all the evils the war had brought, it had taught them something they would not forget in this direction. But they must not rely too much on these things. When men were put back into the old conditions, and face to face with the old grievances, how easily and quickly all these better instincts might be forgotten. He noticed there had appeared in an unlikely quarter a movement that was not without hope. They had had some experience of the co-operative system, but whatever might have been the merits of it, the scheme had not managed to get hold of the people. But the principle lying behind the co-operative and profit-sharing system was a good one, and was it impossible that after the war they would recognise that the wage-earner was entitled to his share and control in the industry? Syndicalism had been regarded as an extravagant form of revolution. He thought the air was clearing, and they were beginning to see that behind it all was something not revolutionary at all. It was a demand for recognition that in industry every mature person was entitled to have his voice, to look upon the business in which he was concerned as something of which he was not a machine, but that something of it belonged to him. He did not suggest any panacea for the difficulties to which he had referred. He did not think the remedy was to be found in any one direction. The solution would be found when they all seriously and earnestly desired to find it, and were ready to make sacrifices to that end. When once they appreciated that the industrial system of the last hundred years was accursed and intolerable, and that it was not human that men should live as enemies when they ought to live as brothers and friends, there were thousands of lines of progress towards which they might set their faces.

A vote of thanks to Dr. Carlyle was passed, and subsequently the officers of the branch of the Christian Social Union were elected.

The Common Cause
7.4.16
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The Status of Women After the War.

Speaking last week at Caxton Hall, at a meeting organised by the Women Writers' Suffrage League, on "The Status of Women After the War," Mrs. Fawcett expressed her belief that the progress of the Women's Movement had been much more rapid in the last twenty months than during any similar period of its previous history. Taking actually accomplished political facts, full Suffrage and eligibility had been won in Denmark, Iceland, and Manitoba, and there was a confident prospect of it in Alberta and Saskatchewan. There was also evidence of progress and marked change of public opinion in our own country. The tone of the Press had improved. Every newspaper was teeming with appreciation of the patriotic enthusiasm of women and the excellence of their work; many papers had avowed their conviction that Women's Suffrage must be conceded, and many well-known anti-Suffragists had courageously avowed a complete change in their opinions.

Mrs. Fawcett attributed this change mainly to two causes: first, the whole-hearted enthusiasm with which women of all classes had thrown themselves into active, unselfish work for their country; secondly, the splendid quality of the work which they had shown themselves able to do. This was, of course, no surprise to Suffragists, who had always known that the national habit of not employing to anything like their full extent the industrial and professional capacities of women was a waste of national resources and the worst kind of national extravagance. So long ago as August, 1914, the Executive Committee of the National Union had approached the War Office authorities with regard to training women in order that they might be able to take men's places in certain employments during the war, but their suggestion had been absolutely disregarded. If this advice had been taken women would have had many extra months for training in the various kinds of occupations which they were now being urgently pressed to undertake. Even now, notwithstanding the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service, no steps had been taken by the Government to open the higher posts of responsibility to women in the Civil Service. There was trade unionism in high places as well as trade unionism in the workshop.

Passing to the question of women's position in the future, Mrs. Fawcett said that she did not believe there would be the "sex war" that some people were prophesying. The same faculties, both material and spiritual, which had enabled people successfully to overcome the difficulties of the early part of the war would enable them to face the industrial problems which would arise after the war. On the material side, it must be realised that the nation is not made rich by keeping the female half of it doing work much below its natural capacity and ability, but by making full use of all resources and by being alive to the new wants of the world. On the spiritual side, a sense of brotherhood and common aims had been greatly strengthened by the experiences of the war, between men and women and between employer and employed.

After reviewing some of the splendid work that had been done by women during the war—notably that of the N.U.W.S.S. Scottish Women's Hospitals—Mrs. Fawcett expressed her belief that all this first-rate work, and the popular attention which had been drawn to it, must make an enormous difference to the professional status of women. When they knocked again, as they assuredly would, at the doors of the legal and other professions they would not find the same dull, stupid resistance to their demands which they had found up to the present. The same line of reasoning applied to women in the industrial world. The national necessities of the war had led to an industrial revolution, which was probably as great and as important as the breakdown of serfdom and villeinage in the fourteenth century caused by the Black Death. Women were no longer being kept out of the skilled trades—as they have been in the past—but were being urged on all sides to enter them. They had shown, as *The Round Table* (March, 1916) puts it, "an adaptability and capacity which has upset many cherished beliefs and undoubtedly made a deep impression on the public mind." After the war it would be necessary for us as a nation to use to the utmost our productive capacity, and it would be more than ever evident that it was a suicidal policy to shut women out from occupations in which they had shown their capacity to do good work. They could never go back into the industrial serfdom of the past, and this in itself would have an immense influence not only on national welfare but also on their political status.

The experiences of the war had, Mrs. Fawcett thought, brought us far nearer to the realisation of our hopes about the franchise than we had ever been before.

8. 4. 16

702/52

THE PREVENTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT AFTER THE WAR.

[By FREDERICK ROCKELL.]

IV.—Spending and Employment.

If it be true that the under-consumption of commodities is a prime cause of unemployment, it logically follows that the time when it is most necessary to spend lavishly is at the very moment when the danger of widespread unemployment is to be apprehended. In other words, and in emphatic words, **the cure for unemployment is to spend money.**

In the past, this common-sense axiom has been so much disputed by orthodox economists, that I am glad to be able to present an influential body of opinion in support of this axiom.

It will be remembered that when the war broke out, the greatest danger which was apprehended in these islands was from widespread distress due to unemployment. In those first days of the war, before our naval supremacy was assured, it was feared that the shortage of raw materials, and the difficulty of exporting our manufactures would cause works to be shut down and thus create a scarcity of employment. The very fear that this would happen accentuated the danger. For any expectancy of being thrown out of work—and that expectancy was pretty general—is a natural inducement to husband one's resources. If a man expects to be thrown out of work next week, he will defer buying that carpet he had promised his wife, or the piano he meant to buy for his children. He will make the old overcoat do, and his wife will postpone the joy of buying a new bonnet. And such a general postponement of making purchases must, it is obvious, hasten the closing down of the factories where these articles are made.

This danger was at once seen by some of the wiser heads in the community, and I here propose to quote some of the advice given by eminent people on how to prevent unemployment. That danger was averted, as we know; but the advice will equally apply to the new danger of unemployment which will arise after the war.

First, then, let me quote Mr. John Burns, who, after resigning from the Cabinet, was made chairman of the sub-committee appointed by the Local Government Board to advise the Government as to the prevention and relief of distress. In a memorandum issued upon unemployment in the furniture trade, Mr. John Burns endorsed the advice given to public authorities and religious bodies and all bodies and persons having control of town halls, churches, libraries, assembly rooms, and institutions—

> to at once place orders for any renewal of furniture which would be needed in the next few months, and for any renovating, french polishing, re-upholstering, and similar work which would improve their premises.

Speaking for himself, Mr. John Burns said, in conclusion:—

> I hope that the great army of ordinary householders will not only have their renovating done now rather than next spring, but will also resume the buying of furniture, thus encouraging the retailer to restore his stocks to normal proportions.

Let me next quote the Hon. Pember Reeves (the director of the School of Economics). Speaking to an interviewer, he said:—

> The greatest service a man with a fixed income can do is to go on living as he has done, and spend at least as much as he did before. The important thing is to remember that you may easily carry saving too far at a juncture like this. The great service the ordinary man can render the community is to spend wisely, and so maintain employment.

It is necessary to remark here, that these pieces of advice I am quoting do not refer to the present time, when employment is plentiful, and the need is for more saving rather than for more spending. Keeping in mind, therefore, that these admonitions were made at a time when a veritable avalanche of unemployment was threatening, I may next refer to an article written by Miss Mary Macarthur, in the "Daily News," where, after summarising the records, at the beginning of the war, of unemployment and short time in numerous industries which largely employed women, she made this emphatic pronouncement:—

> The important thing, when all is said and done, is not to devise all manner of new-fangled proposals, for the prevention of unemployment, but to see **how best demand can be maintained** and the ordinary wheels of industry kept running.

To advise that demand should be maintained is to advise the spending of money; advice which was thus picturesquely enforced by Mr. W. L. George, one of the most promising of our modern writers on social questions. Said Mr. George:

> The remedy for unemployment is to spend freely. Men and women who decide to forego the new hat, the autumn lounge suit, who make their evening clothes "do until the war is over," are hurrying our trade to its doom. They must buy as many clothes as ever—buy more, if only to give Shoreditch and the Isle of Harris something to do. Spend and spend more, is a good motto for the coming months. Let the young couple not hesitate; there is no waste at all on the purchases of furniture, linen, plate, and kitchen goods which are wanted for their home.

Lest some of my readers should think that all this advice was superfluous, particularly now that the cry is all for retrenchment, let me remind them that it was partly because this advice was given and acted upon that serious unemployment was prevented; the other reason being that the rapidly increasing demands of the War Office for men absorbed those that were thrown out of work.

I cannot do better than end this chapter by quoting from Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, who, I believe, were the very first, after the war started, to point out the right way of preventing unemployment. For in the "Daily News" of August 6th, 1914, two or three days after war was declared, an article appeared by Mr. Robert Lynd, giving an account of an interview with Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb. Said Mr. Webb:—

> The key to the whole situation is the prevention of unemployment. Make sure that people go on getting their wages. Keep people from being thrown out of employment. That is the vital thing.

And how prevent unemployment? Mr. Webb made many suggestions. Here is one which urged more spending:—

> If there are any public works to be undertaken, let them be undertaken now, and not postponed till the war is over. This is the time for public bodies not to save money, but to spend it.

This is the important thing, in our investigation, to bear in mind. It is of no use waiting until a serious state of unemployment is in our midst, and then trying to relieve it. Our plans must be well laid in advance, so that there shall not be any unemployment to be relieved.

South London Press
London Rd
14.4.16

WOMEN WORKERS AFTER THE WAR

Dr. Marion Phillips and Some Problems That Will Arise.

EQUAL WAGES FOR EQUAL WORK.

In her address to the South London Ethical Society on Sunday evening at the Surrey Masonic Hall, Camberwell Newrd., Dr. Marion Phillips dealt lucidly and cogently with the problem of "Women Workers after the War."

The lecturer described how, after a short spell of serious unemployment in the luxury trades caused by the outbreak of war, large numbers of women were absorbed by the trades supplying the Army and Navy with clothing, food and munitions, a considerable proportion being drafted into trades which so far had been exclusively in the hands of men. In her opinion the problem which we shall have to face after the war, and which it behoves us to study and prepare for now, will not be so much one of finding new work for the women whose places will be claimed by the men returning from the war, but mainly one of readjusting the conditions of employment with a view to averting grave social disorders and a ruinous competitive struggle between men and women.

Dr. Phillips emphasised the imperative necessity of an enlightened policy of reorganising industry with a view to increasing the productive power of the mass of the workers, since only by these means will it be possible to repair the enormous wastage of war and to avoid a period of economic depression. She condemned as impracticable and retrograde all suggestions to revert to old manufacturing processes and scrap new machinery which has been introduced since the beginning of the war in order to speed up production and utilise unskilled and semi-skilled labour.

While fully sympathising with the position of trade unionists who, at the price of tremendous struggles and sacrifices have won recognition for a number of rules and safeguards regulating output and conditions of work, and whilst deprecating any attempt to pull down the standard of living won in this manner by the men's trade unions, by using women's labour to undercut men's wages, Dr. Phillips is against the policy of excluding women from any trade for which women are physically fitted. She hopes that the efforts of both men and women will be directed towards securing equal wages for equal work and a legal minimum wages both for men and women. She also advocates a widening of trade union organisation so as to include all the various grades of labour in one particular industry, and last, but not least, she hopes that the workers will be given a share of responsibility in the management of the industry they are engaged in.

The hope of the future lies in human solidarity, in the substitution of co-operation for the bitter class struggles of the past and in a greater regard on the part of both employers and workers for the good of the whole community.

Railway Review. 19.5.16.

702/54

FEMALE LABOUR.

SIR,—In the report of the first full meeting of the Triple Alliance, published in the "Review" this week, I notice that among their decisions was the following: "That all workers, whether men or women, who have been employed as substitutes shall be on their disemployment provided with other work at the standard living rate or with full maintenance by the State."

Now, Sir, I submit to you that, so far as the women are concerned, this requires a little explanation. In the first place, I suppose the miners or transport workers will hardly be affected so far as the invasion of women in their ranks are concerned, at least, most certainly not to be compared with the railways, therefore it most directly concerns us as railwaymen. Let us examine the position. We have always been given to understand that the women were engaged only for the duration of the war, and that the men who had gone to the colours, and whose places had been temporarily filled, were to get their jobs back again after the war. Now, that seemed to be fair enough, but according to the above decision of the Triple Alliance they, to my mind, are not going to improve matters, but rather complicate them by their action. For instance, if when a man comes back to his work from the Army and the women have to be found another job it is 99 chances to one that the job found for her would be one which was usually occupied by a man before the war. The companies or the Government would simply have to make positions for them at the exploitation of the male sex. This would be robbing Peter to pay Paul.

The alternative to this, according to the Triple Alliance, is that the women are to receive State grants. Paid by whom? By the workers, of course, thus increasing the taxation! This may be all right, and, on the other hand, it may not. I venture to suggest a little explanation would be acceptable on this point, but I would like to draw attention to the fact that to my knowledge a great number of the women employed on the railways, "arising out of the war," are in fairly comfortable financial circumstances. Some are soldiers' wives in receipt of allowance, the husbands of others are working on munitions making good money, while a large portion are single women. (*Note.*—Railwaymen's widows are conspicuous by their absence.) This being so, I do not think it necessary to provide them with either other jobs or State allowance. These women are reaping their harvest now, and, in justice to them, I do no think they wish to exploit the position after the war, which is just what would happen if the decision of the Triple Alliance in connection with women on the railways were allowed to materialise.—Yours, etc.,

R. WATSON,
Chairman, Liverpool No. 4 Branch.

Daily Dispatch
2.6.16.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

Problem of the 2,500,000 Workers.

To the Editor of the Daily Dispatch.

SIR,—It is stated that over two and a half million women and girls are now engaged on munitions work, and there is already indications that a large number of them will desire to hold on to their work after the war. I am not accusing any section of lack of patriotism, but already, through their organisations, they are indicating that this contention will be put forward.

Obviously the invasion of the labour market by women will continue, for whatever happens there will be an increasing number for whom marriage cannot solve the difficulty. It is therefore necessary that their place in industry should be understood, and if very regrettable trouble is to be avoided when the soldiers return to civil employment, trade unions must define that position in the working world and adjust their regulations to admit of women and men working amicably side by side, and without the one taking an unfair advantage of the other.

St. Helens. TRADE UNIONIST.

Newcastle Journal 10-4-16.

READJUSTMENT OF LABOUR.

WOMEN'S WORK AFTER THE WAR.

Dr Ethel Williams presided over an adjourned conference of the Newcastle Women's War Interests Committee, held at the Burt Hall, Northumberland Road, on Saturday afternoon, to consider the position of women in the readjustment of labour after the war.

At the outset, Dr Williams said that they would all recognise the difficulties under which that committee laboured. They were trying to meet a series of emergencies which would involve the trade unions and labour interests generally. Therefore, the committee asked for forbearance in their inexperience, and for help to enable them to go forward and surmount the difficulties before them.

They knew that women were filling positions they had never filled before, and were creating difficulties for themselves and for the men, and unless they joined together she felt certain that they would sharpen for the hands of the capitalist a two-edged weapon which would fall on men and women alike. In the absence of Mrs Simm, Miss Andrew moved: "That this conference urged the Education Department to take into consideration schemes for the technical training—with a maintenance allowance—of boys and girls between 14 and 16 years of age, such schemes to be financed partly by the Department, partly locally.

Mr Lough of the ShopAssistants' Union seconded.

Mr Drake (Class Teachers' Association) moved as an amendment: "That this Conference, recognising the supreme need for the fullest development and most complete organisation of the brains of the nation, demands that the Board of Education and the local education authorities take immediate steps to provide full-time secondary education up to the age of 16 for all children who pass through the primary schools, maintenance to be made from the public funds where necessary; and, further, urges the Board of Education and the local education authorities to take into consideration schemes for the continued day education of boys and girls who have entered the ranks of industry, such day continuation schools to provide sufficient technical education which ought to be in close touch with the industries in which the pupils were engaged."

Mr Basket, Shop Assistants' Union, seconded. The amendment was carried by a large majority.

702/53 Daily Express. 19.6.16.

LABOUR AFTER THE WAR.

Mr. Steel Maitland is right in insisting that preparations should be begun at once for dealing with the labour problems that must follow the war. There must be difference of opinion concerning the steps that should be taken. There can be no doubt that the nation has two insistent duties. The first is to secure for the disabled and partially disabled soldiers at least the same standard of comfort that they enjoyed before joining the colours. The second is to ensure for the men who have passed physically unscathed through the ordeal of battle their old places in the industrial ranks. Victory would itself be shameful if it were purchased with misery and discomfort for the men who have risked their lives for those of us whose lot it is to stay at home. At present, thanks to the number of men in the Army and to the enormous requirements of the Government, the demand for labour exceeds the supply. These extraordinary Government orders will cease with the war, and the day after the Army is disbanded the labour market will be flooded. The question of the employment of women complicates the problem. Women are now doing work formerly monopolised by men, and generally they are doing it very well. We do not believe that more than a small proportion of these women will be willing to abandon comparatively good wages for the pittance of domesticity. In considering the future the permanent competition of women must be borne in mind, with the consequent economic necessity of the equal wage.

It is obviously the duty of private employers and public authorities to postpone new enterprises until after peace, whenever that is practicable. This cannot be a solution of the difficulty, but it would certainly be what the Fabians used to call a "palliative." The real problem will be the provision of many more adequately paid jobs than existed before the war. The Overseas Dominions want men. It is, too, a matter of common agreement that the land in Great Britain might support thousands more men if some workmanlike scheme of home colonisation could be agreed upon. Many soldiers who used to work in factories will have determined to spend the remainder of their days in the open air, and from their ranks the colonists for Canada and the English counties will be drawn. Others will be eager for their old work. The trade unions have shown a splendid patriotism in modifying their rules to meet the national emergency. They have done so on the definite pledge that the rules shall all be restored after the war. The aim of trade unionism has been to ensure employment at a maximum wage for the maximum number of workers, and they have quite openly advocated a restriction of the output of the individual worker. In view of the large number of men for whom work must be found, this restriction will inevitably be again demanded—possibly with fatal results in face of the necessity of rebuilding national industry and commercially fighting the Ger-

PROBLEMS OF THE LABOUR MARKET.

"The nation which can adjust itself most quickly after the war is going to have the best look-in; it is important that we should be better prepared for peace than we were for war," said Mr. Steel Maitland, M.P., addressing the Birmingham Workers' Educational Association on Saturday on the labour situation after the war.

"In my talks with secretaries of trade unions and large employers," he stated, "I have found prevalent a sort of fatalistic feeling that we are going to have an awful time in industry after the war. One way to make a trouble like that inevitable is to sit down and consider it inevitable. We ought instead to try to spread the feeling that the community is not going to have it.

"Men who come back from the war will look to be reinstated, and that, I take it, is our first duty to them. In a great many departments we are short-handed, and certain districts are 75 per cent. short of the full number of men they should use. On the other hand, the men who come back will displace a great many men and women who have been taken on in their absence, and these will have to be drafted back again. Many industries are closed down for lack of hands, so that it will be possible to reinstate at one removal a large number of men and women.

"We shall have to do everything possible for men who are so disabled that they cannot follow their old occupations. In this connection comes the question of the land and land settlement schemes. I think there is every likelihood of settling on English land more people than were there before the war, and that will further help to relieve the situation.

"Whether as a government or a municipality or as private individuals we should schedule the work which we can do, keep it as far as possible until the end of the war, and then be ready to give it out rather freely. I am not at all sure that it would not be a good thing to have both employer and employed completely organised."

1,750,000 WOMEN.

Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., addressing a railwaymen's meeting at Bath yesterday, said the problems of the moment were as nothing compared with the problems which we would have to face when the war was over.

"No man," he said, "can contemplate with any degree of satisfaction any intention of throwing out of the industrial arena 1,750,000 women, and therefore it is our duty to deal with the situation in a practical way. We have no right to set up a sex war, but we have a right to say that no employer shall be allowed in future to take advantage of women's labour as a means of reducing the value of men's labour. Where women are doing the work of men they should be paid the same rates as men."

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Dundee Courier

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WOMEN WORKERS AFTER WAR.

All Will Be Required For Trade.

Emigration Must Be Avoided.

(Special to the Courier.)

The position of women is revolutionised by this war. In some respects the revolution will be for good; in others for evil. Whether the good or the evil preponderates will depend largely upon how we prepare for the problems peace will bring. We were unprepared for war, and for our unpreparedness we are paying dearly in blood, in money, and in sorrow. To some extent we were excusable, for we did not, as a nation, expect this war. But we know for a certainty that peace will break out before long. There will be no excuse for unpreparedness in that case.

What Failure Will Mean.

If we fail to prepare we may have fierce competition between men and women for employment, a beating down of wages and living standards, and in the process a degradation of womanhood that will be bad for the State. On the other hand, if we fairly and squarely face the conditions the war creates, and intelligently anticipate the problems of peace, if we prepare to stand by the women in the coming peace as the women are standing by us in this critical war, then the difficulties which a dislocated labour market, high cost of living, and abnormal taxation will necessarily bring will be, to a large extent, smoothed out beforehand, and men and women will be able to work together for that revival of industry and regeneration of society that will be necessary.

It is not too much to say that our future will rest upon the way in which we treat our women workers—upon the manner in which we tackle the problems created by the large accession of women workers to the ranks of industry. Just as this war has put the fighting qualities of our manhood to the supreme test, and has subjected the spirit of our womanhood to a severe trial, so will the coming of peace put our statesmanship, our capitalism, and our trade unionism to some considerable strain.

How shall we treat the vast numbers of women who have taken up industrial and commercial work during the war, and who will not wish to relinquish this work when peace returns? The chief issues cannot be faced too soon. Apart from such questions as rates of wages, hours of labour, health conditions, and Trade Union organisation, the big problem of general employment will need to be tackled in no half-hearted manner. To these women who have come forward to serve the nation in its hour of trial—to release men for the fighting forces and to keep going our industries in the men's absence—we shall owe an obligation not less great than we shall to the men who return from the war.

A Big Labour Question

Roughly, we may assume that two or three million men will be released from the army, and another million from munition making, when peace is declared. That in itself will create a big labour question. But in addition to that we shall have to reckon with a large permanent addition to the number of our women workers.

In the first place, the loss of, say, half a million men in the war—husbands or potential husbands—will involve something like the employment in wage-earning occupations of a similar number of women. That, of course, will not make much difference to the general employment of labour question. But over and above that we may take it that the increased burden of taxation we shall have to carry in consequence of the war will have the effect of throwing out of employment large numbers of domestic servants. It is probable that hundreds of thousands of well-to-do families will reduce their staffs of servants under pressure of high taxation and food prices.

In the next place, the same causes—high taxation and dear food—will probably result in millions of working-class families sending an additional daughter out to work for wages, the mothers doing their own household work unaided. We may be certain that just as this war necessitates men fighting, the results of the war will impose upon women much more work than they have experienced for a generation or two. After the war it will be the women certainly as much as the men, and very likely more than the men, upon whom we shall have to rely to help the nation, by their thrift in the home and their work in the factory and the shop, to capture and maintain the national position.

More Female Labour.

The chief point I wish to make, however, is that one of the results of this war is going to be an enormously increased volume of female labour available for employment, a volume that will far outbalance the loss of male labour we shall suffer by the war.

What are we going to do with these women? Are we going to welcome them as helpers in the upbuilding of our industries, the revival of our trade, and the recuperation of our national finances, or are we going to treat them as competitors, if not enemies, to be fought and beaten out of the labour market?

I suggest that the problem before us is not how to push the women out of situations to make room for the men, or to emigrate either men or women under the impression that there is going to be bad trade and lack of employment after this war, but that it is how to absorb all the labour available, both male and female, in productive industry, such as agriculture and manufactures, and especially how to employ our women in commercial occupations, such as office and shop work, to release the men for more productive work, in order to produce all the commodities we possibly can for ourselves, to reduce our imports of foreign goods, to get the largest possible surplus of products for export, to pay for the war, and to put our trade balance and finances right. Not only is there every need for us to protect, organise, and develop our productive industries, to employ all the men and women possible in the production of wealth, but we have all the natural resources necessary for a great expansion of our industries and employment, both in agriculture and manufactures, and there is also every probability of a great trade boom soon after peace is declared

All Workers Required.

There is sure to be a period of unemployment—of industrial disturbance—immediately after the war while trades are being readapted to peace conditions, and during this period the Government would be well advised to make grants to the unemployment funds of our Trade Unions and to give out-of-work pay to non-Unionist workers, both men and women, so that there will be no temptation for our people to emigrate After this temporary period we shall require all our workers.

One of the most certain economic results of this German-made war will be an increased demand for British-made goods. Not only shall we ourselves refuse to purchase anything like the £80,000,000 worth of German goods we have hitherto imported annually, but our Colonies and Allies will boycott German agents and products after this. To the countries with which Germany is now at war she was exporting goods to the tune of £400,000,000 worth a year before the war. Now she has hit and offended nearly all her best customers. This will be reflected in a hugely-increased business for us. There will be an enormous demand for British manufactures. We shall be able to employ both our men and women without their emigrating, and the conditions under which we shall employ our new women workers, who have displayed a magnificent aptitude and patriotism in the war period, are matters to which we cannot give a too early or too serious attention.

Sussex Daily News

25. 4. 16.

WOMEN'S WORK.

THE Minister of Munitions has referred more than once in terms of high praise to the work which women are doing in munition factories. In some respects, he declares, they do their work better than men. No one wishes for a moment to mitigate this compliment, nor the many well-deserved praises which are being accorded the women of this country for their splendid energy and willingness to learn. But their fine response in stepping into the breach carries with it its own problems, and if we do not recognise them now we shall be forced to do so later. Of the demand of the trades unions that they shall be paid the same rate of wages as men it is unnecessary to treat here. Presumably, the unions can look after themselves in this matter, and they seem to be doing so pretty effectively. In this particular respect, however, it would seem that the interests of the nation call for the same safeguards. It must be remembered that there is still a vast store of female labour untapped, and that as the present schemes of dilution progress more and more will inevitably be drawn into industry. They will begin as unskilled workers; in due course, and with feminine adaptability, they will become skilled, and fresh unskilled female workers will take their places. This is a process which need not be discouraged for a moment, but it is necessary to realise precisely what it involves. After the war we shall be faced with two separate phenomena in industrial life. The first will be a shortage of capital, the second a superabundance of labour. New labour will have been drawn into industry to swell the returning millions of men from the front. If all these tendencies were to proceed unregulated, it is not difficult to figure an age of unemployment such as we have never known, and of a grim struggle for sustenance among the working classes. For this reason it is evident that, in the interests of every class in the country, and not least of the employing class, every precaution should be taken to prevent the market being thus flooded with labour. The problem hinges on wages. If women have been receiving the same wages as men no employer will long hesitate between the two. It will be, it is true, a process of dislocation for these many women workers to return to domestic life; but the dislocation will be trifling compared with the results that would follow their retention in any considerable numbers. The war will be followed by a condition of violent flux, in which the whole structure of society will be beset with dangers. This is one of them. But it is a danger which can be minimised by means of due circumspection. It is necessary, to this end, to emphasise in every possible way the temporary nature of every revolution in the established habits of industry.

The Daily Telegraph, 9-5-16.

WOMEN WORKERS.

DURING THE WAR AND AFTER.

One of the surprises of the war has been the revelation of unsuspected national resources in our women workers. Women had always taken their place in the factory, and they had been gradually penetrating the office, chiefly as typists and telephone clerks. But as it became necessary to release more and more men for military duties, more and more women had to be drafted into works and office staffs, and the supposedly indispensable man has often been replaced without serious loss by the adaptable woman.

There can be no doubt that these new workers have proved a remarkable success. Their industry, patience, loyalty, and intelligence have confounded the critics. They have shown themselves capable of filling many posts hitherto regarded as male preserves.

On these facts two reflections arise. In the first place, it is doubtful whether we are, even now, making the most of these newly-revealed capacities. The prejudice which restricted women's work in the office to shorthand and typing is gradually giving way, but there are still many employers who fail to realise the efficiency which women have displayed as bookkeepers, organisers, designers, buyers, and sellers. If we are to fulfil our threefold task of furnishing men, munitions, and money, the business abilities of our women must be utilised to the fullest extent and to the best advantage.

In the second place, this influx of female workers will present us with some difficult problems after the war. No doubt some of the new workers will go back to the home, but many of them will have acquired a taste for business life, and others will find themselves obliged to continue working by the loss of those on whom they were dependent, or by the pressure of high prices and taxation. A proportion of these may find their opportunity in replacing men who have been killed or disabled, but we must not forget that there will be some millions of men to be reabsorbed into the labour market, many of whom have been promised reinstatement in their old positions.

The pledges of reinstatement are a debt of honour which must and will be paid. It is clear also that it would be disastrous if employers were to yield to the temptation to use cheap female labour for cutting the rates paid to returned soldiers. How, then, are we to prevent large numbers of women who have become dependent upon their own earnings from being thrown into the ranks of the unemployed?

EMPLOYMENT AND SUITABILITY.

The answer seems to be that we must learn to regard female labour from a new standpoint. Hitherto the main reason for employing it has been its cheapness. Having fewer dependents, or being themselves partially maintained, women would do the same work as a man for less money. After the war it will be necessary for us to take longer and broader views. To take advantage of the opportunities which will be offered us and to meet the competition which we shall have to face, it will be necessary that we should make the best possible use of every brain and every pair of hands in the country. While we cut down ruthlessly all waste of money or labour, we must look rather to increasing our business than to diminishing our wages bill, and suitability and efficiency, rather than mere cheapness, will be the qualifications for employment.

"Suitability," in fact, is the key to the problem. Experience has shown that there are certain kinds of work which the average woman can do more efficiently than the average man. Both in offices and in shops many posts hitherto held by men could be filled by women with a real gain in efficiency, thereby releasing men for work which women are disqualified from performing by physique or circumstances. The task before us is so to organise the nation's business that our women workers shall be attracted to those forms of employment in which their special qualities are of most value, while men are diverted to other work. In the increased business resulting from better organisation there will be room for both.

The Times. 29.5.16.

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WOMEN WORKERS AFTER THE WAR.

Dr. Ethel Bentham, presiding on Saturday at a conference of the Central London Branch of the Women's Labour League at Kingsway Hall, at which 127 women's societies were represented, said many new vested interests were being created every day, and in England it was never very safe to meddle with vested interests. So far as she had been able to see most of the married women who had taken up hard physical work were the better in health.

Mr. Fred Bramley, organizer of the National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades' Association, said there was danger of a conflict between women now employed in industries and the men who would come back to those industries. He did not accept the view that women would be cleared out of factories in large bodies after the war.

Lloyd's Weekly News. 28.5.16.

WOMEN WILL STOP.

NOT TO BE TURNED FROM FACTORIES AFTER THE WAR.

Woman's position in industry after the war was discussed at a Women's Labour League Conference at Kingsway Hall yesterday.

Mr. Fred Bramley, organiser of the National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association, said he believed there was a great danger of a conflict between employers and the men's unions respecting the employment of women, and a conflict in which the interests of women would not be looked upon as of primary importance, and there was also the danger of a conflict between women now employed in industries and the men who would come back to those industries.

There was an idea that after the war, when the women no longer filled an emergency, they would be cleared out of the factories in large bodies, but he did not think any such change was going to take place. He said that with a full knowledge of all the agreements arrived at with the Government and other institutions.

Dr. Marion Phillips said there should be no objection to a woman remaining in a position where she had proved her capacity. A dock labourer or a coal miner should not be a woman.

Express/Review
21.3.16

THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN AFTER THE WAR.

Miss Margaret Bondfield was the principal speaker at a conference called by the Shop Assistants' Union (London Women's Council). She urged the necessity of women making themselves as efficient as possible, even if after the war the men were in many cases going to occupy their old positions. It was very necessary that the Government should be prepared with a scheme to deal with the displacement of women which would take place at the end of the war, and the women must make themselves acquainted with what was likely to happen, so that they could place the facts before the proper quarter when that time arrived. Before the war ended, women would be called upon in larger numbers to take the places of the men called up, and they must watch very carefully the situation as it developed, and qualify themselves to serve on the various committees that the Government was setting up all over the country, with a view to protecting their own interests. In the work of the Union they must take an active part, and be prepared to shoulder the responsibility of official position. The growing number of women acting as branch secretaries showed that they were realising this, and it was very essential that the whole machinery of the organisation should be kept going until the men returned. It was very essential, both for themselves and for the men who had gone, that they should stand out for at least the Union's minimum rate of pay. Where women were expected to do the same amount of work as a man, and shoulder the responsibility, they should be paid exactly the same. Whatever other effect the war might have, it would certainly give the women more power than they have ever had before. The knowledge they gained in filling the places of the men would have to be used for the public good. Trade unionism itself would have to adapt itself to the new industrial conditions, and it was very necessary that women should organise more strongly than ever before. The fact that the Manchester Women's Council of the Union were having their annual meeting on the same day showed that the women shop assistants were quite as eager as the men in trying to uplift their conditions of employment. Only a few short years ago and what was really happening now seemed a dream. The women present had made it a reality. If they would go back to their branches carrying the enthusiasm of that meeting with them, and determined to push on the good work, it would not be many years longer before many other things they had dreamed of also became realities.

Edinburgh Evening News
10-6-16

One of the most interesting topics which can be discussed in this series of articles is the position of our women in war time. Everyone has noticed the changes brought outwardly by war—the employment of women in public services and in many occupations formerly a monopoly of men. There are other aspects of the prominence of women. Those who have attended public functions, indoor and outdoor, in connection with the war must have noticed the great growth in the attendance of women and girls. Their interest in recruiting has been particularly lively. Often they have stood on the streets for two hours at a time, listening closely to speakers and encouraging them in every way. The patriotism of women is even firmer than that of men, and great, indeed, will be the disappointment among them unless the peace secures substantially all for which the Allies are justly contending. Women, without doubt, are now keener students of public affairs than ever before, and as a consequence they are much nearer the acquisition of the Parliamentary franchise than in pre-war days.

Two Schemes of Demobilisation.

After the war is over there will be two great schemes of demobilisation—that of the soldiers and of women workers, now in so many new lines. Very many women will be dismissed from numerous lines. Much, of course, will depend on the individual. Competent women or girls may in some cases keep what they hold; but others who are not thorough in their methods will be dispensed with. There never was so much makeshift in Edinburgh business as to-day. Short roads are being taken to everything. Even the lawyer uses the telephone when in pre-war days he would have dictated his 6s 8d letter. We shall not get back to all our old methods; but business thoroughness must largely reassert itself after the war, and the jobs will be there for competent men when they return. Business training is after all not a scratch thing, and the remnants of manhood left free by Cockburn Street have developed many grey hairs by attempting to train substitutes for our soldiers.

The Temptation of Money.

There are many tasks which women have accepted merely because the money is tempting. Particularly is this so in connection with public conveyances. The business of a conductor on a tramcar must be fairly tiring; but it presents advantages to that of a girl on the back step of a motor 'bus, who is often standing all the way, and, as her garments show, is nearly suffocated by dust. The postwoman cheerfully does her work, but the outdoor business in all weathers is one which will readily be recaptured by men, as will most employment demanding stamina. In shops men will again be welcomed in the heavier lines, and for general direction; while in commercial establishments it is not too harsh to say that the less clever girls are merely being tolerated [illegible] returns.

Edinburgh Evening News 10-6-16

Phenomenal Amount of Unrest.

At present, it is the opinion of a lady with the most thorough knowledge of women's work in Edinburgh, there is a phenomenal amount of unrest among working women and girls. A mania to have a change of employment seems to be raging. The officials at the Labour Exchange and elsewhere know something about this. The desire for altered conditions of life has particularly been marked among domestic servants, a large class in the Scottish capital. As a result of the war many hotels were closed and establishments were cut down; but servant girls have gone into so many different forms of employment that mistresses will now give any terms for competent servants. The ex-servants are in everything from tramcars to munitions. Some time ago a batch of 40 to 50 servants, mostly of superior grade, went to Birmingham for munition work, and as an earnest of their desires paid down 24s each for the railway fare. The demobilisation of women will undoubtedly affect the servant class, and following the war there will not, as to-day, be a scarcity of servants.

General Increase in Pay.

All over there has been an increase in pay to women, and concessions have often been made to retain them in their old employment. A shortage of hands has recently been reported in the dress trades, once affected by war depression, and even in this line advances in wages have been necessary, as many girls have left to "better" themselves. Regarding the necessity of training, to which reference has been made, here is another illustrative point. There is a considerable demand for women gardeners. Many English situations are open, and two or three in the Edinburgh district; but obviously the untrained eye and hand are of no service in the gardens. Lately at the Labour Exchange there has been an increasing number of soldiers' wives desiring work. They are the wives of men who have been called up under the Derby Scheme, and their anxiety is to keep the home together. They find the Army allowance now quite inadequate, but their case should to some extent be met by the operation of the Civil Liabilities Scheme. Some of the women have gone back to occupations followed before marriage.

Behaving Splendidly and Patriotically.

All over Edinburgh women are behaving splendidly and patriotically. In saying so we express the opinion of a lady—Parish Councillor Mrs Naismith—whose knowledge of social conditions of working-class Edinburgh is most extensive and broad-minded. There are undoubtedly women who do a great deal of drinking, and whose condition brings scandal on whole neighbourhoods; but their evil habits have merely been accentuated by the war, not formed by it. Generally speaking, in working-class homes the mother is responsible for the rent. Never were rents paid more punctually to the exact amount than now, and paid by women who have not the least taint of alcohol about them. The last May term may well be called a "record" for Edinburgh, so full were the payments. Women largely have really built up this record of honesty.

Hard Home Battle.

It cannot be concealed that women in the homes are fighting a particularly hard battle to-day. The stiffness of the fight is not always realised by those who are near them—husbands and children. Many young people, benefiting considerably by advances in wages, have considered themselves before their own homes; while husbands are in many cases quite oblivious to the fact that food prices since the war have risen, according to local statistics, 56.3 per cent. compared with the beginning of the war. Not only has the cost of eatables advanced, but everything used in the way of clothing and all manner of household essentials—from notepaper to matches and candles—have risen in price. War bonuses and overtime money have not always come the way of the housewife who has to keep things going with less real money and often little sympathy.

What is Really Needed.

Touching again on the recurrent question of behaviour of women, there has been a great deal too much talk and too little kindly action. Women offenders, like men of criminal disposition, have declined in numbers. Compared with a year ago, the number of women in the Calton Prison is 74, against 85 at the concluding date of last year, and 98 at the end of May, 1914. It should be borne in mind that women are sent from various districts for detention at Regent Road, and when allowance is made for them the Edinburgh total is not considerable. In the prison where the women are kindly dealt with, the victims of wrong-doing are at first nervous and ill at ease. Each possesses a heart. Women prisoners cry and promise amendment when they are talked to by sympathetic visitors. Numbers of soldiers' wives have been placed in bondage. The penalty they pay is tremendously severe. Homes and children are temporarily lost. What is the prospect before some of these women when they are free? We hear a great deal about Prohibition and temperance work among women. Many of the addresses at temperance meetings are delivered to those who require no counsel to keep on the right path. They are firmly walking along it. But we do need in Edinburgh the care and sympathy of woman for woman, and specially for those poor women who have been so much in the public eye and have received so much censure. A woman's question is being put when it is asked whether all the ladies in Edinburgh with leisure endeavour to stretch out a helping hand to a weaker, struggling sister? By operating on the individual rather than on the mass great social improvement and happiness are brought about.

Manchester Guardian
3-7-16.

The text of the bill which the Government has introduced to extend the provisions of the National Insurance Act relating to unemployment to all trades engaged in the making of munitions and in other forms of war work as a means of meeting the conditions resulting from the restoration of peace was issued on Saturday.

The measure is presented by Mr. Pretyman, and supported by Mr. Harcourt and Dr. Addison, and the second reading will be taken in the House of Commons this week. It will come into operation on September 4 next, or later if the Board of Trade consider a postponement necessary.

Women Workers Included.

The proposal is to bring under the provisions of Part II. of the National Insurance Act and the amending statutes, every workman (a term which, of course, includes women) who is engaged on, or in connection with, munition work as defined by the Munitions of War Acts, except such classes of work as the Board of Trade may by order exclude, and every workman who is employed in the following trades:—

(1) The manufacture of ammunition, fireworks, and explosives.
(2) The manufacture of chemicals, including oils, lubricants, soap, candles, paints, colours, and varnish.
(3) The manufacture of metals and the manufacture or repair of metal goods.
(4) The manufacture of rubber and goods made therefrom.
(5) The manufacture of leather and leather goods.
(6) The manufacture of bricks, cement, and artificial stone, and other artificial building materials; and
(7) Saw milling, including machine woodwork, and the manufacture of wooden cases.

The measure also applies the existing Acts to employers, while the Board of Trade will be given power under the new bill to extend its provisions to any other trade or branch of a trade in which a substantial amount of munition or other war work is being carried on.

When Contributions and Benefits Cease.

So far as the measure imposes on employers and workmen a liability to pay contributions, it will cease to have effect at such date as the Board of Trade may by order determine, not being later than five years after the commencement of this Act, or three years after the termination of the present war, whichever of these dates may be the later, and so far as it confers on workmen a right to receive benefit in respect of such contributions, it will cease to have effect at the expiration of six months from the date so determined or at such later date as the Board may fix.

The Board will prepare accounts, so far as practicable, showing separately the estimated receipts and expenditure of the unemployment fund in respect of workmen insured under this Act, and if the accounts indicate that at the date when benefit ceases to be payable the payments out the Unemployment Fund for the purposes of the bill exceed the aggregate amount of the receipts, the Treasury will repay the estimated amount of such excess out of moneys provided by Parliament.

Common Cause
30-6-16

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After the War.

Towards the end of the second year of the war it is none too early to begin to ask "what shall we have to do next?" and it is a question to which the answer becomes every day more difficult, while the chances of chaos and confusion "after the war" become daily more certain. The changes in the conditions of labour, in prices, profits, and wages, and in the economic outlook of governments and individuals have completely swept away most of our old theories. Compared with the great upheaval of the world that has caused these changes, they seem almost insignificant; and yet in the future it is they, and not the fighting itself, that will be of consequence. The system of considering history only as a series of dates, kings, and battles has been justly abandoned, and it is the business of those who are not themselves in the fighting, to try now to remember the ultimate proportions of the history we are living through.

As soon as we begin to consider the changes of the present and the chances of the future, problems arise which seem almost insoluble. We have so little to go upon, and so much uncertainty still before us, that very little clear thinking, and still less useful action, seems possible. Nevertheless, we must think as best we can, and act as best we may, for merely to do "war work," or to read the war news is to shirk our share of the business.

At the very outset of our thinking, we find that we are living now without method and by necessity, using up our capital, not only of life, but of wealth and productive power. We find that the old adjustments upon which we used to live are being swept away from us, and there is very little left to guide us.

A concrete example of this confusion is the question of the training of girls and young women. What ought we to do with them in view of "after the war," and what are we doing?

The first thing we see is that their possible spheres of work are now enormously extended; the artificial barriers between "men's work" and "women's work" are still breaking down daily, and no one can judge how far that particular anomaly will ever be built up again. All the problems of wages and competition, of Trade Unionism and State control of capital bear on this question, and the future disbanding of the army threatens it with complete confusion. And yet, in spite of its difficulty, it is a problem we cannot neglect now, for the girls have their lives before them, and even if we do nothing but "wait and see" we have already taken action. Must we then train them for these various trades and professions? And if so, what of their children? Must we not rather train them for motherhood? Already, backed, or perhaps inspired, by the natural fear of cheap female competition, a clamor has begun to make ready "after the war," to force women back out of the labour market into their homes. What are we to do about that? The homes are not there, and for more thousands of girls even than before they will never exist. What, then, of their wages, and how are they to live? If we forbid them to earn wages because of their hypothetical children, must we not pay for their living because of those children? And what then of the need to increase the productiveness of England "after the war"? If the girls are skilled producers of goods, must we force them to stay idle? There is no end to the questions that arise, and the compromises with which we answered them before need more revision than we are giving to them.

And while these and a hundred other similar problems face us, what is actually happening is that the young women are rushing gladly and inconsiderately into every blind-alley opening, urged on by their longing to "do their bit," by the abnormal wages they can get, and by the novelty of the whole proceeding. After the war they will have to rush out again, either because the men they have replaced are back, as on the 'buses and trams, or because the work they have done is over, as in the munition factories; and there they will be, thousands of young, strong women, accustomed to independence and work, unmarried and without the expectation of marriage, swelling the great disbanded army of the unemployed. And yet it is not at all clear that they are wrong in doing as they do. The shells must be made, and the 'buses conducted, and the most that could be done now would be to select and sort the women offering work, so as to put those who need not work for life into the temporary work, and to offer training and a safer opening to those who know their need will last.

Such classification is very difficult, and the organisation needed for it is entirely lacking; so, too, is the co-ordination of training centres and the distribution of information, and this list might be indefinitely extended. In fact, amid all these difficulties and confusions, one thing is clear, and that is that foresight and provision for "after the war" are absent. One other thing is clear, too, and that is that women will have to take their share of responsibility and action in the settlement of all these problems. We shall, no doubt, build up new and still imperfect compromises "after the war"; but they may be less one-sided, and it is possible to hope that they may be less confused if, when the time of reconstruction comes, women as well as men are consulted.

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to accept a wo[illegible] side voluntarily, because good men candidates are sc[illegible] or because it is the fashion just now to extol women's services. In the long run, the period of truce may be an advantage to us, if it is spent in self-education and development. It is a good rule in politics not to bark until you are strong enough to bite. Most Women Citizens' Associations are in the ingratiating, tail-wagging stage at present. But if they develop as they should, the time will quickly come when party leaders and agents will wake up to find that there is a new force which has to be reckoned with.

ELEANOR F. RATHBONE.

Chrisham Commonwealth 6

23/2/16.

Industrial Women Combining.

I suggested some time ago that the time was surely come when steps should be taken to form a standing joint committee of the industrial women's organisations for the purpose of taking combined action on matters of common interest and importance. I understand that a temporary committee has been formed with this intention. The proposal was considered at a meeting convened by the Women's Trade Union League, and the various organisations concerned will be invited at a further meeting to consider a proposed constitution drawn up by the Women's Labour League. The Women's Co-operative Guild, the Railway Women's Guild, and the Federation of Women Workers, as well as the two organisations named, were present at the preliminary meeting and will be invited to the next. Meanwhile, the industrial women have agreed to act together in preparing a register of working women for nomination to the local pensions' committees. This is a considerable step forward. The position of women in industry after the war will be one of the most serious problems that organised Labour must face, and it is a decided advantage that in the discussions to come industrial women should speak with one voice.

Daily News & Trader 28.6.16

THE FUTURE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Among the grave problems with which demobilisation, both military and industrial, will bring us face to face, that of the position of women in industry will be one of the most perplexing and important. The record of women workers in the past eighteen months has been beyond all expectation, and, speaking generally, beyond all praise. In certain vocations it is probable that they will permanently retain the position they have gained. But there is no hope, unless a new era of unprecedented prosperity is in store, that employment will be available after the war both for the men who come back and the women who now fill their places. It is consequently of extreme importance that the danger of cheap and reasonably efficient women's labour being exploited to the detriment both of themselves and of more highly-paid male workers should be foreseen and provided against.

Some attention was given at the congress of the Women's Co-operative Guild yesterday to the means by which the industrial interests both of men and women might best be safeguarded. Two practical proposals were advanced, one stipulating that women should be guaranteed the same wage-rate as men, the other providing for a general minimum wage of £1 a week. It is on the whole unwise to lay stress on a definite minimum wage while women's industrial position is uncertain as it must be until stable peace conditions return. Insistence on the £1 minimum would mean that in the industries now regulated by Trade Boards many of the workers would be more likely to lose their employment than increase their earnings. In some cases it might be well that they should, but that question is better settled by the Trade Boards—and the Trade Board system has so convincingly proved its value as to make its application over a much wider field desirable—than by a uniform and rigid adhesion to a particular minimum figure. But the essential point of agreement is that the conditions governing women's industry in the immediate future must be strictly supervised. The demand that women and men should receive equal wages for equal work is perfectly just, and the best safeguard against exploitation is the Trade Union. It is of the first importance, therefore, that the Trade Union movement should be widely extended among women. At the same time it will be necessary to remember as a general principle—perhaps the reminder is superfluous—that if the labour market will not absorb both men and women it is in the interests of society that it should first absorb the men.

Daily News 30.6.16.

AFTER WAR PROBLEMS.

Reconstruction Committee's Comprehensive Labours.

The Prime Minister in March last appointed a Committee of the Cabinet, of which he is chairman, to consider and advise upon the problems that will arise on the conclusion of peace.

Any suggestions or other communications from individuals or organisations bearing upon these questions should be addressed to Mr. Vaughan Nash, C.V.O., C.B., Secretary of the Reconstruction Committee, 6a, Dean's Yard, Westminster. It is not expedient in the public interest to specify the nature of many of the inquiries which are being undertaken.

LABOUR LEADER'S ACTION.

At the House of Commons last evening a special meeting was held of representatives of the Labour Party, the General Federation of Trade Unionists, the Parliamentary Committee to the Trade Union Congress, and the Workers' National War Emergency Committee, to consider the question of dealing with after-war problems affecting industry and the workers generally. Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., presided, and it was agreed that a sub-committee, consisting of three members from each of the four organisations should go fully into the question and report to a future meeting.

WOMEN AFTER THE WAR.

The Board of Trade, in a pamphlet issued by the Board of Trade Advisory Committee on Women's War Employment (Industrial), for the use of their local committees urge that difficult questions such as the reinstatement of enlisted men after the war, the limitation of the new employment of women to the duration of the present emergency, and the like, should not be deferred, but faced immediately and settled by the employers and the workers at once.

Daily News 30.6.16

THE MUNITION WORKER.

GOVERNMENT'S BOLD SCHEME.

AID AFTER WAR.

UNEMPLOYMENT EVIL TO BE AVERTED.

By Our Lobby Correspondent.

The Government have decided on a bold scheme to safeguard the interests of munition workers when their employment will suddenly cease at the close of the war. It is one of the most serious problems which will confront them when peace comes, for all over the country an enormous number of workers will then suddenly find their employment gone.

A Bill has been drafted at the Board of Trade, which was formally introduced by Mr. Pretyman yesterday, to bring all the munition works and factories in the kingdom under the provisions of the unemployment part of the National Insurance Act. This means, of course, that all munition workers on the passage of the Act will have to contribute their 2½d. per week, and the employers the same amount per worker, in addition to which the State makes a proportionate contribution.

It also means that on the cessation of their employment workers will at once receive unemployment benefit weekly, which may range from 7s. a week upwards according to the rates prescribed by regulation for particular trades. Since the State thus steps in and offers to assume what, in the peculiar conditions, will probably be a far greater financial responsibility than can be covered by the contributions paid before peace is made, it is hoped that workers will loyally accept the obligation of contribution. Incidentally, it may be recalled, the employer pays the two contributions, deducting the workers' payment from his wages. The Labour Party have not seen a draft of the Bill, and will study its provisions closely before expressing their opinion.

Some of the munition trades, of course, were included in the original Act, which first scheduled for unemployment benefit seven trades building, construction of works, shipbuilding, mechanical engineering, iron founding, construction of vehicles,

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Daily News · 30.10.16

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Some of the munition trades, of course, were included in the original Act, which first scheduled for unemployment benefit seven trades—building, construction of works, shipbuilding, mechanical engineering, iron-founding, construction of vehicles, and saw-milling. But a large number of munition trades are not included in the Act, and they will be brought in en bloc. This could be done in detail, after inquiry, by the Board of Trade administratively, but it would be a very cumbrous process, and a short Act is the better method.

A. P. N.

Cotton Factory times.
7-7-16.

702/60

SHOULD WOMEN BE CLEARED OUT?

WORK AND THE WORKER AFTER THE WAR.

PENALISING SEX.

By ALICE SMITH.

In a very recent issue of the "Factory Times" a front page contributor records his emphatic disagreement with some remarks of Mr. J. H. Thomas M.P., the assistant secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, on the question of women's labour after the war. Speaking at a public meeting Mr. Thomas appeared to give the idea that if the war ended to-morrow the women who had been brought ended to-morrow the women who had been brought into industry through the war would not have to leave those industries. In opposition to such an attitude the "Factory Times" contributor states: "We claim that the solemn obligations to the men who went away will necessitate those women going out as quickly as possible, to say nothing of the fact that it was universally acknowledged that the women brought into industry through the war were doing work that is not congenial or natural to a woman. To half admit, as Mr. Thomas seems to do, the right or necessity of these women to stop in the men's places a moment longer than is absolutely necessary appears to us to be an encouragement to employers and capitalists to keep them there, and we know that many of them will only too readily do that. We must get the women back again into the home as soon as the war is over. That they ever left it is one of the evil results of the war."

With this contributor I disagree, just as emphatically as he does with Mr. Thomas. Let us examine and deal with his statement in detail. First of all: "The solemn obligations to the men who went away will necessitate those women—who were brought into industry through the war—going out as quickly as possible." These solemn obligations, i.e., that every man entering military service should be reinstated in his previous occupation on his return, were, I believe, entered into universally, and so must in their discharge affect both men and women. I know these promises were made in the Lancashire spinning mills in departments where females were not then employed, so evidently the intention was that any man taking over the job of a man who had enlisted should surrender this job on the reappearance of its former owner. This being so, why this constant allusion to women only in this respect?

All Will Not Return.

Unhappily, many of our fighting men will never return as our casualty lists sadly testify, and many more will not be able to follow their ordinary occupation. Who is to take the places of these men? Will the women who are already carrying out the duties satisfactorily be forced to abdicate in favour of a man thrust out of another job, and who must first of all incur the expense of training? For instance, will a woman tram conductor who is in the place of a man who never returns be forced to give way to a spinner, say, who is out of a job because his job has been reclaimed by the man who left it on enlistment? If so, then it means that women are to be penalised on account of their sex, and the talk about "solemn obligations" is so much cant. If it is fair for women to yield up their places to our fighting men on their return, it is equally fair for men and boys to do the same.

The statement goes on: "It was universally acknowledged that the women brought into industry in consequence of the war were doing work that is not congenial or natural to a woman." By what standard of judgment is this universal acknowledgement arrived at? From physical or mental capacity? If physical one can but compare the occupation of a bank clerk, an occupation strictly confined to men before the war, with the occupation of a woman chain-maker of Cradley Heath, or even a woman textile worker of Lancashire. The women clerks one sees in banks look very much healthier and happier than the women who work in the cotton mills. I should say that bank work from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. is much more congenial to women than eating dust and collecting moisture for ten hours a day in cardrooms and weaving sheds. If the standard is a mental one, then we can compare the woman doctor and woman teacher of pre-war days to the man who performed the very useful but monotonous, duty of carrying bricks up a ladder. The plain truth is, that, with the exception of cases where the woman has been able to afford some expensive training, the work considered most natural and congenial to women has been the ill-paid labour, not considered sufficiently remunerative for men to undertake, starvation jobs except where the women are well organised.

If They Are Retained.

What are we to gather from the statement that many employers will only too readily keep the women in place of men who have gone away? It seems to me there are but two reasons; either that women perform the duties more satisfactorily or perform them more cheaply. If the former is the case, then it cannot truthfully be said that the woman is unfitted for this particular work. And if she is pushed out by the return of the man she will surely oust him later by competition, unless she is debarred from re-entering industries which she has successfully negotiated. The domestic sphere is generally conceded as the sphere of women, though why it is considered more womanly to cook a big dinner, scrub floors, and bake a batch of bread than to measure a yard of cloth or sign a cheque, I can never make out. It is certainly more fatiguing. But the domestic duties are not reserved for women. We have male cooks, male waiters, male domestics, male milliners, male dressmakers, and male nurses. Ah! but these men have won their places (generally the most remunerative) by competition with the women. Just so! So why cannot women have the same chance to compete in other occupations? If it is because these women are cheaper that they would be retained, that it is a matter of trade union organisation and largely the fault of the men who would not admit women into their unions, and who have always either advocated or acquiesced in the theory that woman's work was not worth so much as that of a man, apart from its character. Where the men have been on the alert and insisted on the same rate of wages for the women as for themselves, it will resolve itself into a matter of competition, in which, if we have any love of fair play, we ought to let the best one win, subject, of course, to trade union regulations.

A Strange Determination.

The determination to get women back in the home as soon as the war is over seems strange, coming as it does from Lancashire, where females have been in industry for over a century. It is understood in Lancashire as a normal thing for women and girls to work, so why not in other places? A great number of females, in all parts, would have no homes of their own to return to if unable to earn a livelihood in industry. If woman is denied the right to earn her own living it means that she must throughout her life, sponge on some man, father, brother, husband, lover. National necessity has brought out one outstanding fact, and that is, given the opportunity, woman is capable of playing a better role than that of a parasite. She has shown that in times of crisis she is capable of carrying on the work of social production. I do not agree that woman's entry into industry is an evil result of the war. Woman, to some extent, had already entered industry, and her entrance in greater numbers has proved her to be adaptable, dependable, and courageous to a degree previously unimagined. It is good that woman should develop these qualities, good for herself, to free herself from sex-bondage, and good for the offspring to whom she will transmit them. For centuries women have been regarded as an overgrown child, to be cajoled or commanded, whichever was considered most necessary at the moment, but national stress has loosed the fetters that hindered her development, and I do not believe that she will ever resume her former position any more than a grown man would again try to don the little suit that he wore at school. And why should she? If man is entitled to earn his own living with the corresponding independence that accompanies such a proceeding, why should not woman be in the same position? Not one man has risked life and limb on the battlefield but for whom some mother has risked life and health in child-birth. Not to one sex goes all the dangers of life, and not to one sex should go all the advantages of life. Let us have things in their true perspective. Let women have equal opportunities with men, and pull together for benefits for both. There are other alternatives more worthy of trade unionists than driving women out of industries, and one is the shortening of the hours of labour for both men and women. To attempt to exclude the women merely on account of sex now that women are aware of their own capabilities, and have needs to satisfy, will but make them a constant menace to the men. But to retain the women, to organise them, to insist on equal pay for equal work, is to shut off the supply of cheap labour to the capitalist, and thus render their own position all the stronger.

Sheffield Independent
15-7-16.

Mobilising the Women.

Lord Meath has been expressing his views upon women's work for the State. He said: "If the war were to last they would probably find that the women would have to go through the same course as the men, and that they would all have to be mobilised. When they had got all the women they could voluntarily, they would find that there would be an outcry against those who had not come forward, and the women, he felt sure, would be as keen as the men against shirkers." We certainly hope that if such a condition were to arise the women would show more discrimination than the men, and that they would not permit themselves to be bluffed from stage to stage as the men did. And we don't believe they would. Women have finer powers of discrimination than men.

* * *

Glasgow Independent
Glasgow, Lt.
15-7-16.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

To CORRESPONDENTS.—Letters intended for insertion must be authenticated by the Name and Address of the Writers, not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of good faith. It is requested that correspondents write only on one side of the paper. The publishers cannot undertake to return rejected communications unless accompanied by stamped and addressed envelope, nor can the Editor enter into correspondence in regard to MSS.

COMPULSION (TO WORK) FOR WOMEN

(To the Editor of the Glasgow Citizen.)

Sir,—I do not know if "Yendys" will consider that his letter "has caught the right eye" when that eye is mine. But, at anyrate, I have read the letter. Apparently the writer advocates compulsory work for women, "between the ages of 18 and 45, married women with young families excepted." Had women the vote I would see no harm in this. If they had the privileges that men have, assuredly they should perform such duties as the State considers necessary, as men do, for the country's welfare. But to compel voteless women would be nothing else but slavery.

There are many of us working at munitions and other works, as voluntary workers, even though we "be dressed-up dollies." We are glad to work and do our bit, but if the State tries to compel us, up and down the country there will be in many cases an instantaneous cessation of work. Many women, not even Suffragists, have declared they would not be compelled to work, like chattels.

"Yendys" should be careful before stating that women are to-day idling away their time. Even working on a twelve-hour shift there are moments when the worker may be out enjoying life. If women were idling, how would the work of the country be done, now that five million men are under arms?

In another paragraph of the paper, we learn that a new work is being done by women, the loading and unloading of ships. Each day more and more work is being done by women. They do it gladly, because they do it of their own free will. To compel men who are citizens is more or less commonsense; they, at anyrate, have the remedy in their own hands. To talk of compelling women, who have no means of expressing their views, would be treating them as slaves.

I hope women will be alert and vigilant, and not allow such a wrong to be perpetrated. Women are as patriotic as men, and, because they are the daughters of men who love liberty, they will never submit to their freedom being taken from them.—I am, &c.,

EUNICE G. MURRAY.

July 11, 1916.

Sir,—I have just read in to-night's "Citizen" a letter by "Yendys" regarding work for women. I am a widow, my only son is a soldier, and I have my two little girls to work for. When women workers were called for in Glasgow, I registered myself at College Street Labour Bureau sixteen months ago. I called every Tuesday for months, but never received any work. My minister wrote to a manager in a large munition work, but, like "Soldier's Wife," I suppose I am too old at forty, although I could possibly do more work than many young women. It is the soldier's mother and the soldier's wife who could work, so if "Yendys" could do anything to get me into work I should be very grateful to him, as I am feeling the pinch very much.—I am, &c.,

A SOLDIER'S MOTHER.

July 10, 1916.

Herald
Aug 5 1916

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SCOTTISH NOTES

THE Glasgow I.L.P. and Trades Council held a successful demonstration on Glasgow Green on Sunday to demand "national control of the food, fuel, shipping, and other essential services as the most effective means of securing a reduction in prices." The approval given to the demonstration by all classes of the community, except the profiteers, indicates that people are getting tired of the Government's inactivity regarding profiteering, and in Glasgow they are demanding the establishment of a municipal retail market where the people would be able to buy their food supplies free from the clutching hand of commercialism. As one speaker said wisely, the Government not only expects the workers to pay the shipowners' excess profits tax and shareholders' dividends, but also to build up reserve funds to enable the shipowners to augment their fleets after the war.

The old-age pensioners are having a desperate struggle to make ends meet on 5s. a week, and doubtless many of them are being hurried to their graves because of the callous indifference of the Government to their lot. In Edinburgh 152 old-age pensioners have been obliged to enter the poorhouse as they found it impossible to live on the 5s. allowed them by a Government composed of profiteers and their accomplices. Soldiers' dependents are also complaining bitterly about the way their allowances are pinched by the food-robbers and the health of the children is suffering accordingly. The Government would be well advised to act at once if they are anxious to avoid a repetition of the rent-strikes, which caused so much strife all over Scotland last autumn.

The aliens resident in Glasgow are taking effective steps to protest against the Order in Council compelling them to enlist in the British Army under pain of deportation if they refuse to comply. There is a considerable colony of Russian exiles, Jews, Lithuanians, and Poles in Glasgow, and the majority of them are political refugees who have sought asylum here because of the persecution which they endured in Russia and other countries through their opposition to conscription and autocracy. A committee has been formed to protect the interests of the aliens concerned and to advise them as to procedure before the special Tribunals. The Lithuanians, most of whom are miners and Socialists, have their own paper, which no doubt will keep them advised as to their position.

The Scottish churches are taking an active part in the War Economy Campaign, but are evidently disinclined to enforce economy in their own circle. Thus we find that in Glasgow the "city" churches cost, for the year ending June 30, 1916, the sum of £4,619, while they only produced a revenue of £1,397, thereby involving the ratepayers in a net loss of £3,222, which amount approximates to the average annual deficit on these churches over an extensive period. The churches in question are only meagrely attended, and if the ministers in charge cannot attract self-supporting congregations then they ought to be subsidised from Church and not from public funds. We hope the ministers who are urging economy for others will not fail in economy themselves. The maintenance of "city" churches should not be a burden thrown on to the common people.

Those interested in industrial compulsion will be concerned to learn that "a contingent of soldiers, formerly following the occupation of

Daily News & Leader
9-8-16

WOMEN AFTER THE WAR.

Just Claim to a Voice in the Industrial Settlement.

The Prime Minister, on account of the pressure of the war, has declined to receive representatives of fourteen constitutional suffrage societies on the subject of the new register. They have now placed before him a statement in which they repeat that any new voting qualification or any extension of the register will compel them to raise once more the question of woman suffrage.

They point out that the exclusion of women from the register will be more intolerable than ever after the war when the problem of the readjustment of men's and women's labour has to be faced. "It is impossible," they say, "to ignore the fact that the entry of large numbers of women into skilled occupations hitherto closed to them and the discovery by employers of the great value of their labour may possibly produce an apparent clashing of interests between the sexes, and that in the solution of the problems that will arise the aid of Parliament may be invoked. It is contrary to every principle of British justice, as well as of democratic government, that such an issue should be dealt with by a body upon which two of the three parties to the dispute—the employers and the men workers—are fully represented, but over which the women workers have no control."

They also put forward the strong claim to representation of the women who have given their husbands and sons ungrudgingly for the defence of their country.

Daily News & Leader.
9.8.16.

The Belfast Corporation yesterday refused to co-opt Mrs. McMordie, ex-Lady Mayoress, as a Councillor for the Pottinger Ward on the ground that the electors had not given a mandate for the admission of women to the Corporation.

WHAT OUR READE

Government and J ws.

G. Brandt and W. Chadwick (Oxon), secretaries, write from University Union, Manchester, on behalf of a group of Jewish students, giving a statement of the views of the rank and file of Russo-Jewry with regard to the new Conscription proposals. In drawing up this statement the group has endeavoured to avoid throughout the expression of its own personal opinion, and merely to present the case against the proposals as it appears to that huge majority of Russo-Jews whose ignorance of the English language prevents them from pleading their own cause. The statement is very able and thoughtful. It is too long for reproduction, and in any case some of the points have already been made in our columns. The conclusion is as follows:

We are convinced that the scheme as suggested by the Government places Russian Jews in a worse position than Englishmen. The sacrifice demanded from them is entirely disproportionate to the rights and privileges which they enjoy, and in return for which it is asked. Their British co-religionists have performed to the full extent their duties as British citizens and have amply shown their patriotism. But Russian Jews are in a different position, and different duties must be expected from them. In the framing of the scheme no consideration has been given to the peculiar political, social, and economic position of these Jews.

We appeal to the British Government and to the public to see that in this war on behalf of the weak and small nationalities, justice will be done to the weakest and to those who have no country at all.

The Committee of Delegates of the Russian Socialist Groups in London send us a strong criticism of the further statement of the Home Secretary in the House of Commons on July 24. They show that despite t
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The Herald
Aug. 5, 1916

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The Herald

with which is incorporated the "Daily Herald."

EDITED BY GEORGE LANSBURY.

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THE RIGHTS OF MACHINES.

IN all times and seasons the capitalist mind remains the same. Engaged in what they profess to regard as a war for human freedom, the capitalists cannot fling off their old habits of mind, or believe that the workers are really men like themselves. British citizenship, they tell us, is a glorious possession; but they cannot see that citizenship is valueless if the life of the citizen is warped and thwarted by the conditions under which he works. War or no war, the employer still regards the worker as a wage-slave, part of the plant of the factory from which he draws his wealth. The worker is a machine, with one important difference. If a machine wears out, the owner must replace it at his own cost; if a man wears out, the owner can hire another in his place without loss.

This point of view is clearly illustrated by the current issue of the *Times Engineering Supplement*, a publication which all Trade Unionists who like to know what their employers are thinking would do well to read. The first leading article in this number is entitled "Holidays for Machinery," and the opening deserves quotation and comment. Dealing with the decision to postpone holidays indefinitely, it makes these remarks: "*It must be remembered that, even if the human element of the factory is capable of working seven days a week for long periods without a rest, it is certain that the machinery equipment of the workshop fails to respond to the whip of necessity to the same extent as the worker. All who are familiar with workshop practice are aware that it is impossible, whatever may be the endurance of the machine-minder, to overload the machine itself without reducing it to a condition which may seriously affect output.*"

This must surely take away the breath of every decent man who reads it. In our philosophy, the machine was made for man and not man for the machine; in our philosophy, machines have uses, but men have rights. In the philosophy of capitalist production, everything is reversed. Men have their uses, because they can be made to yield a profit; machines have their rights, because they cannot be replaced without loss. Man was made for the machine; and in place of the sanctity of human life we have the sanctity of expensive machinery.

A system based upon so callous and inhuman a philosophy cannot stand. This is our firm and constant belief; but we must not disguise from ourselves the difficulties of overthrowing it. It is deeply rooted in our social and industrial life; it is an integral part of capitalism and of the sordid trade of profit-making. It can be changed only by the revolt of man against the tyranny of the profiteer and the machine, by a firm determination on the part of the workers so to organise as to win control of their working lives. Against the machine philosophy of capitalism, we must set the human philosophy of Socialism; in place of the domination of man by the machine we must set the domination of the workshop by the workers.

In some respects the events of this war may be bringing us near to our goal, by awakening in the working class a new spirit which will make them no longer content with the old conditions. Labour has received so many proofs of the fact that the whole fabric of society rests upon it that some at least of the lessons must have gone home. But, if the war has brought some spiritual gains to the workers, it has brought immense material gains to the employing class. In many ways the war has given the capitalist his chance, and the use he has made of it is amply illustrated in this single number of the *Engineering Supplement* which we have taken as our text. The second leading article is suggestively headed "Women and Engineering," and its object seems to be the provision of hints to employers as to the best ways of keeping on women after the war. We speak without hostility to the introduction of women into industry, and we can claim to be among the best friends of women workers. But women themselves will be the first to realise the dangerous character of the proposals made by the *Times*. There has been, we are told, a "deep-seated opinion" that "so valuable a source of labour supply must be utilised by the engineering industry for manufacture after the war"; but "it has not been easy to see how woman was to be assigned a permanent place in the workshop without such an upheaval of old traditions as might precipitate a bitter industrial struggle." But now, it seems, a remedy has been found. Those "associated with a well-known firm" are to establish a factory in Scotland on a permanent footing in which women only are to be employed. While we are certain that there are few branches of engineering work in which such a factory could at present hope to succeed, the idea is full of danger. Trade Unions have been guaranteed the restoration of pre-war conditions; but how does this apply to new establishments? It looks as if some employers intend to establish factories in the country, where Trade Unionism is weak, and there to take on cheap women's labour for the purpose of undercutting standard rates. Any such project requires careful watching, and it is well for Labour to have the plans of manufacturers revealed by the capitalist Press.

The fourth leading article in the same issue of the *Supplement* also invites notice. It refers to the British Industries Association, a projected grand national capitalist combination which, while its main object will no doubt be that of "dishing" the foreigner, will certainly not hesitate to dish the British workers if it gets the chance. The formation of such combines, and the manner in which British employers are seeking for means to make permanent the advantages gained during the war, point to the need for a great awakening on the part of the workers. There are two ideals before us. The capitalist sees in the events of the war an unprecedented opportunity for a demonstration in Prussian efficiency. Cheap labour, aided by scientific management, is to drag down working-class standards and to make the individual worker, more than ever before, a cog in the wheel of machine production. The power of Trade Unionism is to be broken, and capitalist greed is to find free play for profiteering and exploitation. That is one ideal which is being set before us for the days after the war—the ideal of capitalism, of reaction, of the *Times Engineering Supplement*. But there is a better ideal towards which the working class must strive. We shall only defeat the base idealism of the capitalists if we can set against it a noble idealism of our own. In place of servility we must exalt personal freedom; in place of bureaucracy, we must put the free association of the workers. Trade Unionism must become idealistic, and must set before itself a wider aim. Otherwise, with the material forces arrayed against us, we shall slip back after the war into a worse tyranny than we have yet endured. The *Times* has its ideal: for the capitalists, profits, and for the machine-minder, endurance. Our demand must be for a social system based upon self-government, in industry no less than in politics. True efficiency is to be found not in the machine-made and degrading methods of capitalist Prussianism, but in the free play of democratic intelligence. It is for the workers to choose which they will have, and, when the time comes, to back their will by deeds.

19.8.16 ~~19.8.16~~ 702/63 666 702

Daily News & Leader

Daily Mail 23.8.16

AFTER THE WAR.

IV.—THE TWO MAIN PUZZLES: WOMEN IN INDUSTRY AND "SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT."

By SIDNEY WEBB.

We have seen that, whilst the grant of a constitution to the factory and the mine may be the only way to prevent the Industrial Conflict to which the autocracy of the employer will inevitably bring us, no constitutional machinery, however perfect, will, in itself, supply a solution of the problems of industrial organisation. We are warned by a whole century of experience that not even the most effective democratisation of control will prevent a disastrous lowering of the Standard of Life without the adoption of regulations, and especially of systems of remuneration, that will automatically counteract this constantly working tendency of competitive employment. Not even the fullest representation of the workers on joint committees will avail to prevent the recrudescence of such anti-social devices as Limitation of Output, Demarcation Disputes, and the exclusion of those "who have no right to the trade" on the part of workmen who, owing to the failure of their representatives to solve the problem, feel their accustomed livelihood slipping from them. The two main difficulties which the Government has to face, in any reconstruction that will not only prevent Industrial Strife, but also, in the words of Mr. Asquith's new pledge, "secure a fairer distribution amongst all classes of the products of our industries," are the entrance into occupations hitherto monopolised by skilled craftsmen of women and other new workers; and the great extension of the piecework which is an element in what is known as "Scientific Management."

Now it is not irrelevant to observe that the difficulty of solving both these problems will be enormously increased or diminished according as the Government fails or succeeds in preventing unemployment. If the influences now at work to dissuade the Government from undertaking the "very serious responsibility" of daring to touch "the labour market" should prevail; if the Cabinet should decide against such a deliberate organisation of the housing, school-building, road-making, and the mass of other public orders that must anyhow be given sooner or later as will keep the aggregate demand for wage-labour approximately level, and thus substantially *prevent unemployment*, then any satisfactory solution of the two main puzzles may well be impossible. Against being thrown into a sea of unemployment all the trades will fight like tigers.

Six-and-a-Half Million Women Workers.

Let us take first the case of the women and other new-comers in the skilled trades. There are now probably six-and-a-half million women "gainfully occupied" in the United Kingdom, as compared with five-and-a-half millions five years ago. There are apparently nearly 300,000 more than just before the war in the principal industries; over 200,000 more in commercial establishments; over 9,000 on the railways and 7,000 in other transport work; over 63,000 more directly in the national and municipal departments—altogether perhaps 650,000 who have come in during the war, but 100,000 of these have merely shifted from domestic service, etc. Thus the war has merely increased the total number of "gainfully occupied" women by as many in two years as they increased during the preceding four or five years of peace. But besides this not very important quickening of the pace, there has been a new opening of gates. Women have been put to many kinds of work hitherto supposed to be within the capacity of men only; and they have done it, on the whole, successfully. In the same way many thousands of unskilled labourers have been put to new jobs, many of them hitherto reserved for skilled men; and they have rapidly become expert at these tasks.

Keeping up the Standard Rate.

Whether or not we can get over this difficulty peaceably depends, it is necessary to repeat, on whether or not there are, in the first year of peace, thousands of men walking the streets unemployed. If the Government lets this happen (as It is this delicate adjustment that the Government will have to make, perhaps by one of the devices suggested below (*prescribing minima only*, and securing by law the rigid enforcement of the minimum rates thus fixed). Only at this price can very serious trouble be averted. The same principle applies to the newly introduced unskilled men. It could equally be applied in solution of the difficulties presented by Demarcation Disputes, and by the admission of outsiders to a trade.

No less grave and no less complicated is the difficulty presented by the employers' insistence on what they call "scientific management." This American invention (as to which Hoxie's "Scientific Management and Labour" should be consulted) aims at greatly increasing output. As to much of it that concerns the greater use of machinery, the provision of the very best appliances, the better organisation of the factory so as to avoid waste of time or discontinuity of work—all this amounting to a severe indictment of the knowledge and capacity of our own factory managers—we need say nothing here. Nor need we criticise the application of brains to find out how each job can be most efficiently done, least of all the discovery of the proper intervals of rest and change of motion so as to minimise fatigue. What is dangerous is the introduction (and this is an integral part of the scheme) of payment by the piece, without any guarantee for the maintenance of the standard rate. One of the changes of the past two years under the Munitions Acts, which the Government has pledged itself to reverse, is a vast extension of piecework, in one or other form, to jobs formerly paid for by time rates.

Workmen and Piecework.

What is the workmen's objection to piecework—an objection in which they are now upheld by all instructed economists? It is that, however liberal may be the piecework rates fixed at the outset, managers and foremen cannot refrain, and never do refrain, as is proved by a whole century of experience in all countries, from sooner or later "cutting" the rates, when the workmen have increased their output (and the intensity of their effort). This is, of course, a fraud on the workers, who have been tempted to substitute piecework intensity for timework intensity; and then eventually find themselves giving piecework effort for no more than their old timework earnings. The standard rate of pay per unit of effort is thus subtly lowered. Against this every workman revolts. The result is, if not a series of embittered strikes, sullen resistance to "speeding up," more or less concerted limitation of output, refusal to make the best of machines, "ca' canny" in all its forms—in short, the parlous state into which this ill-considered and, in fact, fraudulent action of the employers had brought some of our factories prior to the war.

Their Objections.

Now, workmen do not really object to piecework as such—they usually prefer it, and more than half the trade unions actually insist on it. But what every instructed trade unionist fights against is a system under which the piecework rates (a) are autocratically fixed by the employer; or (b) are not settled by collective bargaining; and (c) do not embody some effective safeguard against a subsequent "cutting of rates," either for the same or similar jobs, or for all the work of the trade, contrary to the implied agreement to maintain the Standard Rate *per unit of effort*.

What has to be discovered and adapted to the special circumstances of each industry, is some permanent and automatically acting brake on the successive lowering of the piecework rates—not in order to ensure that the individual workman shall take home undiminished earnings (comparatively a minor matter), but in order to maintain undiminished for all the workmen in years to come the Standard Rate per unit of effort. The problem has been solved in some industries; in fact, a whole wealth of experiment, hitherto usually ignored by employers and trade unionists in other industries, as by the

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EDUCATED WOMEN'S WORK AFTER THE WAR.

FROM LADY BRYCE.

To the Editor of *The Daily Mail*.

Sir,—In view of the anxiety which is being felt in many quarters about the position of educated women after the war who have been temporarily filling the places of men, it is perhaps well to make a public announcement that the Central Bureau for the Employment of Women is specially occupying itself with the investigation of the matter and its practical treatment.

The bureau deals with many thousands of educated women every year, and has, therefore, a wide experience. Particulars of new openings and how to enter them are offered to the younger women, for whom there is an urgent demand in new and permanent occupations. Our Information Department is open to all inquirers. We invite the co-operation of all who are interested in plans for reconstruction and reorganisation.

E. MARION BRYCE,
Chairman of the Executive.

Central Bureau for the Employment of Women,
5 and 6, Princes-street, Cavendish-square, W.

[illegible] supplied to the [illegible] city of men only; and they have done it, on the whole, successfully. In the same way many thousands of unskilled labourers have been put to new jobs, many of them hitherto reserved for skilled men; and they have rapidly become expert at these tasks.

Keeping up the Standard Rate.

Whether or not we can get over this difficulty peaceably depends, it is necessary to repeat, on whether or not there are, in the first year of peace, thousands of men walking the streets unemployed. If the Government lets this happen (as it need not) the unemployed men will naturally not be satisfied with anything less than the fulfilment of the nation's solemn pledge, and the ousting of the women from their avowedly temporary employment. This many employers will resist or evade, even to the extent of setting up new factories, and calamitous will be the resultant bitterness. On the other hand, if there is still work to be done, and no competent skilled men are unemployed, it would be difficult to argue, after the war as during the war, that the services of the women and of new classes of men should not be utilised. What the workmen would then mainly object to would be the chance—indeed, the certainty—of the women and unskilled men being used as a means of undermining and reducing the standard rate. If the Government takes steps (as it quite well can if it chooses) to make such a misuse of female or unskilled labour impossible, as well as to prevent unemployment, the trade unions might properly agree to release the Government from fulfilling its pledge. But not unless.

Women's Wages.

It comes, therefore (with unemployment prevented), to a question of the terms on which the new workers should be employed. Now, apart from exceptional cases, we cannot insist that women should be paid the same as men. To enact this would mean the exclusion of women from the majority of industrial employments, because the typical woman is worth less to the employer than the typical man. She is not usually available for night-work; she does not do so much overtime, and she often works shorter hours, which suit her better. She is, on an average, absent from ill-health more than a man. She is unable, on account of physical or other incapacity, to do certain services that are occasionally required. She is usually unwilling to remain long years at her work, or to undertake additional responsibility; and she is less eligible for promotion. Where both sexes are employed, additional expense is involved for superintendence, lavatory accommodation, "welfare work," etc. Thus, at equal time wages, men would oust women. Even at equal piecework rates, if the men and women really execute the same tasks, men would be preferred. What is required is—to use the words of that wonderful shilling's worth, the "Labour Year-Book"—"the fixing of a rate for men and women which shall be in equitable proportion to any less degree of physical endurance, skill or responsibility exacted from the women, or to any additional strain thrown on the men, and which shall neither exclude women on the one side, nor blackleg men on the other."

per unit of effort.

What has to be discovered and adapted to the special circumstances of each industry, is some permanent and automatically acting brake on the successive lowering of the piecework rates—not in order to ensure that the individual workman shall take home undiminished earnings (comparatively a minor matter), but in order to maintain undiminished for all the workmen in years to come the Standard Rate per unit of effort. *The problem has been solved in some industries;* in fact, a whole wealth of experiment, hitherto usually ignored by employers and trade unionists in other industries, as by the economists, lies open to the inquirer.

The Need for Rate-fixers.

The devices found successful in safeguarding the Standard Rate, whilst allowing piecework or "premium bonus" systems, seem, fundamentally, to fall into three classes. There is the collectively-bargained-for "List of Prices," unalterable by the employer, however much the workmen may earn. These piecework lists, of which hundreds are published by the Board of Trade, are often (as in the cotton trade) of great complexity, and (as in the boot trade) successfully applied to jobs varying in minute details. Where the variations are incessant, almost every job differing from the last, the device of a salaried and disinterested Rate-Fixer, or couple of Rate-Fixers, has been found successful (as among the brassworkers and some of the coal-miners), "pricing" each new job on the agreed basis of a standard time rate. Where women are employed, there ought to be a pair of such Rate-Fixers, one of each sex. Failing such independent rate-fixing, an automatic brake on the employer's constant reductions was found, a quarter of a century ago, by some of the branches of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (have they now forgotten it?) in the Guaranteed Time and a Quarter, a standing agreement with the employer that, whatever the piecework rates, every workman in the shop should always be guaranteed a minimum earnings *each week*, of "Time and a Quarter." The importance of this rule was that the employer found that it did not pay to "cut" the piecework rates or premium bonus times below such a minimum level, because in such case *he failed to evoke the piecework intensity that he desired.*

There may well be other devices equally effective. But, in one or other way it is vital to Industrial Reconstruction to make it impossible for the employer to use either the labour of women and unskilled men, or the substitution of piecework for timework, as a means of reducing the Standard Rate of remuneration, not merely per hour, but also per unit of effort. We must not only replace the autocracy of the employer by a constitution for the factory and for the trade, but also place in the hands of the representative Workshop Committee or Trade Board some device effective in preventing, whether by the employment of women or the use of piecework, any degradation of this Standard Rate.

Mr. Sidney Webb's previous articles in this series were published in "The Daily News" on July 28 ("Disbandment"), August 3 ("The Prevention of Unemployment"), and August 12 ("The Industrial Conflict").

The Star.

24-8-16.

A HINT FROM LADY BRYCE.

(To the Editor.)

Sir,—Anxiety is felt in many quarters about the position of educated women after the war, who have been temporarily filling the places of men. The Central Bureau for the Employment of Women is specially occupying itself with the investigation of the matter and its practical treatment. The Bureau deals with thousands of educated women every year, and has, therefore, a wide experience. Particulars of new openings and how to enter them are offered to the younger women, for whom there is an urgent demand in new and permanent occupations. Our Information Department is open to all inquirers. We invite the co-operation of all who are interested in plans for reconstruction and reorganisation.

E. MARION BRYCE
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WOMAN'S PLACE IN INDUSTRY.

PROBLEMS THAT MUST SOON BE FACED.

Concern for the problem of demobilisation continues (says the quarterly report of the Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade-Unions). Criticism of the Government's delay in formulating proposals loses point in face of Labour's similar inactivity. No general or reasonably clear understanding has been reached in respect of women's trade organisation, yet women will be the most important factor in the after-war problem of employment and wages. She will inevitably lower the general average of men's wages unless very definite steps are taken to develop within her the spirit and power of resistance.

"Evading the problem does not solve it, and the wisest thing the trade-unions could do would be to set aside a portion of their time and money for this purpose. The woman is in the factory, she is working the machine, she is welding and brazing, and she is doing these things in a manner which at present wins commendation from her employer and the factory inspector. She is doing these things at rates which are lower than men's rates.

"Is she to continue on this work? If so, is she to continue at lower rates? Or, will the trade-unions take the matter in hand and help her to organise. These are questions that should be answered now."

Daily News & Leader

Aug 26, 1916.

AFTER THE WAR.

V.—THE NON-ADULT.

By SIDNEY WEBB

The nation does not realise to what an extent its boys and girls are helping to win the war. Among the three million workers in controlled establishments and arms fed by war orders, there are literally hundreds of thousands of "non-adults," from 13 upwards. The hundred or so National Factories already at work have on their wage-rolls boys and girls between 13 and 18 to the number of tens of thousands. At Woolwich Arsenal alone there is believed to be a larger working force of boys—I will not state the number of thousands—than in any other industrial establishment in the world. Less creditable to us as a nation is the fact that boys and girls of 13, 12, and even 11 years of age are being allowed to absent themselves from school, to the number, in the aggregate, of many tens of thousands, in order to earn a few shillings a week in industry or agriculture. We have, in the stress of war, called in even the children to help the State. How are we going to make it up to them?

The non-adults will bear their full share in the suffering that peace is destined to bring by industrial dislocation. The boys and girls now serving as inadequate substitutes for men will be discharged when men can be got; the swollen pay-rolls of the 4,000 munition factories will rapidly shrink, and the boys and girls will lose their present highly-paid jobs; there will be a sudden besieging of the juvenile departments of the Labour Exchanges, which (unless the Treasury sanctions a gigantic expansion of staff and premises) will be unable to deal with the rush of applicants for places; and whilst employers will be glad enough to pick up smart youths for new occupations at "improvers'" wages (if the trade union does not revolt against it), there will be at least as great a risk of unemployment—indeed, the same certainty of slumps in particular trades and in particular localities—for the non-adult as for the adult.

Unemployment Among Youths.

The sudden unemployment among youths in East and South-East London will be extensive and lasting. And the failure of the boy between 16 and 21 to get immediately into a new situation, when he loses his job, is nothing less than a national calamity. Unemployment is bad enough, cruel enough, demoralising enough in the grown man. But any prolonged unemployment, for the average manual working youth in our great industrial centres, is soul-destroying. Forty per cent. of all the crime in the kingdom, so the Chairman of the Prison Commission informs us, is perpetrated by youths between 16 and 21. It is literally the fact that eighty per cent. of all the inmates of our prisons are found, on investigation, to have gone to prison for the first time before they were 21. *In the vast majority of cases their first offence was committed whilst they were unemployed.* My inference is that, important as it is that the Government should take the necessary steps to prevent unemployment among the adults, it is still more important—nay, absolutely vital for national health—that the Government should take the necessary steps to prevent unemployment among the youths who will be discharged by the thousand when peace comes (how many thousands from the Government's own factories?).

But we cannot deal only with the particular non-adults who happen to have been engaged in "war work"—these cannot be saved from unemployment and destruction except by the means that will save equally the other workers of their own age. What the Government has to reconstruct, in order to solve this particular Problem of Demobilisation, is, in fact, our social machinery for dealing with the non-adult—what we call, for short, our educational system.

A System in Ruins.

It sounded an exaggeration when Sir James Yoxall declared in the House of Commons a month ago that "the elementary school system of this country is in ruins." But there is a sense in which this startling statement is quite true. It is not merely that the children are slipping out of school-attendance, that hundreds of school buildings have been taken for Army needs, and that the supply of teachers has 80 per cent. of the whole cost by grant in aid in order to overcome municipal apathy.

A determined Minister of Education with anything like a free hand from the Cabinet would put such pressure on the Local Education Authorities, by honours and rewards to those who did well, no less than by holding up to public opprobrium and by reducing the grant to those who lagged behind, that he might (a) make elementary schooling genuinely obligatory and universal, even in Ireland; (b) insist on having enough really qualified teachers at decent salaries; (c) compel such a reorganisation of schools and classrooms as had already been adopted in principle at London and Bradford, to bring down the maximum class to not more than 40, and the average per teacher to fewer than 30; (d) make the leaving age everywhere effectively 14; (e) secure by-laws limiting much more severely than at present the employment of children out of school-hours; (f) get everywhere an adequate provision of Maintenance Scholarships to enable, not merely the budding geniuses but all bright children to continue their education; and (g) induce every local authority to complete its numerical quota of secondary schools and training colleges.

Anæmic Universities.

What would do most to invigorate and vivify the feeble score of Universities, which is all that this nation at present affords (and most of these are anæmic from a shortage of students having both brains and enough to eat), would be the establishment at each of them of at least 100 national scholarships of the value of not less than £150 a year, given in open competition to the ablest young people of each adjacent area proposing to follow one or other brain-working occupation. This sounds like an extensive program. But it is literally true that the whole of it needs no alteration of the law. It requires only a wisely imaginative use of the grant in aid; the tactful distribution of knighthoods to mayors, chairmen of education committees and local education officers who push their local authorities on in advance of the ruck; the incessant harrying of the laggards, with an organised campaign of persuasion of the obstructive local potentates; and the effective local publication of really stinging reports on the authorities that are most backward, with a demonstration of the injury done to the ratepayers in the shape of substantial reductions of the grant in aid. If the Minister of Education was as keen about getting his job done as the Minister for Munitions is, can anyone picture what a change there would be? But Parliament, besides at least doubling the present Education Votes, will need to raise the school-leaving age, at any rate to 15.

Half-time for Adolescents.

Such education proposals are, however, the stalest of commonplaces. What will strike the ordinary citizen as revolutionary is the demand now made on all sides—by the practical teachers, by the Government health experts, by the economists, by Lord Haldane every time he speaks—for the rescue of the precious years of adolescence from enslavement in wage-earning. These years, from 14 to 21, must now be claimed for production in the highest sense—not, as at present, absorbed in the making of material things, but dedicated primarily to the building up and training of the man and woman. We cannot create healthy and productive citizens so long as we let our boys and girls be wholly swallowed up by industrial or agricultural wage-earning at 13, or 14, or even 15. Nor will our evening class system ever suffice, in which tired teachers try to teach youths exhausted by a factory day. There is universal agreement that, if we are to have an efficient or even a healthy community, we must rescue some of the youth's time from competitive industry. *We see now that there must be, in some form, half-time for adolescents.* We must re-enact, in principle, the present half-time clauses of the Factory Acts, and prohibit employers from employing youths under 18 (or even under 21) for more than 30 hours per week; with possible alternative systems, allowing the

ticular Problem of Demobilisation, is, in fact, our social machinery for dealing with the non-adult—what we call, for short, our educational system.

A System in Ruins.

It sounded an exaggeration when Sir James Yoxall declared in the House of Commons a month ago that "the elementary school system of this country is in ruins." But there is a sense in which this startling statement is quite true. It is not merely that the children are slipping out of school-attendance, that hundreds of school buildings have been taken for Army needs, and that the supply of teachers has been knocked on the head. What is even worse is the demoralisation of the Local Education Authorities, the "slipping up" of the machinery for securing attendance, and the sudden loss of faith in the validity of the structure which Whitehall has been painfully building up. The nation is half-conscious of the ruin. Public opinion, as yet very little concerned about preventing unemployment, is already whole-hearted about improving our educational system. Nothing meets with more acquiescence (outside the households of Lord Midleton and Lord Cromer) than the boldest demands for educational reconstruction. The nation is prepared for an authoritative lead, and will eagerly adopt any reasonably plausible Government plan, if it is only large enough! And we have come to the point when, as Mr. Henderson emphasised in moving the vote for the Board of Education, we know that "it is a question of money, more money, and still more money." We are spending only 18 millions of national and 11 millions of local funds on education of every kind—less than threepence per week per head! After the war the vote for the Board of Education will need to be at least doubled.

The Home Child.

What social provision do we need for the Non-Adult? Let us begin at the beginning. At present our Local Education Authorities are hampered because the material on which they have to work is largely spoilt when it is handed over to them. The physical wreckage among the children under school-age, due simply to social neglect, is appalling. The Local Government Board and the Board of Education are now making a good start with their schemes of maternity provision and infancy care, their "Baby Clinics" and Schools for Mothers. Up to twelve months old the Health Visitors look after the infants; and infantile mortality has already gone down by 30 per cent.! The unguarded tract is now between the ages of one and five. Only in one or two pioneer boroughs does the Local Health Authority look after the children in these perilous years, in which the lives of tens of thousands of our future citizens are wrecked. The London Education Authority has distinguished itself by turning 50,000 of them out of the infant schools into the gutters. We need (i.) to make the maternity and infancy provision, now elaborately prescribed in the L.G.B. circulars, obligatory on all Local Health Authorities; (ii.) *to extend its scope right up to school age*; (iii.) to pay at least agricultural wage-earning at 10, 12, or even 15. Nor will our evening class system ever suffice, in which tired teachers try to teach youths exhausted by a factory day. There is universal agreement that, if we are to have an efficient or even a healthy community, we must rescue some of the youth's time from competitive industry. *We see now that there must be, in some form, half-time for adolescents.* We must re-enact, in principle, the present half-time clauses of the Factory Acts, and prohibit employers from employing youths under 18 (or even under 21) for more than 30 hours per week; with possible alternative systems, allowing the devotion to training of whole months at a time, for agriculture, seamanship, etc.

Labour and Education.

From the standpoint of Labour, this would mean, virtually, halving the number of boys in industry; and the consequent stoppage of the misuse of boy-labour for other than apprenticeship purposes. A period at which it is all-important to prevent unemployment, and especially unemployment among youths, is just the time for such a revolution. Its gradual introduction would in itself enable the Government absolutely to prevent all unemployment among young people. From the standpoint of education, the change would involve the preparation of the best possible curriculum for some millions of boys and girls at the most formative period; attending, according to the industry in which they were engaged, either alternate half-days or days, or alternate weeks, months, or seasons, for a duly organised mixture of physical and technical and intellectual training. This might be completed by whatever training in drill and the use of arms is deemed requisite. Meanwhile *there need be no interruption of industrial employment, wage-earning, or home life.* The farmer's boy, the van boy, the errand boy, the newspaper boy, the "glue boy" of the carpenter's shop, the shipyard rivet boy—if these are really the best uses to which employers can put boys—might still continue; but the nation would at least be doing its best, by their Half-time Training, to prevent them from graduating as hooligans and unemployed corner-boys into the gaol. We want, it need hardly be said, for all our bright boys and girls an abundance of Secondary Schools and Maintenance Scholarships. But more important than these is Half-time Continuation Schooling—physical, technical, and intellectual—up to at least 18 for those whom we now permit the employers to take wholly into their service at 14. And now is the time, just when the Government, as we may believe, is concerned to prevent the occurrence of unemployment, especially unemployment among youths, for the preparation of such a scheme of Half-time for Adolescents, to be put in force as soon as Peace is declared.

The Yorkshire Post.
August. 31, 1916.

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INDUSTRY AFTER THE WAR.

LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT.

MORE CRITICISM OF LABOUR EXCHANGE SCHEME.

One notable service has been rendered by our publication—and exposure—of the extraordinary scheme devised by Labour Exchange officials to place their department "over all" when peace comes again. It has opened the eyes of the public; and that is an enormous gain, since officialism of all kinds flourishes most when the community is least aware of its danger. In this particular instance it was essential to success that those outside who might be expected to kick should be kept in the dark, until possibly the shackles had got such a grip that kicking would be of little avail, and would no longer be feared by the authors of the conspiracy.

What they aim at is to elevate the status and functions of the Labour Exchange so that all industry will be in its power. It is to be the sole source of labour supply in the country. If these officials can have their way, no employer will be allowed to take a man unless he comes via the Labour Exchange, and, equally, no man will be allowed to seek work except such as the Labour Exchange chooses to send him to. This applies to all men or women who come within the scope of the Insurance Act, whether it be for health or unemployment benefits. It means that the destiny of millions of our people is to be controlled by a department of the State which before the war was pining for something to do, and which, by this time, but for the war might well have died a natural death.

This morning, we publish the third of a series of opinions which we have gathered on this preposterous scheme. Their unanimity is striking. In collecting these views, we have endeavoured to take as wide a range as possible. Trade union leaders condemn the scheme as heartily as do employers, and among men of varying shades of political thought, having first-hand contact with industry and commerce, we have yet to find one capable of tolerating for a moment the ideas underlying the scheme, least of all those who speak for agriculture, in which domain the absurdity of the scheme would be more apparent than in, perhaps, any other. But we shall give the views of agriculturists later.

Mr. W. J. Noble.

Mr. W. J. Noble, head of Messrs. Cairns, Noble, and Co., chairman of the Cairn Line of Steamships, the Tyne Port Labour Committee, and the Tyne Transport Battalion Committee, expresses entire agreement with "The Yorkshire Post" arguments against the proposed scheme, which he describes as the "veriest piffle," and might, perhaps, be best put down by ridicule. The officials responsible for drawing it up should devote their time to combing out from their departments men of military age, who would be better employed in doing military service than Prussianising this country after the war. Mr. Noble also expresses himself as alarmed at the growing bureaucratic tendency in official circles of this country.

Sir Hugh Bell.

Sir Hugh Bell, of Bell Bros. and other industrial companies, and a director of the North-Eastern Railway Company, interviewed on the subject, said he entirely dissented from the proposals, and agreed with the comments of "The Yorkshire Post." Looked at from the point of view of the men, nothing could produce more complete subservience to a Government authority than this scheme. The men would be given no choice of employment; they would be told: "You must work there, or there, and nowhere else." If the men did not like it, the reply would be: "Very well, then, you must starve." "On the face of it," said Sir Hugh with emphasis, "it is the purest serfdom ever invented."

"If 'The Yorkshire Post' is right in thinking it is the view of the Fabian Society and the Socialists, then it does not surprise me, because the whole Socialist scheme is one to deprive us of individual initiative and freedom. From the trade union point of view it means that if you are to have collective bargaining within a restricted area and within that area only, then you do away with collective bargaining altogether. The ultimate test of the freedom of buying and selling is to be able to buy and sell or to refuse to buy and sell; and this, in the labour world, involves the right to strike and to lock-out. Both as an employer and as one interested in the workmen, I decline to surrender the right to refuse to employ labour and the right which labour has to refuse to be employed by me. I will preserve his right to strike and my right to lock-out."

Sir Hugh pointed out that the proposals had a bearing on the question of the restriction of output. Some employers very often lacked real insight as to their own true interests, and took a line which had brought about restriction of labour by cutting down prices. "What an employer ought to look at is not the cost of labour, but the labour cost of the article produced. The moment you get stereotyped employment, it ceases to be in the interest of either party to increase the [illegible] men, and it will be necessary to find occupations for them if they do not elect to go back to their old avocations. In that connection, no doubt, many works erected for the provision of munitions will be converted for the production of other things. There ought, for instance, to be a great development in this country of the production of electrical machinery, and that may find a great field for women's labour. There are also many things, formerly imported from Germany and Austria, which ought to be produced in this country.

It would be interesting to consider why those responsible for the administration of Labour Exchanges desire at the present time to alter their position. They seem to be asking for more power and more substantial and palatial buildings, and this may be taken as a confession of the fact that, up to the present, Labour Exchanges have not been a success. Hence this desire for the Government to put them in an autocratic position from which they could dictate to employer and employed.

Mr. Fred. J. Kitson.

Mr. F. J. Kitson, chairman of Monkbridge Iron and Steel Company and of John Butler and Co., and ex-president of the Leeds Chamber of Commerce:

I read your article, and, speaking personally, I should be very much opposed to the proposal of the Labour Exchange officials there outlined. As you state, it would do away with all individuality in business life. Certainly, we should be very sorry to have to engage all our men through the Labour Exchange. I have just been talking to one of our managers, and I said to him: "How many men do we get from the Labour Exchange?" and he replied: "We never get anybody now; we have found out that the Labour Exchange men are no good." Similarly, I was talking to a Labour man a short time ago, and I said to him: "We find that the Labour Exchange men are no good." His reply was: "No good men will go to the Labour Exchange."

The Labour Exchange was set up to make labour more mobile—transferring it from one district where it is not wanted to another where it is; and so long as it sticks to that it is occupying its proper sphere. But to say that nobody shall take a job except through the Labour Exchange, and that nobody shall engage a man except through the same medium is ridiculous. It would certainly be disastrous to the industry of the country, and I cannot imagine that any party would make itself responsible for such a disastrous proposal. It is on a par with German methods, and if it were to be adopted the working man would scarcely be able to call his soul his own.

I suppose it is that the Labour Exchange wants something to do—something to increase its own importance. The impracticability of the scheme is best illustrated in the case of domestic servants. Mistresses usually want to know something about the girls they engage, and they would require something more than the agency of the Labour Exchange for reference. I am certain, however, that the scheme would never work, and I think you will find that that is the view of other employers.

Mr. Joseph Henry.

Mr. Joseph Henry, head of Joseph Henry, Ltd., ironfounders, Leeds, and for many years a prominent member of the City Council:-

I think it would be a great mistake if Parliament were to tolerate this kind of compulsion. My experience is that the Labour Exchange does not supply a good class of workman. What I mean to say is that they are usually men of inferior ability who do not want regular employment. Whilst the Labour Exchanges may be useful to an employer in an emergency, when he is "dead-beat" in trying to get men by the usual methods, it is not the most convenient way. If I want a moulder I want a particular kind of moulder, and most of the moulders that the Bureau would send to me would be no good for the work. If these proposals were in force, and a firm habitually rejected men from the Exchanges as unsuitable, that firm would get into bad odour, and if they were not allowed to ignore this agency in getting their men, their business might soon be in a very awkward position. I think the present system is very much better both for the employer and the workman. The manager or foreman generally knows where men can be found, and by putting a few questions can ascertain, much better than any Labour Exchange official, whether they are suitable. Then the workman seeking employment is also the best judge of the place that will suit him.

If this drastic change were introduced we should not simplify the labour problem: we should complicate it. Neither side would be able to move without consulting the Labour Exchange. The employer would have to notify his vacancies, and if a workman wanted to go to a workshop in another part of the city, in order, perhaps, to be nearer his home, he could not apply direct and wait for his chance, but must first resign and take his green card to the Bureau and let them find him a job. Under such a regime we should have planted upon us a large proportion of inefficients, and we should have difficulty in replacing them because the Labour Bureau officials would not be eager to replace their failures.

Mr. R. P. Beckworth.

Mr. R. P. Beckworth, of William Beckworth and Sons (Limited), tanners and curriers, Leeds:—

I quite agree with you that the scheme is most tyrannical, and I cannot believe that anybody outside [illegible] will look at it for a moment. But

the right to refuse to employ labour and the right which labour has to refuse to be employed by me. I will preserve his right to strike and my right to lock-out."

Sir Hugh pointed out that the proposals had a bearing on the question of the restriction of output. Some employers very often lacked real insight as to their own true interests, and took a line which had brought about restriction of labour by cutting down prices. "What an employer ought to look at is not the cost of labour, but the labour cost of the article produced. The moment you get stereotyped employment, it ceases to be to the interest of either party to increase the output. The employer does not get any advantage, and the workman is under no disadvantage. The man would say: 'I will do the regulation amount and get whatever may be the wage,' and the employer would say: 'Whatever I do, I am not to be allowed to make more than a certain amount, and why should I bother?' Neither party was in a position to desire improvement. The thing proposed by the Exchanges is economically wrong, because it tends to scarcity rather than abundance."

Mr. G. B. Hunter.

Mr. G. B. Hunter, chairman of Swan, Hunter, and Wigham-Richardson, Ltd., shipbuilders:

The proposal to deprive workers of the right to choose their employment, and employers of the right to choose their workers, is well described as "bureaucracy on the rampage." Such a proposal is an outrage against liberty, but is also supremely ridiculous, and worthy of Gilbert and Sullivan, or "Alice in Wonderland." Both workers and employers should, and would, refuse to accept it.

Why should we fight and sacrifice our lives and our wages and wealth to withstand German tyranny and aggression and invasion of personal freedom, if we are to be subjected to greater tyranny and worse invasion of personal liberty by our own Government? The right to work and to choose work would be given up; and workers and employers would be subjected to the petty tyranny of local despots, who might be ignorant and might be corrupt. "Britons never shall be slaves" would have to be changed to "Britons shall ever, ever, evermore be slaves"!

If we are to hold our own in our fight for existence as a commercial and manufacturing nation after the war, we must not be handicapped by artificial and cumbrous bureaucratic interference with industrial freedom and industrial prosperity. There must be not a maximum but a minimum of red tape and official obstruction.

Mr. Charles Irwin.

Mr. Charles Irwin, of the Cramlington Coal Company, and a member of the Northumberland Coal Owners' Association:—

The memorandum has no doubt been suggested by articles of Mr Sidney Webb and others, and the first thing it suggests to any one connected with labour is, that most of the men now serving with the forces left their employment in the expectation of returning to their old work at the end of the war. So far nothing has taken place to modify that assurance. A second thought the memorandum gives rise to is, that on the termination of the war the great industries of the country will need all the labour obtainable. Take the collieries for instance. Coal output has been greatly reduced, and one of the first things mine owners will desire is to increase the output and so reduce the present high cost. There is, at present, a great shortage of coal, and if the war continues this will be increasingly emphasised.

It is also well known that the stocks of coal throughout Europe are at their minimum, and those will have to be replaced as quickly as possible to enable the work of reconstruction and restoration to be carried out. It will be impossible to replenish them with the existing tonnage, and therefore the whole of the shipyards and contingent industries will be fully occupied replacing tonnage. Shipbuilders already have orders which will keep them busy for two years.

Associated with shipbuilding is the great iron industry, and the inference is that that also will be kept fully at work. These are three of the staple industries as to which it will hardly be necessary to call in as intermediary any extraneous organisation like a Labour Exchange to deal with labour.

The problem as it appeals to me, is not so much with regard to male as female labour. Women have in many instances been taken on to do the work of his charge, but must first resign and take the green card to the Bureau and let them find him a job. Under such a regime we should have planted upon us a large proportion of inefficients, and we should have difficulty in replacing them because the Labour Bureau officials would not be eager to replace their failures.

Mr. R. P. Beckworth.

Mr. R. P. Beckworth, of William Beckworth and Sons (Limited), tanners and curriers, Leeds:—

I quite agree with you that the scheme is most tyrannical, and I cannot believe that anybody outside the Labour Exchange will look at it for a moment. Bad as it would be from the employer's point of view, it would be even worse for the workman, who has the right, and should continue to have it, of selling his labour (which is his capital asset) in the best market he can find. If the Labour Exchange people mean what they say they are up against a very big proposition.

The Labour Exchange has yet to prove itself in the sphere which it already has. It was instituted at a time when there was a good deal of unemployment in some places and a great need of workers in others. The idea was perfectly good and sound at the time, but the problem righted itself afterwards. I am rather inclined to think that in actual practice the best type of labour fights shy of the Labour Exchange, and the consequence is that employers who do apply to that agency do not always get the type of man they are looking for.

In our business the trade unions do a good deal in the way of finding their men jobs One man tells another of a vacancy; it gets known to the union officials, men are sent along, and we inquire into their qualifications and suitability on the spot. That seems to me a far more direct and simple process, and, since men do not go to the Labour Exchange, it is evident that they prefer it. In fact, the proposal is so contrary to business interests that I have no fear of the Labour Exchange officials getting their way.

Our article setting forth the features of the scheme appeared on August 3. Instalments of the series of interviews were published on August 26 and 29. O will be given later.

Everyman.
1-9-16

FEMALE LABOUR AFTER THE WAR.

To the Editor of EVERYMAN.

SIR,—This question is one of vital importance, and therefore claims our fullest attention. We are all fully aware of the magnificent patriotism displayed by our women folk in coming forward to take the places of those who have gone forth to undertake a more difficult and sterner task. We do well to applaud their loyal action; but on the conclusion of peace and the home-coming of our civilian army what will take place?

Will the employer retain in his employment the woman worker who to-day is doing the man's work? In all probability, in most cases, public opinion will, if nothing else, prevent him from so acting if he were thus disposed.

What, then, is to happen to these loyal women folk? They must in most cases earn their own livelihood. They will not, I venture to think, return to their old situations in domestic service, whence many emanate. What, then, is to be done?

Could not colleges or schools be established in our Colonies, where there is plenty of room for new workers—colleges where suitable trades could be taught? Of course, such institutions would necessarily be State establishments, and every encouragement would have to be given to the women if they could hope to succeed.

The question is surely one of national importance, and as such we cannot afford to adopt a "wait and see" policy.

The suggestions mentioned above, though they do not give us the only way out of the difficulty, are, I venture to think, quite practicable and at the same time beneficial to the State.—I am, sir, etc.,

Q. O. STANDEA.

Evening News.
7-9-16.

SURPLUS OF WOMEN.

An Industrial Problem and How It May be Settled.

A report on the replacement of men by women in industry was submitted by a committee of the Economic Section to the British Association to-day.

Twelve months after the war, it was stated, there might be a fall in women's wages, but they were unlikely to fall to the pre-war level.

The fact that not a great proportion of the women war workers were previously occupied suggests that after the war the problem of a large surplus of women may not be so serious as has been feared.

The married women are for the most part in industry only for the period of the war, and inquiry among women workers generally shows that many of them have no desire to remain in competition with men.

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6-9-16

WAR WORK AND PEACE WORK.

WHY WE MUST HAVE MANY MORE PRODUCERS.

By SIR LEO CHIOZZA MONEY, M.P.

Before the war the Norman Angell theory that the outbreak of a great European war would be the signal for universal economic collapse had gained possession not only of all the shallow-brains, but of many people of worth and intelligence. I think it was largely the vogue of Norman Angellism which set so many eminent men, including the members of the Cabinet, to work to devise means of dealing with the terrible distress and unemployment which it was thought would be the inevitable outcome of the war.

If I give a few extracts from opinions uttered in the early days of August 1914 it is not particularly to reproach individuals but to illustrate the dangers which a nation runs through the small amount of study which has been given to such questions. We are constantly in need of lucid economic thought; we constantly fail to get it. As a consequence, we are again and again plunged into terrible dangers from which we only escape by prodigious efforts. In the early weeks of the war thousands of people were scared into panicky efforts to store gold and provisions; little wonder when we remember what had been drilled into them by muddle-headed writers.

PROFOUND ERRORS.

For further example, the many worthy people who in the last ten years honestly but foolishly thought that we could not afford the Navy nearly robbed us of naval supremacy and national honour. Similarly, the great, wise, and eminent persons who a year ago thought we could not afford to increase the Army nearly lost us the war. Both these profound errors had their basis in honest economic misunderstanding.

It is not merely that we had error propagated by those who have taught us to expect error. For example, when Mr. F. W. Hirst, the then editor of the "Economist," wrote on August 4, 1914, that if we went to war we might find that "in a few weeks' time half the population will be not only unemployed but in a state of revolutionary discontent," he merely said what might have been expected of him, for he appears to take delight in these misunderstandings. There was no particular cause for surprise, either, when the "Daily News" of August 6, 1914, came out with a special article headed "Employers and the Coming Distress," in which it was assumed, as a matter of course, that a state of woe was then impending.

TRADE WAS TO "STOP"!

Much more significant than these utterances was that by Sir Edward Grey himself in the House of Commons on August 3, 1914, when he said:—

"We are going to suffer, I am afraid, terribly in this war whether we enter or whether we stand aside. *Foreign trade is going to stop*, not because the trade routes are closed, but because there is no trade at the other end."

This proved to be a double delusion. In the first place, we have gone to war and British trade has not stopped; and in the second place neutrals, who did not go to war, have not suffered either. From Norway to the United States the neutrals are rolling in profit.

Most significant of all, the Government put on lasting record its opinion that we were going to have a terrible time by setting up a gigantic organisation for the relief of a distress which was considered to be certainly upon us. All over the country there were towns' meetings, and every one prepared for chaos and unheard of unemployment. Good people dipped their hands into their pockets to provide doles; everywhere it was [illegible]

been applied by the Government to many important industries.

(4) There has been a removal of restrictions upon output

(5) Many women have taken up productive work for the first time.

(6) There has been a great contraction of the vast amount of male labour normally employed upon non-productive and uneconomic work; in some cases the unnecessary work has disappeared altogether; in others it has been taken up and is now performed by women or girls.

All these things are of very great importance and interest, but I wish to direct attention here to the last-named.

It is not commonly realised that before the war a very large proportion of our male workers were engaged in non-productive work. The facts of the case revealed by the Census of Production of 1907 are so remarkable and so pertinent to the matter we are considering that I briefly reproduce them. Here is an account of our industrial employment as it existed in 1907:—

WAGE EARNERS.

Males aged 18 years and upward	4,250,000
Females aged 18 years and upward	1,200,000
Boys and girls under 18	950,000
Out-workers, chiefly women	100,000
	6,500,000
Salaried persons	500,000
Total	7,000,000

This statement means that all our mines, quarries, mills, factories, and workshops employed only 4¼ million men, if we call a man a male person aged eighteen or upwards. But our male population aged eighteen years and upwards numbered thirteen millions. Therefore it was true that **of our male population aged eighteen years and over only about one in three was engaged directly in producing industrial wealth.**

What were all the rest doing? Distribution, education, Government service, commerce, etc., are all important, but can it be possible that two out of three males—to say nothing of females—were needed to carry them on, as compared with only one in three devoted to producing things? Most certainly the devotion of so large a proportion of males to non-productive tasks was not only unnecessary, but a sign and a portent of industrial decadence.

ARMY OF WOMEN.

If we consider the facts stated we are readily able to understand how it is that, in spite of taking millions of men out of work altogether, we have been able to continue and increase our production. It will be seen in a moment that if we imagine the Army promiscuously taken from all male occupations, **the majority would be taken not from productive work but from services.** Indeed, if we had cared to organise things properly at the beginning of the war, we could actually have raised the whole of our present Army without touching productive work at all. Although the thing was done promiscuously until well into 1915, a very large proportion of the New Army was, as a matter of fact, taken not from industry but from services.

The taking of men from non-productive employments has enabled women very easily to make substitution in many cases. A woman works the lift which before the war was worked by an able-bodied man, doing work which no able-bodied man should ever do. The laundry van, which before the war was driven by an able-bodied man, is now driven by a girl. You go to the bank and see capable young women dealing with the books and papers which yesterday were supposed to demand the services of stalwart young men.

At the insurance offices, which before the war employed a great army of young men, girls find no difficulty in assuming [illegible]

Most significant of all, the Government put on lasting record its opinion that we were going to have a terrible time by setting up a gigantic organisation for the relief of a distress which was considered to be certainly upon us. All over the country there were towns' meetings, and every one prepared for chaos and unheard-of unemployment. Good people dipped their hands into their pockets to provide distress funds; everywhere it was quaintly said, "*Do not give the poor people doles; give them work.*"

I take some pride in the fact that I did my best to counter these manifestations. In an article written on August 5, 1914, the first day of war, and published on August 8, I said:—

"It is not true that the country need come to a standstill. . . . It is not true that millions are in danger of starvation; on the contrary, the Government can easily take steps for a man to starve less in war than in peace."

A little later I ventured to prophesy that in the then coming winter (1914-15) there would be less unemployment in the British Isles than in peace. And so it proved to be.

OUR TRADE IN WAR.

Let us remind ourselves of what has happened to British trade in this war. Here are the remarkable facts relating to our exports:—

UNITED KINGDOM EXPORTS (1) OF BRITISH GOODS AND (2) OF IMPORTED GOODS.

	Of British Goods.	Of imported Goods.	Total.
	£	£	£
July 1914 ...	44,400,000	7,800,000	52,200,000
Jan. 1915 ...	28,200,000	6,900,000	35,100,000
July 1915 ...	34,700,000	9,400,000	44,100,000
Jan. 1916 ...	36,800,000	8,800,000	45,600,000
July 1916 ...	46,300,000	7,900,000	54,200,000

During the war, as everybody knows, values have risen, but when account is taken of that fact, British exports have been well sustained. As to home trade, its volume has also been very great. Some branches of industry have been reduced, others—and these some of the most important—have enormously increased.

It is probable that the actual material production of the country, taking mining, agriculture, and manufacturing together, has been actually increased.

Without a war census of production, which is impossible in many trades, it is difficult to state the facts precisely, but there can be little doubt that what I have said represents the broad truth.

How have production and trade been maintained? How is it that we have carried on such a great proportion, if not all, of our ordinary work, and in addition done much special work, in spite of taking out of work altogether, for the purposes of the Army and Navy, some four millions of men? The question is the more important when we remember that the men removed from their normal occupations have been taken from the ranks of the youngest and most vigorous. No more important question could be considered in relation to our future.

We have found compensation for building up a great army in a number of different ways, the chief of which are:—

(1) The men remaining have, as a whole, produced more than in peace.

(2) There has been a better organisation of production in some trades, notably the engineering trades.

(3) Large amounts of new capital have bodied man, doing work which no able-bodied man should ever do. The laundry van, which before the war was driven by an able-bodied man, is now driven by a girl. You go to the bank and see capable young women dealing with the books and papers which yesterday were supposed to demand the services of stalwart young men.

At the insurance offices, which before the war employed a great army of young men, girls find no difficulty in accomplishing the work. At the offices of the National Health Insurance Commissioners the work is being done by girls quite as well as by the battalion or so of men who recently were thought to be needed for it. In tens of thousands of commercial, Government, and local government offices female labour is doing what the other year was thought to be men's work.

WHEN PEACE COMES.

Some people imagine that when peace comes things ought to go on as before. It will be a most unhappy thing if it proves to be the case that the old occupations are resumed by our young men. But how is it to be prevented? How is the nation to get on to better work as a whole? That is really the main question that will arise when peace comes.

To my mind, the answer is to be found in a determination by the country, taking expression through the powers of Government, that we will employ the national powers to the best advantage. Just as now in war we say we must have so many field guns and howitzers of various calibres, so many machine guns, so many rifles, so much high explosive, so much propellant, so many bombs, so many grenades, so many wagons, so many horses, and so forth, so in peace it is possible for us to determine that we will have such and such a production in various great industries and in agriculture. If we do that, all the rest will follow.

We have learned in war, too, how quickly men and women adapt themselves to new employments. I could give case after case in which men who not many months ago knew nothing about tools are now tool-setters, or in which women who a few months ago were doing odd jobs or were in domestic service are now doing "skilled work" with machine tools. The idea, therefore, that because a man was a petty clerk, or a shop assistant, or a lift-man, or a driver, or a door-opener, or a tout, or a commission agent, or something of that sort, before the war, he must necessarily go back to his old job, while the woman who has taken his job is to return to her old work, is entirely mistaken.

Organise our power supply; reform our railway system; set to work on a decent canal system; determine production in the metal trades and the chemical trades; enlarge our wheat area definitely and compulsorily. Do these things, and there will be such a call for labour in connection with them, and in connection with other useful employments arising from them, that in peace as in war, we shall find that the difficulty is not to find jobs for the men, but to find men for the jobs.

In short, all the talk about what we are going to do with the men when they come back is unnecessary. We have only to set about the enormous amount of work which needs to be done and the alleged problem will solve itself.

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TRADE UNION CONGRESS

The Trade Union Congress of next week bids fair to be the most important in the whole history of British Labour. It may be the last held before the declaration on it lies the responsibility of declaring Labour's the greatest problems which can confront a nation. Numerous and important motions to be discussed—ding that the Government shall fulfil its pledges the restoration of Trade Union rights and rules r, one proposing the holding of an International Labour side by side with the formal diplomatic will discuss the terms of peace, one suggesting economic reforms as a constructive alternative ious and destructive proposals of Protection, one scheme for the provision of employment upon the on of the six or seven million workers now em-oldiers or upon war work, one pressing for the ompulsory service—amid these and many more, hole complex and various mass of theory and which organised Labour is giving the best of its service, three main points stand out as of special ance. They are (1) War and Peace; (2) Demobilisa-(3) Reconstruction.

t, as to war and peace. Where war has landed the was shown with terrible precision by Mr. Lloyd s reply to last week's Labour deputation. The cases yment of soldiers *as* soldiers on civilian work, under law, contrary to the most explicit Government es, were not denied. All Mr. Lloyd George had to n excuse was "urgent military necessity." He ad-at the men might have been "regarded as civi-quiet in that case the Adjutant-General "would have to supply them." As if the Adjutant-General had e power or the right to obstruct the output of muni-

But the point is, as we have always maintained, that strial conscription is the logical and inevitable corollary military conscription. The process is simplicity itself: force so many men into the Army that vital industries rippled, and it then becomes an "urgent military neces-" to put them back into industry—*as conscripts*. We be told that the overriding doctrine of "military neces-justifies such conscription. But, if so, we must at

The Herald.

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TRADE UNIONISM AFTER THE WAR - By Fred Bram

SOMETIME the war will be over. This is a certainty so obvious, the reader may say, as to cause surprise that any necessity should appear to arise for the need to call attention to the fact. But the war will not end as a result of a three or six months' notice. It will come with a dramatic suddenness not even equalled by the outbreak of war.

THE OUTBREAK OF PEACE,

as Mr. Sidney Webb so well describes it, will come upon us without warning, and if no preparations are made to meet the shock the declaration of peace may easily throw us into a greater state of confusion and more difficult to deal with than the industrial chaos which prevailed during the first few months of the war.

It also appears fairly obvious that, notwithstanding the great efforts of democratic control propagandists, the workers will exercise little or no influence on the terms of peace. They will know as much about the results of the war as they knew of the causes leading up to it. When the peace terms are signed and Tommy comes marching home he will return to face the old group of social problems. Unemployment, insecurity, and poverty will still haunt his existence, and, in addition, a new industrial condition set up by the war will increase his troubles.

Having done his bit and claimed his release, he will probably return to his old shop, sure, of course, that the patriotic employer will receive him with open arms. He may assume (the probability has been discussed even by certain Labour Members of Parliament) that the war has destroyed the class antagonism between master and man; that an alleged common cause and common sacrifice has made himself and his boss pals for life. What he will actually find has taken place in hundreds of cases during the war:

That his employer has grown rich at a greater rate than ever during the war period.

That the conditions of the factory have changed, cheap labour of both sexes employed on machines Tommy and his mates monopolised as a sacred right before the war.

And he will probably discover that he is not wanted for the reason that his boss has secured the services of a better (because cheaper) substitute. But what about promises of statesmen and documentary pledges?

POLITICAL PROMISES AND SCRAPS OF PAPER.

If any Trade Unionist assumes for one moment that the war emergency workers—men or women—are just going to pack up and quietly walk out of the engineering shops and munition factories on the declaration of peace, even to make room for returned warriors, he assumes an improbability. The delusion is dangerous, especially if those who suffer from it hold official positions. It will not be so easy, and those holding responsible positions must prepare to meet something quite different to a quiet and orderly demobilisation of our munition army.

GOVERNMENT PLEDGES. CAN THEY BE KEPT?

Take the Trade Union rule which would prohibit the employment of semi-skilled men, and especially women, on certain work. We will assume the skilled workers' Union has insisted on a complete restitution of pre-war conditions. Mr. Lloyd George has the case in hand. The employer has been notified and the effort is made. What happens? There may be three parties agreed that the old rules and conditions should be re-established—the employer, Lloyd George, and the skilled Union representatives; but

WHAT ABOUT THE WAR WORKERS?

We have first to remember that the labourer of pre-war days is no longer unskilled. He is highly skilled in one section. The same applies to the women workers. Will the ex-labourers and the women work back to their old jobs at half wages?

AND WHAT ABOUT THEIR UNIONS?

Will they order their members out of the factories—to down too return quietly, even if the opportunity exists, to the unskilled (so- occupations from which they were drawn during the war? I don' this will happen, and for the reasons stated I am very much con that the biggest difficulty facing organised Labour after the war w be the fight between the workers and the Government or the Unio the employers, but it will be between the Unions catering for un workers and the Unions representing the men whose rules hav violated for war reasons, and men who will stand to suffer perma unless a mutually satisfactory readjustment can be devised.

Taking advantage of this struggle, the politician will easily g of any pledges about the restitution of Trade Union rules. I can in Mr. Lloyd George, after some attempts to grapple with this diff meeting a conference of representatives from the Unions demanc return to the pre-war state. This is the kind of speech we could from the right honourable gentleman:

Gentlemen, I can assure you that an honest attempt has been ma secure the complete readjustment of conditions and the full restitut Trade Union rules and customs which prevailed before the war. The p we gave you when seeking your support for the main clauses of the tions Act we have earnestly attempted to redeem, but we find ourselves an obstruction difficult to remove. It is not the opposition of our p supporters, or opponents; nor the unwillingness of the employers. is some of the Unions themselves whose members are interested in the direction that stand in the way, and though we are anxious to fulfil the and spirit of our promises and pledges *we can do nothing until the uni agreed amongst themselves.*

And so the politician will escape. The employers will sit tight will be left to organised Labour to settle this and many other pr of peace. There is one great necessity arising out of this danger, unl we intend to play the game of the enemy. We shall have to make so arrangement for these domestic quarrels of ours to take place with letting the neighbours know all about it. I hope organised Labour w have the foresight and judgment to set up some strongly representat means of dealing with the difficulties named in this article, and by enlightened method, inspired by a tolerant regard for the interests of the workers, find some solution for this and many other problems wh will be forced upon us after the declaration of peace. Space will allow me to develop a suggested line of action which may help u avoid the pitfalls of disunity, but I would earnestly commend for thoughtful consideration of Trade Union leaders two main poi kept in mind during all attempts which may be made to avert consequences of war period developments.

They are

1.—Equal pay for work done, without sex or other distinction.

2.—A reduction in the hours of labour sufficient to make room workers, men and women.

Our line of attack and defence should be all the time against cheap labour, and just as we have made attempts to meet the displacement of labour due to the introduction of machine methods of production by reducing the normal working week and the limitation of overtime, so should we realise the importance of the same remedy to meet the increase in the number of trained workers drawn into the labour market during the war period.

Daily Telegraph. (Sheffield) 4-9-16

WOMEN WORKERS.

THEIR POSITION AFTER HOSTILITIES.

SHEFFIELD MEETING.

The position of women war workers, through the prospective or actual cessation of hostilities, was the subject which engaged the attention of a conference held on Saturday afternoon, in the Montgomery Hall, Sheffield. It was summoned by the Sheffield and District Women's Interests Association and largely attended by not only delegates from Women's Associations and their trade unions, but also by delegates from male trade unions. Mrs. H. A. L. Fisher presided.

The first resolution on the agenda asked that any woman brought into an industry during the war, who shall become displaced through the prospective or actual cessation of the war, should receive in addition to any benefit she was entitled to under Part 2 of the Insurance Act, or from her trade union, adequate out-of-work benefit, either till she gets work, or for a period to be agreed upon, this benefit to be a charge upon the Government, and, further, that the Government should subsidise adequately the trade unions to enable them to meet the increased cost of trade union unemployment benefit for their own members.

A supplementary resolution to this had been added to the agenda by the National Union of Railway Clerks (Sheffield Branch), and the Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, to the effect that the "Conference, recognising that unemployment is at all times and under all conditions inimical to the interests of the workers, declines to support any scheme which recognises unemployment as a necessary factor of social and industrial organisation; the conference therefore urges the trade unions and other labour organisations to demand that, at the close of the war, the hours of labour in all industries be so reduced as to find useful employment for all workers, male or female, who become redundant consequent upon the cessation or reduction of unproductive labour."

Mrs. Barton, who moved the first resolution, said it didn't require many words to explain it, and the fact that there was a supplementary one had taken away many of the things on the first. She wanted them to think out what they should do before unemployment took place. She was pessimistic enough to think that they would have a large number of men and women unemployed after the war. With reference to the second part of the resolution there was no reason why workers should not be helped, and she believed women would be much more hardly hit after the war than men. They were there to devise some means to help them, because workers were best able to understand workers' conditions. She complained that Sheffield was an awful place, so far as representation of the labour class was concerned, and referred to the fact that although the Parliamentary paper authorising the setting up of committees for military and naval pensions purposes stated that women should be on those committees, when the matter came to be settled by the City Council of Sheffield the women's organisations were entirely neglected.

Mrs. Pointer seconded the resolution, and said that she felt that the after-the-war problem was going to be a great one. Up to quite recently they were told their place was in the home. Since the war began they had had to get out and go into the industrial world, or else they were not patriotic. After the war there would be a lot of women displaced, and she honestly believed that the only way of dealing with the problem was to organise in time.

Doles for Women Not Wanted.

Councillor Alf Short (Boilermakers' Society) was surprised to hear Mrs. Barton calling upon the Government to supply, not work, but doles in the shape of unemployment benefit. He referred to the way the Government had organised the country for war, and suggested that it was not the business of the workers to ask the Government to provide them with a paltry dole. It was the workers' duty to demand a greater and a nobler use of the resources of the country. The Government should organise the country for the benefit of the people, as they had organised it for the crushing of the Germans.

Mr. Odum (Rotherham), as a supporter of the women's movement, thought their duty was not to go back to the home. If they did they would be putting back the women's movement several years. He suggested that the Government should provide for peace as they had done for war.

Mr. Fielding opposed the resolution, and said the only solution of the problem was the reduction of the hours of work. To take up the problem any other way was to put back the hands of the clock of progress.

Mrs. Peyce Jones would like to ask if anyone thought that the Government, as they knew it, would so quickly and practically reduce unemployment as to have no unemployment? The resolution dealt with the transition period between the end of the war and the regaining of the stability of society. The reason why the Government organised for war so successfully was because it had behind it the capitalists and the

Sheffield Independent. 666
4-9-16

WOMEN WORKERS.

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Sheffield Discussion on After-war Problems.

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STATE & UNEMPLOYMENT

A conference of trade union and other organisations was held in the Montgomery Hall on Saturday afternoon, organised by the Sheffield and District Women's Interests Association, and presided over by Mrs. H. A. L. Fisher.

Mrs. A. Barton moved the first resolution: "That any woman brought into an industry during the war who shall become displaced through the prospective or actual cessation of the war, shall receive, in addition to any benefit she is entitled to under Part 2 of the Insurance Act or from her trade union, adequate out-of-work benefit, either till she gets work or for a period to be agreed upon, this benefit to be a charge upon the Government. That the Government shall subsidise adequately the trade unions to enable them to meet the increased cost of trade union unemployment benefit for their own members.

She said that whatever the position of the trade unions, the women would be harder hit by unemployment than the men. Referring to the second part of the resolution, she urged that the matter would be better dealt with by the workers who understood the position.

Mrs. J. Pointer, who seconded, said that some of the difficulty would be met by getting the women thoroughly organised, and this should be largely done through the men's trade unions. It should be seen to that the conditions of the women were so improved that they would not simply marry for the sake of obtaining a home, but through true and natural desire.

Opposed to "Doles."

Councillor A. Short said he was surprised that the resolution sought to find a remedy not by asking that work should be found for the unemployed but by asking for doles for them when out of work. If it was the fact, as seemed to be the impression, that there would be a lot of unemployment then the country would have much more to do than find a few shillings for the persons affected. The Government should continue to organise resources after the war for the benefit of the people.

Mrs. Pryce Jones pointed out that the organisation of industry had been managed with the co-operation of the capitalists, and asked if it was likely that the same co-operation would be forthcoming to meet unemployment.

Miss O. Hargreaves said that the women with whom the resolution dealt had been employed for the nation, and asked if it was not reasonable to arrange that the nation should provide for them during any period of unemployment.

Mr. W. Kean pointed out that the trade unions had insisted that the women brought into the works should be taken out of them after the war and that no women should be retained to the detriment of the men whose places they had taken, and the question was what was to be done for them while they were out of work.

Mr. Abrahams said that his own union, the National Union of Railwaymen, were going to make sufficient room there not only for the men when they came back, but for the women who had come in, by having a shorter working day.

The resolution, when put, was defeated.

Reduced Hours as a Remedy.

Mr. A. E. Chandler, president of the Trades and Labour Council, moved that: "This conference, recognising that unemployment is at all times and under all conditions inimical to the interests of the workers, declines to support any scheme which recognises unemployment as a necessary factor of social and industrial organisation. The conference therefore urges the trade unions and other Labour organisations to demand that at the close of the war the hours of labour in all industries be so reduced as to find useful employment for all workers, male or female, who become redundant consequent upon the cessation or reduction of unproductive labour." This was seconded by Mr. Cawthorne, and after discussion was carried.

Mr. W. Kean moved and Mr. S. Partridge seconded "that as the redistribution of women's labour after the war will be largely carried out through the Labour Exchange, we urge the Government to give administrative powers to the Labour Exchanges Advisory Committees at present in existence." This was carried, as was also the following addendum moved by Mr. Abrahams and seconded by Mr. Robinson: "Provided that the Labour Exchanges Advisory Committees

tion of the hours of work. To take up the problem any other way was to put back the hands of the clock of progress.

Mrs. Pryce Jones would like to ask if anyone thought that the Government, as they knew it, would so quickly and practically reduce unemployment as to have no unemployment? The resolution dealt with the transition period between the end of the war and the regaining of the stability of society. The reason why the Government organised for war so successfully was because it had behind it the capitalists and the workers. She supported the resolution.

Miss Odum (Rotherham) opposed the resolution on the grounds that if women received out-of-work benefit they would be satisfied, and she did not want them to be satisfied. It had been the policy of the Labour Party to make the workers contented. She hated palliative measures, and would rather see a wound healed than the application of sticking plasters.

Mr. Chandler (Sheffield Trades and Labour Council) said the Government raised money by taxes, and by the resolution they were asking the Government to impose more taxation. He hoped the first resolution would be defeated, and that the second would be carried.

Miss Hargreaves (Christian Social Union), after some caustic remarks on old trade union arguments used by people who knew nothing of the history of trade unions or its economics—remarks which were frequently interrupted—said most of the women they would have to deal with had been working for the nation at large, for purely national purposes, and it was only fair that these women should be allowed something to exist. They should deal with the matter in a practical way. It was no use saying—as some of the speakers had said—that by suffering they would better the lot of a future generation. People who talked like that were usually people who were not likely to suffer themselves. (Applause.) It was their duty to see that these women were not thrown on the scrap-heap. (Applause.)

Mr. Robinson opposed the resolution on the ground that it would perpetuate female labour. He believed woman's place was not in the factory; her sphere was a higher one.

Mr. W. Kean (Federated Trades Council) associated himself with the resolution. They were going to see that the women were unemployed. The agreements they made were that no woman shall be retained to the detriment of a man after the war. The capitalist would find the money for the relief of the women disengaged as they had found it for the war.

The representative of the operative section of the Railwaymen's Union objected to the last statement. Were it not for the efforts of the workers he said the promises of the capitalist to the Government would only have been so many scraps of paper.

Mrs. Barton having replied, the resolution proposed by her was put and lost by a large majority.

On the proposition of Mr. Chandler, seconded by Mr. Cawthorne, and supported by Councillor A. Barton and others, the second resolution was then put and passed.

Women's Wages.

Mrs. Wilkinson (National Federation of Women Workers) moved a resolution protesting against the rate of 4d. an hour fixed by the Government for women in engineering works engaged on work not previously done by men because it did not yield a subsistence wage at the present cost of living. She explained that the women were to have £1 a week as a datal wage, and after a learning period they were to be put on piece-work at piece rates, the same as the men when they were doing the same class of work. Many of the women who were brought into engineering work were not put on the class of work done by men. Processes were split up, and a position of sweated labour arose, because they didn't come under the L2 agreement. It was a disgraceful and scandalous thing for the Government to have done this.

Councillor Barton, in seconding, said that when the £1 was taken it was understood to be the minimum, but now it was the actual wage. Women who should be paid £3 15s. for their work were getting 22s. 6d.

The resolution was passed unanimously.

Mr. Cawthorne, and after discussion was carried.

Mr. W. Kean moved and Mr. S. Partridge seconded "that as the redistribution of women's labour after the war will be largely carried out through the Labour Exchange, we urge the Government to give administrative powers to the Labour Exchanges Advisory Committees at present in existence." This was carried, as was also the following addendum moved by Mr. Abrahams and seconded by Mr. Robinson: "Provided that the Labour Exchanges Advisory Committees be composed and controlled exclusively by trade unionists."

Mrs. Wilkinson then moved "That this conference protests against the rate of 4d. an hour fixed by the Government for women in engineering works engaged on work not previously done by men, as it is of the opinion that this rate does not yield a subsistence wage at the present cost of living." She pointed out that when the women were first brought in to the works it was arranged that they should have a minimum wage of £1 per week when learning, and that afterwards they were to be paid at the same rate as men when they did men's work. The resolution was seconded by Councillor A. Barton and carried.

The Guardian.
Sept. 7, 1916.

Labour's Plans.

It is to be hoped that the Government will pay due attention to the complaints made at the Trade Unions Congress against the war pensions system. Delegates, speaking with knowledge, urged that the delays in granting pensions are indefensible, that the amounts are often inadequate, and that many soldiers who have broken down in military service (largely, it is to be feared, as a result of the folly of certain medical boards in passing recruits who are unfitted for service) are excluded from benefit. Mr. Henderson practically admitted the justice of these grievances, and one may hope that they will be amended in process of time. But the Congress also criticised the whole pensions administrative system. At present there is a multiplicity of organisations, official, semi-official, philanthropic, and an inextricable division of responsibility. The Government has chosen to entrust the allocation of pensions in large measure to local committees. Organised labour asks that there should be a single central authority, a department of the State, operating through servants of the State. That is how old-age pensions are administered, cheaply, smoothly, rapidly, and without suspicion of undue influence. There is no good reason, apparently, why another method should be adopted in the case of war pensions. The problem of war pensions is only a small section of the problem of reconstruction after the war which occupied the Congress. One delegate professed to be impressed by the revolutionary character of some Congress resolutions; but the really impressive feature of these deliberations of labour is their conservative character. Labour asks that demobilisation should restore all the workers to their pre-war economic condition, in their old jobs if fit, with equivalent pensions if unfit. It wants the complete restoration in peace of the pre-war code of regulations and restrictions; the universal recognition of trade unions by employers; compulsory membership of trade unions; a compulsory forty-eight hours week; a compulsory minimum wage. Now all this is simply the revival and cataloguing of the orthodox and conventional pre-war Trade Unions Congress formulas.

It may be said that the vote urging measures against the importation of goods manufactured under labour conditions inferior to our own represents a new and original line of labour thought. But that is hardly the case. The Congress seems to have been confused as to what it was voting about, and this particular resolution, so far from having any novelty, is one of the stalest and most absurd expressions of Protection. In any case, it has no relevance to the special problem which awaits labour after the war as the result of the war. It may be argued that the mere fact that the Congress resolutions are limited to old and familiar labour propositions does not prove that organised labour's plans and strategy for the coming of peace are incomplete. But their inadequacy is demonstrable. What has labour to say, as Miss Macarthur asked, to the changes in process and production introduced by automatic machinery, which has revolutionised the relation between the skilled, the semi-skilled, and the unskilled worker? What has it to say to the future of the women who have entered the labour market to fill up the gaps left by the men drafted off to the army? ~~What has it to~~ say to the chaos of small and often competing craft unions, manifestly constituting a labour force inadequate to face employers' organisations, which are steadily growing more comprehensive and more centralised? What suggestions has it to offer for the control of indus-

Daily Chronicle.
8, 9, 16.

SURPLUS OF WOMEN WORKERS

INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS AFTER THE WAR.

At the British Association meeting yesterday interest centred in the economic section, where land settlement and labour questions were discussed.

Mr. Christopher Turnor, the agricultural expert, in a paper on "the outlet for labour on the land," expressed regret that the Government had not employed thousands of German prisoners in the reclamation of land. Had they done so we might have had 50,000 acres ready for new settlement when our men returned from the war.

He emphasised the necessity for extending credit on easy terms for farmers, and said there was a general desire to get rid of the baneful influence of party politics.

The next subject in this section was the replacement of men by women in industry, on which a report was presented by a committee. The members thought the problem of a great surplus of women workers after the war would not be so serious as had been feared. The married women were for the most part in industry for the war period only, and inquiries among women workers generally showed that many of them had no desire to remain in competition with men.

But this involved the question of the increased demand for women on repetitive processes, and if, as seemed likely, the sub division of processes and the highly automatic machinery introduced owing to war conditions had come to stay, there might be a change in the relative demand for skilled and for unskilled labour to the disadvantage of the former.

The committee did not think wages would fall to the pre-war level.

The Westminster Gazette.
7.9.16.

Yesterday the Trade Union Congress showed itself uncompromising in insisting upon the restoration of all trade union conditions after the war. That the question is not without its complication was clear from the speech of Miss Mary Macarthur, who speaks for many thousands of women who have been drawn into industry, and whose claims to a place in the sun will have to be considered when we come to the period of restoration. It is not surprising, however, that the trade unionists should be suspicious. There has been talk and even writing which have suggested that the opportunity of the employers will come with the end of the war and with the return to civil life of millions of men who are now fighting. If that idea was to become generally prevalent among capitalists we should have to look forward to a long period of such industrial strife as we have not hitherto seen, and any chance of making up the ground we have lost by the enormous waste of money in the last two years would be gone.

That faith must be kept with the workers should be the first axiom of everybody who applies himself to the after-war problems of industry. We have said and we believe that the trade unionists will not prove unreasonable in this matter once the suspicion is removed from their minds that they are to be "done." New ideas of what is possible are working in the minds of labour as well as in those of the employers, and men who for almost the first time in their lives have earned and enjoyed wages which have given them a larger view of the possibilities of life are not likely to be willing to return to the harder conditions of the past. When the unionist speaks of a return to the old rules he does not contemplate that his earning power shall fall to the old level. All that he means is that the skilled man shall not be replaced in his job, and that there shall be no attempt to obtain his work at a lower price per piece than in the past.

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without suspicion of undue influence. There is no good reason, apparently, why another method should be adopted in the case of war pensions. The problem of war pensions is only a small section of the problem of reconstruction after the war which occupied the Congress. One delegate professed to be impressed by the revolutionary character of some Congress resolutions; but the really impressive feature of these deliberations of labour is their conservative character. Labour asks that demobilisation should restore all the workers to their pre-war economic condition, in their old jobs if fit, with equivalent pensions if unfit. It wants the complete restoration in peace of the pre-war code of regulations and restrictions; the universal recognition of trade unions by employers; compulsory membership of trade unions; a compulsory forty-eight hours week; a compulsory minimum wage. Now all this is simply the revival and cataloguing of the orthodox and conventional pre-war Trade Unions Congress formulas.

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But this involved the question of the increased demand for women on repetitive processes, and if, as seemed likely, the subdivision of processes and the highly automatic machinery introduced owing to war conditions had come to stay, there might be a change in the relative demand for skilled and for unskilled labour to the disadvantage of the former.

The committee did not think wages would fall to the pre-war level.

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That faith must be kept with the workers should be the first axiom of everybody who applies himself to the after-war problems of industry. We have said and we believe that the trade unionists will not prove unreasonable in this matter once the suspicion is removed from their minds that they are to be "done." New ideas of what is possible are working in the minds of labour as well as in those of the employers, and men who for almost the first time in their lives have earned and enjoyed wages which have given them a larger view of the possibilities of life are not likely to be willing to return to the harder conditions of the past. When the unionist speaks of a return to the old rules he does not contemplate that his earning power shall fall to the old level. All that he means is that the skilled man shall not be replaced in his job, and that there shall be no attempt to obtain his work at a lower price per piece than in the past.

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WOMEN'S LABOUR AFTER THE WAR

THE Trades Union Congress, which opened at Birmingham the beginning of this week, will have to consider problems of a nature which have not previously been of vital interest to the principle of combination. In the first place, the trade unions will have to formulate their plan of campaign to ensure the compulsory return to trade union conditions following on war. Having decided on the necessary steps for ensuring this return the delegates will have to consider what is to be done in regard to the enormous number of women who have entered trades from which they were previously debarred. They will have to decide once and for all whether they will admit women to their unions, or whether subsidiary unions are to be formed of which the members are solely feminine. In the case of piecework but few difficulties present themselves. The textile workers of Lancashire, both men and women, are unionists throughout, and though the men earn more money than the women their rate of payment is the same, the superior strength and skill of the male operative alone enabling him to make more money than the female. In those departments of labour where payment by the hour is a rule the case is more difficult. In my own opinion, the solution most favourable to the consolidation of trade unionism would lie in the direction of admitting women to the same union as men, with a standard rate of pay.

This would obviously have the effect of reducing the number of women employed in this particular trade, and, on the whole, would be an advantage, for it would reduce the number of women in the labour market and at the same time tend to raise the wages of the men. This would mean greater comfort in the home and more leisure for the woman to fulfil those functions which from a social point of view are the most important—those of wife and mother. There will still remain, however, a considerable residuum of female labour which it will be to the interests of the employers to retain.

Of this residuum quite a large proportion will, in my opinion, and for the first time in the history of female labour, be definitely attracted by the principle of trades unionism. Before the war, except in the case of the cotton operatives and the shop assistants, women's trade unions had few members, and the industries they represented were badly paid. The women were largely recruited from the sweated workers, and their standard of life a low one both from the material and intellectual standpoint.

It was difficult, almost impossible, for them to understand that the expenditure of a few pence in a subscription to their union would ensure them, in the ultimate, higher wages and better conditions. Since the war, however, the type of woman worker has radically changed, and a very considerable number of women and young girls recruited from shops and offices will undoubtedly prefer to remain in the factories and on the farms to returning to their previous monotonous occupations.

The determining factor, however, will, I think, be found to lie in the high wages which the women war-workers have received. One of the most significant changes which has come into the life of women since the war has been the astonishing increase in the rate of her expenditure. The bun-and-milk lunch, which was responsible for that anæmia so typical of the London girl, has become a thing of the past. I was immensely interested and pleased to find the other day a party of four or five girls, workers in munitions factories, ordering their lunch at a restaurant in Oxford Street. They had a good square meal, with plenty of fruit and cream to finish up with, a cup of coffee and a cigarette. The girls belonged to the factory class, and before the war would have been found in jam or pickle factories, or establishments of a similar character, and their earnings would have been from fifteen to eighteen shillings a week, with meals to correspond. Now, however, that standard of living has been abandoned, and the factory girl of to-day is able to buy nourishing food, good boots, pretty frocks and hats to her heart's content.

That her earning capacity will remain the same after the war is, of course, impossible; but that she will remain content with the wages of pre-war days is unthinkable. Once having acquired a taste for mutton chops she will not easily go back to buns and pickles. Having received high wages she will desire their continuance, she will realise that the only method of obtaining them is to combine. And women's trade unions will increase and multiply.

And as with the working class so with the middle class girl. The earning capacities of shorthand-typists have increased from 50 to 70 per cent. since the war, and the girl who managed to exist on a pound a week has found herself in receipt of nearly as much again. She also will resent the return to a lower rate, and, like her sister in the workshop and the factory—with whom in certain cases she has been labouring side by side—will learn the lesson which women have been so long in understanding, that the only way in which the worker, either in the office or the factory, can force the employer to pay a living wage is by combination. The answer to the exploitation of the capitalists is the formation of a trades union. For the trades union holds a weapon which capital cannot ultimately withstand—the weapon of the strike. And it is the value of this weapon which the war has taught the woman in industry to understand.

MARGARET HAMILTON.

Manchester Guardian

16.10.16

INDUSTRY AFTER THE WAR.

EMPLOYERS & TRADE UNION RESTRICTIONS.

At the opening meeting of the session of the Manchester Association of Engineers, held on Saturday at the Grand Hotel, an address was given by Mr. F. W. Reed, the president. He reviewed some of the economic problems of the engineering industry in the light of the present state of war. He said that scarcely would peace have been proclaimed than industrial war would be upon us, and it was for that organisation to be prepared. Already they had warnings that enemy countries were making strenuous preparations for capturing foreign trade after the war. In most of our establishments general work had been displaced by the making of machinery for the manufacture of munitions, while in others both the shops and machinery had had to be adapted to making shell and other war material. One of the problems which would come with peace would be the readjustment of these establishments to pre-war conditions.

Dilution of Labour.

There would be the questions of restriction of output and the dilution of labour, which even now were deserving of serious consideration. For the purposes of the war, trade unions had agreed with the Government to withdraw their rules bearing upon these vital questions on the understanding that they would be reinstated on the return of peace conditions. As a set-off to these conditions the employers were called upon to make considerable sacrifices in the way of handing over to the Government any extra profits above a certain limit. If labour insisted that these rules should be restored the Government would have to comply; that was the present agreement, which could not be departed from without the consent of organised labour. Whether it would be to the ultimate interest of labour to insist on this restoration was a very important matter for consideration; both employer and labour must realise that the conditions of industry would be changed and both would have to meet the situation in a new spirit. Labour would do well to consider whether, after all, its own interests and the interests of the nation had been served well in the past, or would be in the future, by the old policy. It was obvious that a nation did not prosper by curtailing its output of things necessary for the welfare of mankind. For if our competitors produced the same things at less cost per head the trade would go to them. Our future success would depend on getting the utmost production out of our industrial equipment. The idea of there only being a certain amount of work to do, and the less any individual did the more there would be for others, was economically bad, and to follow it up was to traverse the high road to unemployment. The great amount of capital outlay expended in equipping an engineering works formed an important proportion of the standing charges; therefore the obvious policy was to obtain the maximum output per machine, even to the extent of keeping the more important ones running night and day, and to encourage the workers' endeavours. A scheme of rewarding individual effort was advisable.

Women in Engineering Shops.

The capture of enemy trade was a question of output rather than of total employment, for in normal times we had only about 4 per cent of unemployed, and if employment were found for these it could not be expected that we should be able to accomplish anything but a small fraction of the extra trade contemplated unless an understanding was come to between employer and labour to ensure greater individual output. It would be to the interest of the employer to discard out-of-date machinery and replace it with modern; more especially was this advisable with high wage rates. Then again it was not good economy to employ fully skilled men on work which could be equally well done by semi-skilled men or women. The important part women had taken in helping to carry out extra and unusual work which the war had brought about was an important industrial factor. They had adapted themselves to the novel conditions and had proved themselves capable of keeping pace with male labour on repetition work, even to the extent in some cases of giving better results. He particularly referred to output rather than to production costs. Not only had they shown themselves capable of success in engineering works, but they had taken the places of other male labour. Would these women be willing to revert to their former employment after qualifying themselves in doing work for which they had received comparatively high pay? No doubt a number working from purely patriotic motives would resume their former occupations, but others would have a strong desire to continue working in the mechanical trades. Only in rare cases were women doing the work of skilled men; in general they were employed on work of a repetition nature, but the skill which they had displayed afforded reason to

Common Cause
Sept 29, 1916

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Women's Work after the War.

MEN AND WOMEN MUST STAND TOGETHER.

There is much scope to be found for thought in certain official pronouncements of the Home Office and Trades Congress this month. I choose two merely as suggestions as to the line of thought which Women Suffragists should pursue.

1. The White Paper of the Home Office states that "several sets of operatives were kept under close observation in order that their powers of application might be investigated. The men engaged in boring the powder chamber and in turning and finishing shells were found, almost without exception, to do their work with admirable persistence, and it was very seldom that they rested even for a minute. On the other hand, the women engaged in turning fuse bodies rested for times which in the aggregate amounted to an hour and a-half out of a twelve-hour day, and over an hour out of the ten-hour day. This was probably due, not to idleness, but to fatigue, and to the instinctive knowledge that short-rest pauses were necessary to prevent undue fatigue." The final deduction of the report is that women must work shorter hours than men.

2. The London and Provincial Union of Licensed Vehicle Workers proposed a resolution asking for "a revocation of the order licensing women to act as conductors on omnibuses or trams; that all such licences issued shall be for the war period only, and that on peace being declared all such licences shall automatically expire on the date for which such licence has been issued." This was passed by the Trade Congress without discussion.

The criticism that I suggest on these declarations is that both show a want of impartiality and a want of grasp of the problem of women's work, and both reveal a state of mind which is very dangerous to the fair settlement of this question at the end of the war. The "admirable persistence" of the men is contrasted with the exhausted inaction of the women for an hour a day, due to the necessity of preventing undue fatigue. Now, if this were a correct comparison, there would be no more to say. Men would be safe from the competition of women; but what notice has been taken here of the opinions of the heads of munition factories all over the country, and announced by the journalists sent on a semi-official mission by the Ministry of Munitions, that the women's output has been from two to two and a-half times that of men in these workshops?

When that announcement was published months ago, many of us foresaw the consequences that would follow. Women had been urged by the authorities to be patriotic, to think not of the conditions of their work, but of the needs of the soldiers at the front. Accordingly, they exerted themselves to the utmost of their powers, and their output naturally exceeded the men's. The men knew from years of experience that such an output could not be kept up, without a terrible sacrifice of working power in the future, and they would not attempt such speeding up. Is it any wonder that they are able to work more hours a day without rests when they work at half the stress? And is it not very likely that the suggestion of fewer hours for a working day for women is an attempt to keep the output level?

The White Paper speaks of the lighter types of work being kept for women, "as it is a waste of muscle to appropriate these to men, or even to youths," quite regardless of the fact that some strong athletic women can do without effort what many delicate youths could only do at risk of their lives.

Again, in whose interest is it that "sedentary gauging operations should evidently be confined to women and girls?" Nature, I suppose, built women to sit everlastingly on seats, and men to improve their muscular power by movement!

The report seems to regard the ideal workers as machines—those labelled men doing this work, and those labelled women doing that, and all forced to take their rest times compulsorily and equally, and "the rest pauses at other times checked as far as possible."

Now, turn to the Trade Congress resolution, passed "without discussion." No one is asking that a woman who has taken a man's place should not give up that place to the man if he is fortunate enough to come back to it at the close of the war. Everyone agrees that it is his. But how many men, unfortunately, will never come back, and how many will not return to the same work, and in these cases why should women be turned out? We read with grim amusement that the old arguments were advanced that the work was bad for women's health and "morals," and we could almost apologise to the next cheery 'bus conductor we pay our fare to for the insult thus put upon her. The important thing, however, is for us to read these quotations in the light of our knowledge of the crisis that is coming on us at the end of the war.

Women Suffragists demand equality in the industrial and political world, knowing well that it is in the interests of women and men alike. We do not wish for any reduction in the rate of wages in any trade nor an addition to the hours of labour. We wish to level up, not down. We know that what we aim at is for the general good of all the workers.

There will be two alternatives before the men at the close of the war. They will be wise enough to recognise facts, always a difficult thing to human beings, and admit that the women have won their right to a place in the labour market, and also have proved themselves good comrades and fellow workers with the men. In this case equality and co-operation is not only the most generous aim to pursue, but the only wise one. Otherwise the second alternative will be forced on the workers, and that is that an unacknowledged but real alliance will be made between the employers and the women workers, and the men will be gradually ousted. There will almost necessarily be a shortage of capital when peace comes, interest will go up, and the tendency will be for wages to go down. Women will be forced to stay in the labour market somehow. There will be fewer men to support them, and there will be more dependents—children, old people, and invalid soldiers—for them to provide for.

Employers know now what they were too slow to see before, that women can do any work they give them. If men and women workers do not stand together, if artificial restrictions are put on women's work, then the employers will be in a position where they can play off one set against the other to the detriment of both, and buy women's work at a cheaper rate than men's, because they are not free to bargain as the men are. No one will be benefited; all workers will suffer from a general reduction of the standard.

Is it too late for Women Suffragists to appeal to the men to look at the question from a broad standpoint, and to ask them first to help us to get at once the political equality we need to enable us to fight this industrial battle at the end of the war, and then to join hands with us in our efforts to better the conditions of women's labour, and so raise the standard of conditions all round to a more human level than it is to-day?

MARGARET ROPER

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able sacrifices in the way of handing over to the Government any extra profits above a certain limit. If labour insisted that these rules should be restored the Government would have to comply; that was the present agreement, which could not be departed from without the consent of organised labour. Whether it would be to the ultimate interest of labour to insist on this restoration was a very important matter for consideration; both employer and labour must realise that the conditions of industry would be changed and both would have to meet the situation in a new spirit. Labour would do well to consider whether, after all, its own interests and the interests of the nation had been served well in the past, or would be in the future, by the old policy. It was obvious that a nation did not prosper by curtailing its output of things necessary for the welfare of mankind. For if our competitors produced the same things at less cost per head the trade would go to them. Our future success would depend on getting the utmost production out of our industrial equipment. The idea of there only being a certain amount of work to do, and the less any individual did the more there would be for others, was economically bad, and to follow it up was to traverse the high road to unemployment. The great amount of capital outlay expended in equipping an engineering works formed an important proportion of the standing charges; therefore the obvious policy was to obtain the maximum output per machine, even to the extent of keeping the more important ones running night and day, and to encourage the workers' endeavours. A scheme of rewarding individual effort was advisable.

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Discussing the question of remuneration, Mr. Reed said the value of services rendered should not be measured by the time made but by the work done. Good wages was a forward policy. It attracted the best labour and retained it, and generally speaking ensured the most economical production.

Notes and [illegible]

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3. 10. 16

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WOMEN LIBERALS.

YORKSHIRE ASSOCIATIONS IN CONFERENCE.

AFTER-WAR PROBLEMS DISCUSSED IN LEEDS.

Questions of vital importance were raised at the annual meeting of the Yorkshire Council of Women's Liberal Associations, held at the Philosophical Hall, Leeds, yesterday. Mrs. A. E Hartley (Roundhay), who took the chair in the absence of Miss Salt (president), had the support of Miss Margaret Ashton (Manchester), Lady Fisher-Smith (Halifax), Miss Booth (Gildersome), Miss Cockshott (Oakworth), Mrs. Donkersley (Huddersfield), Mrs. Dewhirst (Barkston Ash), Mrs. Derwent (Bradford), Mrs. E. Denison (Yeadon), Mrs. Gray-Heald (Leeds), Mrs. Gardner (Hull), Mrs. Ingram (Shipley), Mrs. Charles Newboult (Bradford), Mrs. Grattan Newboult (Bradford), and Miss F. Morton (Leeds).

In the annual report Miss F. Morton (hon. secretary) stated that the members of the associations were still greatly occupied on special war work, and the proper duties of the associations were as yet in many respects inappropriate to the general atmosphere of public life. It was hoped and believed, however, that the associations would persevere in maintaining their corporate existence for future purposes. There were two subjects in particular which ought to engage the attention of Liberal women both now and during the coming months. In the first place, there was what was described as "reconstruction after the war." The future remuneration and position of thousands of women who had recently entered new industries, the security and independence of the widows of fallen soldiers, the fate of the boys now growing up in millions of homes, and the direct participation of women in making the laws under which they had to live were all parts of the general subject of reconstruction upon which Liberal women should be exercising thought and forming enlightened opinions. In the second place, there was the subject of the prevention of war in the future, which was perhaps the most important, and certainly the most urgent, of all. This could only be effected if the experiences of the past two years caused a general consolidation of public opinion in favour of peace. Women had to take their part in the formation of that opinion, and they could only do so by meeting together, by informing themselves, by making up their minds, and by making their convictions felt.

The report, together with that of the hon. treasurer, was adopted.

WAGES FOR FEMALE LABOUR.

Afterwards the delegates listened to an address on "The Economic Position of Women After the War" from Miss Margaret Ashton, a member of the Manchester City Council, and sister-in-law of the Lord Mayor of Leeds. She said that when the present struggle was over it would have to be seen that woman was no more of a glut on the labour market than man. The country had witnessed the transfer of men and women in various occupations—women had been called into agriculture—and she presumed that would continue. Women would have to go on working in agricultural pursuits such as dairying, even heavy farming, and certainly market gardening, if the condition of agriculture in the country was to be improved and made something like adequate for the support of the nation itself. There had also, it was true, been a good deal of displacement of men by females in commercial positions, but only of the males engaged in the lower paid occupations, while the men were entering the well-paid positions held by women, there being, for instance, more men acting as overlookers in the millinery business. That was extremely unsatisfactory, for it meant that there was still less opportunity for the protection of women even in their own trades than there was before. Women had got to guard against that, and the country had got to get over the idea that a woman was merely a female.

One saw the Government to-day placing women with a university education and the so-called flappers out of the elementary and secondary schools into the same positions. The result was that from Government departments where clerks of 30 years of age with considerable experience had been replaced by young girls of 15 there came the complaint of the inefficiency of women. On the other hand, where university women were doing the work for which they were quite ill-suited the cry arose of how well the work was being done. When the Government could discriminate between the two classes then there might possibly be some idea obtained of the real value of women's labour and the necessity for adequate payment of that labour.

AN ABSURD VIEW.

Another point she wished to mention was the view of men in pre-war days that women did not do more than keep themselves. Nothing was so absurd. Before the commencement of this great struggle there were nearly 5,000,000 women working for wages in the country, and of that number 12 per cent. were girls under 17, and 2½ per cent. women of 65 and upwards; naturally they were not able, as women were to-day, to be wholly self-supporting. Of the remainder, however, 35 per cent. supported themselves alone, and 51 per cent. supported as much as one and three-quarter persons more than themselves. Therefore over half the women working supported someone else, but they were only paid on the assumption that they maintained themselves.

As a result of the war women would not only have to support themselves, but would have many others dependent upon them. Women must therefore be put on an equal rate with the men if the nation was to be really self-supporting, and women were not to become a drag on the nation and their children weak and debilitated by lack of sufficient means to care for them properly. After the war, too, there would be the question of how to cope with the large influx of women into the labour market. Was it not right, asked Miss Ashton, that an effort should be made after the war to try and steady the labour market by keeping the children out of it for a year or two, and thereby taking away the competition of cheap child labour, which had always had a tendency to destroy the health of the nation.

HALF-TIME AND STUNTED STATURE.

Further, there was the matter of education—what could be done to improve the education of the children? The country would have to see that their school hours were extended, and the boys and girls better fitted to take up the strain of life. Personally, she was extremely anxious to see girls kept out of industry until they were 16 years of age. It was only human beings who worked their young before they were fully grown. Horses were not worked while they were young except very gently; but then horses cost money, and children cost nothing, except from the mother's standpoint. Children were too valuable to be sacrificed to man's greed. Lancashire had the unenviable reputation of raising more "Bantam" battalions than any other county. The half-time system was responsible for a good deal of that stunted stature. Those of the cotton industries and those of the woollen industries had a great load of responsibility upon them for having damaged the human race in their areas.

Concluding, Miss Ashton expressed the belief that had women had a voice in the affairs of the country war would in all probability have been prevented, and she emphasised the necessity of women combining when the time for the reconstruction of the nation came to see that their claims were not overlooked. (Applause.)

In opening the discussion which followed, Lady Fisher-Smith said that the chance of women in England had not come until now. When one examined the commercial fabric of the country, it was almost a ruin, many of the mills having had entirely to change their output and work on munitions. There were, too, thousands of small industries and small shops which had had to be given up because of the men going to the war.

Another delegate, alluding to the suggestion that children should be allowed to remain at school until 16, said that until a father was paid sufficient to bring up his children she could see no outlet to the question.

Miss Ashton, in reply, said the subject of the maintenance of the children was already under consideration, but she did not think they ought to expect the State to do more in that direction than they were doing already.

Mrs. Grattan Newboult mentioned that in Bradford a few weeks ago there was a Munitions Court at which some women were brought up for neglecting their work. In the course of the evidence it came out that they were receiving 14s. a week for wire-winding, and were working the ordinary factory hours. The employer was anxious they should go back to work, but he did not offer to pay them more than the 14s., and she (the speaker) had been told that the work was that of an ordinary labourer, for which a man received 22s. a week. When the war was over women would have to take in hand the question of economics, and everyone knew there were no economists like women.

Denunciation of the wages paid to nurses was uttered by Miss Morton, who said that nursing, as all knew, was one of the worst sweated professions in the country. At the present time there was a call for V.A.D. nurses, but it was impossible for a girl to give her services unless she possessed private means. One saw advertisements for nurses at £20 a year—a domestic servant's wages.

Another delegate, however, pointed out that while it was perfectly true V.A.D. nurses were paid £20 a year, when they went abroad under the Government they received various allowances.

Lady Fisher-Smith said Liberal women must see to it that there was a registration of nurses, there being women pretending to be nurses who were not so. If there was that registration it would lead to an alteration in the salaries.

THE PREVENTION OF WAR.

Before proceeding with the programme of the afternoon session, the delegates passed a vote of sympathy with the Prime Minister in the loss of his eldest son.

There followed an address on "The Prevention of War in the Future," by Principal Graham, of Walton Hall, Manchester, who said that in the territorial settlements when the war was over everyone trusted the principle of nationality and the consent of the governed would be the main considerations. There could only be the security for everybody which the people of Europe desired if there were no soldiers. Were there no armies and navies there would be no fear of territorial aggrandisement and the vast drain on the nations of the world produced by them. Nothing but the minds of men stood in the path of that ideal. Disarmament depended upon an increase of trust among the peoples of the world, and he personally believed that the way to stimulate hatred and all evil feeling was by imposing a protective tariff. Before there could be love amongst the nations there must be justice, and of all kinds of justice economic justice was the foremost. It would suit Great Britain to have the coast of Africa dotted with German factories and plantations, because the Germans would there be making something they wanted to sell. If they desired to sell palm oil, teak, and coffee a good deal of those materials would come to England, and would be paid for by exports, and in that way our trade would be stimulated.

The speaker added that statements about fighting to the bitter end only provoked hostility. Mr. Lloyd George had said in his interview with a newspaper correspondent that "such punishment must be inflicted upon the perpetrators of this outrage against humanity that the temptation to emulate their exploits would be eliminated from the hearts of the evil-minded amongst the rulers of men." But rulers had never been restrained by what other rulers had done, and this wickedness and evil would never be crushed by methods of what Mr. Lloyd George called punishment—that was, by defeat. War would never bring an end to war however far we might succeed for the moment in destroying the armies and military material of our opponents. It was not a patriotic thing to say time was no matter and we must go on to inflict punishment at whatever cost.

Mrs. Stewart-Brown (Liverpool), the chairman of the Lancashire and Cheshire Women's Liberal Suffrage Union, also delivered an address on "Looking Ahead."

cf: article by "AW Humphrey" in Daily News" Date 9th Oct. '16, in Thos file. AD

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WOMEN WORKERS AFTER THE WAR.

PIN-MONEY VERSUS A REAL LIVING WAGE.

By CECIL HAMMERSLEY.

A FEW days ago I was talking to an employer about the wages question (said Miss Mary Macarthur, Secretary of the Women's Trade Union League), and he said: "Anyhow, women are ten-a-penny. I only have to put up a notice and there are hundreds at the gate looking for a job."

And the call is for more women and still more to "come forward"! We're a quaint nation. If, as with art, every nation had the women it deserved, then Britain would certainly send out those "calls" in vain.

Everyone surely realises that woman will never give up the fruits of the victory she has [illegible] She has silenced for ever those who said that she should seek no outlets for her mental and physical energies apart from her pots, pans and perambulator. There is, however, always the question: How best can woman make her position secure after the war, run side by side with man in the race of life as a comrade and fellow-worker, and not as a fighting competitor?

An employer must not be permitted to imagine that he can pay a woman 25s. a week, say, for doing precisely the same duties, equally well, for which he would pay a man £2 or over. And, the Government must first set the good example. (In one Government department a man was doing certain work before the war for £3 a week. His post at present is being filled by a young girl, who, though doing exactly the same work with equal accuracy, is being paid only 16s. a week.)

Not only is this sort of thing terribly unjust to the woman worker, but it tends to lower the standard rates of payment for the men when they come back. Many employers may refuse to pay a man several pounds a week for doing work that they can get a woman to do equally well for several shillings.

THOSE WHO MUST GO.

For the benefit of all serious woman workers, more especially the many thousands who have to earn a living to keep themselves, and possibly a mother or younger dependent, those "ten-a-penny" workers—the "pin-money pastime" triflers—must go. These pocket-money women only lower the value of competent workers. There is no longer room for the semi-amateur, although no doubt for what she does she is adequately paid. The complete organisation of the thoroughly competent woman worker would be of benefit to her masculine colleagues. Instead of being forced against her will and interests to undercut him on the wages list, she would be competing honestly with him on an equal basis.

So, instead of an employer with a position vacant being able to say: "I can get a woman to do this work for 25s., while I should have to pay a man £2 10s., therefore I'll employ a woman," he would have to say: "This post is worth £2 10s. A man can have it or a woman can have it—whichever of them is the most skilful, the best-trained worker."

Now, the employer has this problem to face: If a man marries, the fact does not interrupt his work; but if a woman becomes a wife, more often than not her work breaks up and the employer may be left in the lurch, especially if the woman has occupied a position of responsibility for which he had to spend valuable time in training her. In the interest of the State it is right that a woman should leave her employment when she becomes a mother. Still, it seems as though there ought to be some solution to the difficulty from the employers' standpoint. Lady Henry Somerset once suggested to me that some sort of insurance might be arranged by which the employer safeguards himself against losing a valuable worker.

GOVERNMENT OFFICES.

WOMAN'S FUTURE.

Our Civil Service Correspondent writes:

The position of women after the war, following the numberless occupations hitherto closed now thrown open to them, will present a very interesting problem. With the influx of thousands of women into our Government departments, that problem will be no less present in the Civil Service than in the commercial and industrial world. Will all these women be turned adrift when peace comes, and what will be the effect on woman's own outlook of tasting for the first time what she would call the sweets of economic independence? These are questions which even in the midst of war are now being considered. No woman, we feel sure, who has released a man for the front would object to give him his place when he returns; but, on the other hand, how many of our brave boys will never return? The prejudices against the employment of woman have [illegible] own [illegible] that her [illegible] ough [illegible] rvice [illegible] nces [illegible] ered [illegible] vices [illegible] when [illegible] play [illegible] will [illegible] ould [illegible] ding [illegible] locu- [illegible] and [illegible] n of [illegible] man [illegible] ould easily perform all the duties of the abstractor and boy clerk class, and, with few exceptions, those of the second division clerks. In the strenuous times ahead of us, when we have to repair the evils of war, it is surely a waste of our man power to employ able bodied men in those simple clerical duties when they might be engaged in more manly work as producers of wealth in farm and factory.

We have a shortage of men and a surplusage of women, and this state of things will become even more marked. It would do something to redress this disparity if wider employment were given to women in the clerical sphere. The Committee presided over by Lord Faringdon, which recommended the establishment of the British Trade Bank evidently foresaw the wider rôle which women, under the new conditions, are expected to play in future. One significant sentence in their report says in regard to the general staff required, "It is fair to assume that women will in future take a considerable share in purely clerical work, and this fact will enable the institution to take fuller advantage of the qualifications of its male staff to push its affairs in every quarter of the globe." They go on to say that "it is perhaps worth pointing out that at the close of the war there may be a considerable number of educated young men who will not be willing to settle down again to the humdrum of an office," at the same time remarking that "the reluctance on the part of young men to go abroad in recent years has been brought to their notice." With the changes that have been brought about women will assuredly find a wider field for their services than they ever anticipated..

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A THOUGHT FOR TO-DAY.

Be wisely worldly; be not worldly wise.—*Quarles.*

Christian Science Monitor
4 - 10 - 16

A Trade Unionist on After-War Trade

THE view, regarding after-war trade, put forward by John Hill, general secretary of the Boilermakers Society of the United Kingdom, in a recent report, is worthy of special notice. After referring to the various measures taken by the government to provide for a large degree of unemployment after the war, Mr. Hill goes on to insist that, if the situation were dealt with as it should be, there ought to be no serious amount of unemployment after the war. To regain the material loss to the nation, he says, more than the usual amount of work will be required, and if it is possible, in war time, to find employment for all kinds of men, women and children, and for some of the most inefficient workers, surely it is also possible to organize the after-war remnant of the national industries, and to convert this vast plant and capital, immediately, for the manufacture of materials to restore and build up the nation.

The point raised by Mr. Hill is, of course, in the last degree a controversial one. It raises the whole question of what is commonly called socialism, and throws open the doors to a consideration of the political economy of nations de novo. Some years ago, when the boot trade in England was passing through a period of comparative stagnation, when large numbers of firms were working only short time or had temporarily closed down altogether, a prominent publicist asked a very pertinent question. He had taken a walk through London, he said, especially through the East End; from London he had taken a train to a large town in the Midlands devoted chiefly to the manufacture of boots and shoes, and he had made an extended tour of its streets. On both occasions he noticed one thing in particular, namely, that he met very many men, women and children who clearly needed a pair of new boots. In the boot town, especially, he met many hundreds who needed new footgear more than perhaps any other article of clothing. And yet there was no work in the factories, even for the ill-shod boot operatives themselves, and no manufacturer would make boots and shoes because there was so comparatively small a sale for them.

Now anyone who knows anything of political economy will know full well with what avidity the orthodox political economist would prepare to explain this matter, and guarantee to make it as clear as daylight why bootless boot operatives should be walking the streets idle because there was no demand for boots. By the time he

ployer about the wages question (said Miss Mary Macarthur, Secretary of the Women's Trade Union League), and he said: "Anyhow, women are ten-a-penny. I only have to put up a notice and there are hundreds at the gate looking for a job."

And the call is for more women and still more to "come forward"! We're a quaint nation. If, as with art, every nation had the women it deserved, then Britain would certainly send out those "calls" in vain.

Everyone surely realises that woman will never give up the fruits of the victory she has [illegible] for ever those who said that she should seek no outlets for her mental and physical energies apart from her pots, pans and perambulator. There is, however, always the question: How best can woman make her position secure after the war, run side by side with man in the race of life as a comrade and fellow-worker, and not as a fighting competitor?

An employer must not be permitted to imagine that he can pay a woman 25s. a week, say, for doing precisely the same duties, equally well, for which he would pay a man £2 or over. And, the Government must first set the good example. (In one Government department a man was doing certain work before the war for £3 a week. His post at present is being filled by a young girl, who, though doing exactly the same work with [illegible] week for doing work that they can get a woman to do equally well for several shillings.

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For the benefit of all serious woman workers, more especially the many thousands who have to earn a living to keep themselves, and possibly a mother or younger dependent, those "ten-a-penny" workers—the "pin-money pastime" triflers—must go. These pocket-money women only lower the value of competent workers. There is no longer room for the semi-amateur, although no doubt for what she does she is adequately paid. The complete organisation of the thoroughly competent woman worker would be of benefit to her masculine colleagues. Instead of being forced against her will and interests to undercut him on the wages list, she would be competing honestly with him on an equal basis.

So, instead of an employer with a position vacant being able to say: "I can get a woman to do this work for 25s., while I should have to pay a man £2 10s., therefore I'll employ a woman," he would have to say: "This post is worth £2 10s. A man can have it or a woman can have it—whichever of them is the most skilful, the best-trained worker."

Now, the employer has this problem to face: If a man marries, the fact does not interrupt his work; but if a woman becomes a wife, more often than not her work breaks up and the employer may be left in the lurch, especially if the woman has occupied a position of responsibility for which he had to spend valuable time in training her. In the interest of the State it is right that a woman should leave her employment when she becomes a mother. Still, it seems as though there ought to be some solution to the difficulty from the employers' standpoint. Lady Henry Somerset once suggested to me that some sort of insurance might be arranged by which the employer safeguards himself against losing a valuable worker.

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Now anyone who knows anything of political economy will know full well with what avidity the orthodox political economist would prepare to explain this matter, and guarantee to make it as clear as daylight why bootless boot operatives should be walking the streets idle, because there was no demand for boots. By the time he had finished, however, and for an indefinite period afterwards, as far as anything he could do to help in the matter was concerned, the boot operative would continue to walk the streets, bootless, because there was no demand for boots. The prime necessity in such cases is, first of all, to admit that the condition is wrong; then to recognize that it can be righted, and then to set about finding the solution. The "right to work" is not socialism or any other "ism"; it is an inalienable privilege. There can be no question that if the governments of the various countries were to start and finish all their deliberations on the position of labor after the war with this fact as an axiom, they would be in a much better position to solve the problem than by devising stop-gap schemes of pensions and subsidies.

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Not only is this sort of thing terribly unjust to the woman worker, but it tends to lower the standard rates of payment for the men when they come back. Many employers may refuse to pay a man several pounds a week for doing work that they can get a woman to do equally well for several shillings.

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GOVERNMENT OFFICES.

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We shall enter into a new and different world when peace is declared. The need for young men to play their part in the regeneration of the country will be urgent, and it is questionable whether we could not find better use for their services than sending them into Government offices merely copying documents and doing clerical work of a routine and mechanical kind. There is really no form of clerical work which the modern educated woman could not do as well as a man. Women could easily perform all the duties of the abstractor and boy clerk class, and, with few exceptions, those of the second division clerks. In the strenuous times ahead of us, when we have to repair the evils of war, it is surely a waste of our man power to employ able bodied men in those simple clerical duties when they might be engaged in more manly work as producers of wealth in farm and factory.

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FINANCE OF THE WAR.

THE casualty lists tell their own tale. So do the taxes. But the activity of trade disguises many things, and those who earn high wages and salaries do not realise fully the need of severe economy and saving. Bankers understand it. They and the officials of the Treasury realise what it means for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be offering 6 per cent., even for a short term of three years, to provide money for the war. But the average man does not think in millions, or perceive the meaning for the future of this vast accumulating debt. Nor does he quite see the position as regards our Allies. Russia, especially, in order to pay interest on its debt and keep going, will need to obtain very large supplies of capital after the war. Where will she get the money? The longer the war lasts the more will be required. At least 500 millions must be owed to France. The French will have to try to pay the interest on the capital lent by them to Russia for some years to come. We shall have to do the same for what we have lent. We may have to do the same for Italy and Belgium, certainly for Serbia. Our Colonies will need all the financial support we can give them. After the war Colonial loans will shower on the London market, and Mr. Hughes will be very angry if money is not plentiful and rates are not cheap. For our own purposes it is clear that we shall need twice as much revenue as we had before the war, besides large temporary loans during the period of demobilisation and reconstruction.

In addition to these debt charges the belligerent States for many years will have a heavy drain on their resources in the payment of pensions to disabled soldiers and to the dependents of those who have lost their lives. From the example of the United States in the Civil War, we can dimly guess to what sums this item will advance in a war of unprecedented extent and destructiveness. While the claims for such pensions multiply with every week of war, in each country the resources from which they must be paid are absorbed by immediate military needs. It must be remembered that among the belligerents Great Britain alone has made any attempt to meet even a fraction of the war charges by increased taxation. The other Powers have had to face a heavy loss of revenue and to pay their way by issues of depreciated currency, by loans, and by heavy borrowings from their State banks.

Take first the financial position of the Central Powers, as it has been estimated by careful neutral investigators. The figures, of course, are very rough; but they are sufficiently near the mark for our purpose:

NATIONAL DEBTS OF THE CENTRAL POWERS.
(In Millions Sterling.)

	Before the War.	Jan. 1, 1916.	Aug. 1, 1916.
Germany (Imperial debt)	250	1,620	2,450
Austria-Hungary	750	—	1,800

DEBT CHARGES.
(In Millions Sterling.)

	Before the War.	Aug. 1, 1916.
Germany	12	122
Austria-Hungary	32	100

In both these States the revenue (largely derived from customs) has shrunk to a fraction of the normal receipts. It is hard to see how, except by very heavy borrowings for very many years to come, they will be able to discharge even the interest on their debts. In his Budget the Imperial debt," he said, "for 1916 takes 2,303 million marks, against 1,268 in 1915, and 250 in the last peace Budget. We are thus, in the midst of the war, brought face to face with what will be the great economic problem of the peace." Turning to Great Britain and her Allies, we must remember that the French National Debt before the war was the largest in the world, followed by that of Russia. According to these neutral estimates, France has now doubled, and Russia trebled, her debt. In Russia, too, the heavy loss of revenue from customs and from the suppression of the vodka traffic must be taken into account, though the latter is more than compensated by increased health, energy, and savings.

THE NATIONAL DEBTS OF THE ALLIES.
(In Millions Sterling.)

	Before the War.	Jan. 1, 1916.	Aug. 1, 1916.
France	1,320	2,520	2,920
Great Britain	707	2,125	2,610
Italy	570	760	920
Russia	920	2,220	3,000

Thus Germany and Great Britain lead in the addition of new war debt to their liabilities, while Russia and France have the largest gross debts. But in these totals neither the public debts of the German States nor those of our Colonies and India are included. If the German State debts were added Germany would take first place. Here is another rough computation of the debt charges of the Allies, leaving out Japan, Belgium, Serbia, and Roumania:

THE DEBT CHARGES OF THE ALLIES.
(In Millions Sterling.)

	Before the War.	Jan. 1, 1916.	Aug. 1, 1916.
Great Britain	22*	86	110
France	53	100	125
Russia	45	108	145
Italy	17	26	33

* Including a sinking fund of about five millions.

With Dr. Helfferich's statement quoted above may be contrasted the reminder of Mr. McKenna, in his Budget statement a month later, that "we never borrow a pound without making provision in advance by new taxation sufficient to cover both interest and a liberal sinking fund." He added: "The ability and willingness of our people to bear the burden of taxation have established our national credit on an unshakable foundation. . . . Civic courage is as important in its sphere as military courage, and we may justly claim in this time of stress that we have not been found wanting in either of these great virtues." If Germany has shown courage and financial strength by raising less revenue from taxation since the war began than she did in time of peace, then courage is not the word for what Great Britain has done. In the financial year 1916-17 it is proposed to raise 300 millions sterling by new taxation. Nevertheless, our debt charge (including a big Sinking Fund) for the current year (£145,000,000) is equal to our total national expenditure a few years ago.

In this survey no attempt has been made to consider the financial position of Bulgaria and Turkey in one group of belligerents, nor of Belgium, Serbia, and Montenegro among our Allies. The two Balkan Wars had already reduced their participants to insolvency, but we have good hope that Belgium will recover more rapidly than some suppose.

No one who can realise what these figures mean to the European world in individual privation and in the diversion of resources from productive and beneficial expenditure will attempt to minimise them. But the financial loss is only one aspect of the real cost of the war. There is also the devastation and destruction of property in the in- Asiatic Turkey, and German Africa, as well as the losses on land and sea due to mines, submarines, and aircraft. In France and Belgium, at any rate, careful observers also assert that in the area of hostilities the future productivity of the soil has been gravely impaired by trench-digging and the action of high explosive shells. At present these losses can hardly be estimated, and such guesses as have been made are probably exaggerated. The dislocation of trade and production due to the war is another factor, and in this neutrals also are involved, whether by natural difficulties of intercourse or the direct action of the belligerents in interference with neutral trade. Lastly, the casualty lists, with their agonising toll of human pain and bereavement, from another aspect, record a heavy economic loss to each belligerent. Both the numerical and the economic loss by casualties to the belligerents cannot, in the nature of things, be shown by more than rough estimates. But after two years of hostilities the total losses of the five leading belligerents in men may perhaps work out somewhat as follows; and a second column gives a valuation based upon the supposition that a British soldier represents a loss of £600, a German and a Frenchman a loss of £500, an Austrian a loss of £400, and a Russian a loss of £300 to the community of which he is a member.

KILLED, DIED OF DISEASE, OR MAIMED.

	The numerical loss.	Economic loss.
British Empire	450,000	£270,000,000
France	1,200,000	600,000,000
Germany	1,750,000	875,000,000
Austria	1,000,000	400,000,000
Russia	1,800,000	540,000,000
	6,200,000	£2,685,000,000

What the offensives of the last two months on the Eastern and Western fronts have added to these approximate totals can only be conjectured. Tables similar to these have often been published; but they need digestion and reflection, if we are to form any useful judgment on problems of policy as distinct from those of military and naval strategy, which are beyond our scope.

Clearly after the war the Governments of all the belligerent States will have to find, if they can, a very large new revenue for the purpose of paying the interest on their new war debt and pensions to invalid soldiers or to the widows and children of those who have been killed in the war. And most of them will have to meet these charges from a diminished trade and revenue. Thus they will be compelled either to repudiate interest on their debt—which means the confiscation of the property of their own subjects — or to compound with their creditors, or to make very heavy additions to a scale of taxation which had already become oppressive before the war, or finally they will have to abandon by mutual consent the system of competitive armaments and be content for a long time to come with a smaller outlay on armies and navies. The last of these methods alone offers a tolerable prospect for Europe in the long years of depression that lie ahead.

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NATIONAL DEBTS OF THE CENTRAL POWERS.
(In Millions Sterling.)

	Before the War.	Jan. 1, 1916.	Aug. 1, 1916.
Germany (Imperial debt)	250	1,620	2,450
Austria-Hungary	750	—	1,800

DEBT CHARGES.
(In Millions Sterling.)

	Before the War.	Aug. 1, 1916.
Germany	12	122
Austria-Hungary	32	100

In both these States the revenue (largely derived from customs) has shrunk to a fraction of the normal receipts. It is hard to see how, except by very heavy borrowing for very many years to come, they will be able to discharge even the interest on their debts. In his Budget speech of last March, Dr. Helfferich did not disguise the burden even then resting on the German people. "The service of from the suppression of the vodka traffic must be taken into account, though the latter is more than compensated by increased health, energy, and savings.

THE NATIONAL DEBTS OF THE ALLIES.
(In Millions Sterling.)

	Before the War.	Jan. 1, 1916.	Aug. 1, 1916.
France	1,320	2,520	2,920
Great Britain	707	2,125	2,610
Italy	570	760	920
Russia	920	2,220	3,000

Thus Germany and Great Britain lead in the addition of new war debt to their liabilities, while Russia and France have the largest gross debts. But in these totals neither the public debts of the German States nor those of our Colonies and India are included. If the German State debts were added Germany would take first place. Here is another rough computation of the debt charges of the Allies, leaving out Japan, Belgium, Serbia, and Roumania:

THE DEBT CHARGES OF THE ALLIES.
(In Millions Sterling.)

	Before the War.	Jan. 1, 1916.	Aug. 1, 1916.
Great Britain	22*	86	110
France	53	100	125
Russia	45	108	145
Italy	17	26	33

* Including a sinking fund of about five millions.

With Dr. Helfferich's statement quoted above may be contrasted the reminder of Mr. McKenna, in his Budget statement a month later, that "we never borrow a pound without making provision in advance by new taxation sufficient to cover both interest and a liberal sinking fund." He added: "The ability and willingness of our people to bear the burden of taxation have established our national credit on an unshakable foundation. . . . Civic courage is as important in its sphere as military courage, and we may justly claim in this time of stress that we have not been found wanting in either of these great virtues." If Germany has shown courage and financial strength by raising less revenue from taxation since the war began than she did in time of peace, then courage is not the word for what Great Britain has done. In the financial year 1916-17 it is proposed to raise 300 millions sterling by new taxation. Nevertheless, our debt charge (including a big Sinking Fund) for the current year (£145,000,000) is equal to our total national expenditure a few years ago.

In this survey no attempt has been made to consider the financial position of Bulgaria and Turkey in one group of belligerents, nor of Belgium, Serbia, and Montenegro among our Allies. The two Balkan Wars had already reduced their participants to insolvency, but we have good hope that Belgium will recover more rapidly than some suppose.

No one who can realise what these figures mean to the European world in individual privation and in the diversion of resources from productive and beneficial expenditure will attempt to minimise them. But the financial loss is only one aspect of the real cost of the war. There is also the devastation and destruction of property in the invaded areas of Northern France, Belgium, East Prussia, Poland, Galicia, the Balkans, intercourse or the direct action of the belligerents in interference with neutral trade. Lastly, the casualty lists, with their agonising toll of human pain and bereavement, from another aspect, record a heavy economic loss to each belligerent. Both the numerical and the economic loss by casualties to the belligerents cannot, in the nature of things, be shown by more than rough estimates. But after two years of hostilities the total losses of the five leading belligerents in men may perhaps work out somewhat as follows; and a second column gives a valuation based upon the supposition that a British soldier represents a loss of £600, a German and a Frenchman a loss of £500, an Austrian a loss of £400, and a Russian a loss of £300 to the community of which he is a member.

KILLED, DIED OF DISEASE, OR MAIMED.

	The numerical loss.	Economic loss.
British Empire	450,000	£270,000,000
France	1,200,000	600,000,000
Germany	1,750,000	875,000,000
Austria	1,000,000	400,000,000
Russia	1,800,000	540,000,000
	6,200,000	£2,685,000,000

What the offensives of the last two months on the Eastern and Western fronts have added to these approximate totals can only be conjectured. Tables similar to these have often been published; but they need digestion and reflection, if we are to form any useful judgment on problems of policy as distinct from those of military and naval strategy, which are beyond our scope.

Clearly after the war the Governments of all the belligerent States will have to find, if they can, a very large new revenue for the purpose of paying the interest on their new war debt and pensions to invalid soldiers or to the widows and children of those who have been killed in the war. And most of them will have to meet these charges from a diminished trade and revenue. Thus they will be compelled either to repudiate interest on their debt—which means the confiscation of the property of their own subjects — or to compound with their creditors, or to make very heavy additions to a scale of taxation which had already become oppressive before the war, or finally they will have to abandon by mutual consent the system of competitive armaments and be content for a long time to come with a smaller outlay on armies and navies. The last of these methods alone offers a tolerable prospect for Europe in the long years of depression that lie ahead.

Daily News & Leader
7.10.16

LABOUR ADVISER.

Co-operation Between Industry and the Government.

The new Government Department under the control of Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., the Labour Adviser to the Cabinet, is now in full operation at the offices in Great George-street, Westminster.

One of the Labour Adviser's first undertakings was to lay the foundations for a regular and definite system of co-operation and communication between industry and the Government. With that object consultative committees of employers and trade unionists have already been appointed, with a separate Consultative Committee on Women's Labour. Other committees will deal with Colonial and international problems affecting labour, and with general social and economic questions.

These committees will, it is hoped, perform a very useful function. Where it is necessary to consult any industry or branch of industry from either the employers' or workmen's standpoint the representatives of the industry will be approached, and full opportunity will be given to them to submit any considerations which appear to them material to the question at issue and important from their point of view.

Mr. Henderson will be glad to receive from employers or workpeople information as to any important point of principle to which they desire that consideration should be given.

Manchester Guardian
16.10.16

AFTER THE WAR.

PROBLEM OF A BETTER SOCIAL SYSTEM.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

A discussion on social and industrial reconstruction after the war took place at the annual meeting of the Manchester Women's War Interests Committee in the Minor Hall, Manchester, last night.

Mr. A. A. Purcell presided, and the financial statement and the annual report were presented respectively by Mrs. Salis Simon and Mr. G. K. Grierson. The report recorded the activities of the Committee in collecting information about conditions and wages in women's [illegible] work, preventing unfair cutting of men's [illegible]ndard rates, and securing a fair minimum wage for the new women workers.

Mr. A. E. Zimmern, who spoke on the ideals and principles of reconstruction, said [illegible]hat it was necessary to take a long view, [illegible]d not merely to think of the pressing problem [illegible]f the moment. It was impossible to go back [illegible] the old conditions, because the whole fram[illegible] work of industry had been altered. The real pr[illegible]lem was to build up a new and better social [illegible]tem, but if employers and workers were to be [illegible] the same mind and spirit as before the w[illegible] the prospect was hopeless. To secure this [illegible]tter social system large measures of educatio[illegible] reform were necessary, and the elementary [illegible]ool must be reorganised. The teaching profe[illegible]ion must be honoured more, and the eleme[illegible]ary teacher must have more freedom. There [illegible]ust be a real system of part-time secondary e[illegible]cation from the ages of 14 to 18, and more [illegible]ust be done to improve the physique of the chi[illegible]en and create for them the corporate life which sc[illegible] deeply influenced students at the public sche[illegible]ls and universities. In order to counteract [illegible]e influence of the sensational press a wide ext[illegible]sion of activity on the lines of the Workers' Educational Association was needed. Only by this means could the experiment of democracy be made a success. The Government did not desire to evade its pledge to restore the workshop rules and customs which had been abrogated during the war, but the Labour movement was asked to think out an alternative policy.

Mr. Zimmern considered that it was vital to continue the new association of men and women in industry, and the question for men was not how to get women out of the industries but the terms upon which they were to stay.

Women and the Trade Union Instinct.

Mr. Joseph Hallsworth said that the great difficulty was to create in the mind of women and girl workers a desire to organise and strive [illegible]

Education

Daily News & Leader
9.10.16

WORK AFTER THE WAR.

CHILDREN AS A FACTOR IN THE PROBLEM.

By A. W. HUMPHREY.

When the war is over and the armies disband the problem will be how so to readjust things that the jobs will, if not outnumber, at least be equivalent to the number of workers in the labour market. Clearly, there are two ways by which this end may be brought about. We may, on the one hand, increase the number of jobs by the organisation of special schemes of employment; and, on the other hand, we may take steps to eliminate from the labour market certain workers who, unless such steps are taken, will be in that market competing for such work as is available. It is with the second of these two courses that this article is concerned.

The workers who may be usefully taken out of the labour market are the children. To remove them would be doubly to benefit the nation. Clear out of wage-earning occupations all children up to 15 or 16 years of age, and not only would the congestion of the labour market at the close of the war be greatly relieved, but, at the same time, a step would have been taken towards the rearing of a generation sounder in mind and body than its forbears, and generally equipped in a manner more worthy of a great nation. Such would be the effect of raising the school age, and now is the time of times to press for this long-overdue reform.

School Age.

It is a lamentable fact that the full-time leaving age has not been raised during the last forty years. During that period the only advance made was the raising of the half-time age from ten to eleven years by the Act of 1893, and from eleven to twelve years by the Act of 1899. The exact position of the children to-day cannot be stated concisely. It is regulated by Education Acts, Factory Acts, and Mines Acts, and varies from place to place according to the by-laws of local authorities. The essential facts, however, are these. At twelve years of age, or eleven in rural districts, children may obtain permission to attend school half-time only; at thirteen they may cease all attendance if they have passed a certain standard or put in a certain number of attendances; and at fourteen they may cease all attendance unconditionally and the State no longer insists upon their being educated in any shape or way. They are then finished products of our educational system.

Attempts to improve upon this state of things have been made from time to time, but without success. In 1909 an Interdepartmental Committee recommended that half-time should be abolished, and that no child should leave school at thirteen years of age unless to take up training in a suitable trade. The same year the Consultative Committee on Continuation Schools to the Board of Education recommended that the minimum age for any exemption from school attendance should be raised to fourteen, the change to be made more gradually in agricultural districts. But nothing was done. In 1908 Mr. (now Sir) Chiozza Money introduced a Bill for the raising of the age to fourteen, with compulsory attendance at continuation schools, in the day-time, until seventeen. Neither then, nor when he introduced the Bill again in 1911, did the measure reach the Statute Book. In 1914 the Hon. R. D. Denman brought in a Bill to make thirteen the minimum age for any cessation of attendance at school, and to give local authorities the power to raise the age to fifteen; but the Bill was "talked out." Much, however, has happened since those days, and it may now reasonably be hoped that the nation will see how doubly imperative it is that the school age should be raised.

Child Wage Earners.

Now, what is the number of children who, at the close of the war, will be filling [illegible] and competing for places in the industrial world, at a time when we are faced with the problem of providing [illegible]

how to get women out of the industries but the terms upon which they were to stay.

Women and the Trade Union Instinct.

Mr. Joseph Hallsworth said that the great difficulty was to create in the mind of women and girl workers a desire to organise and strive for better industrial and social conditions. Until that was done it was not likely that much progress would be made in reconstruction after the war. Very few trade unions were really grappling with the task of obtaining full and accurate information about the numbers and status of the new women workers. In his view there was little evidence of the existence of a changed spirit in industry. The object of employers was still to secure the cheapest labour they could, and it was necessary that men and women workers should organise in the same unions to maintain fair standards of wages.

The Chairman said that his experience led him to believe that in some respects antagonism in industry would be greater than ever was, judging from the present attitude of many employers, and it was a notable fact that men and women wer on strike at the present time because employers declined to carry out arbitration awards. Trade unionists were so engrossed in trying to push up wages that they had no time to consider reconstruction problems. In his opinion they were doing right to increase wages to the highest possible point, because employers made no secret of the fact that they were only waiting for the opportunity to depress conditions.

Miss Margaret Ashton pointed out that the introduction of new machinery and the subdivision of processes had destroyed the old standards of wages in many industries. Employers did not hesitate to alter machines slightly in order to evade the obligation to pay women the same piece rates as men, and if they did this in the time of the nation's emergency what hope was there after the war unless a new spirit was created? Would it not be possible, she asked, to devise a system, to be put into operation after the war, under which women who did not desire long hours could work half-time at piece rates which would be the same for men and women? This would promote the health of women, prevent the lowering of men's standards, and ease competition if there was a glut of labour after demobilisation. It was urgently necessary that schemes of this kind should be worked out before the end of the war, and that men's trade unions should undertake the organisation of women's labour.

Child Wage Earners.

Now, what is the number of children who, at the close of the war, will be filling places and competing for places in the industrial world at a time when we are faced with the problem of providing employment for something like 3,000,000 disbanded soldiers and an even greater number of "war-workers" whom the peace will disorganise and deprive of their jobs? At the time of the census of 1911 there were employed in England and Wales 222,800 boys aged fourteen and 278,300 boys aged 15, and the employed girls of the same ages numbered respectively 133,200 and 193,300, a total for both sexes of 827,600. To these must be added the half-timers, of whom the late Mr. Frederic Keeling estimated that there were, in 1912, 34,535 employed under the Factory Acts and 9,372 outside the Factory Acts, these children being aged from eleven to thirteen. In addition, there is a relatively small number of children employed under the Mines Acts, and the 60,000 children whom Sir George Newman states have been taken from school earlier than would otherwise have been the case on account of the war.

We may thus estimate that there are well over 900,000 children of fifteen years of age and under in wage-earning employment, and to this total would be added another 528,400 if the children of sixteen were included. Clearly, then, by lengthening the school life of the child, the labour market could be eased to a very considerable extent. The full effect of such a step would not, of course, be felt at once; but, on the other hand, the employment problem following the war will not be of short duration. Long before we have done with it we should realise the full benefit of raising the age from the point of view of mitigating the glut of labour.

Spare Time Work.

It is, of course, essential that a raising of the age should be accompanied by a strict and stringent regulation of the employment of children out of school hours; that is, before and after putting in a full day's attendance at school. Unless this is done, the effect of extended education from the standpoint of raising physical, mental, and moral standards would be largely nullified. The permissive character of past legislation on the subject has, in a great measure, rendered the law futile. The Employment of Children Act of 1903 gave to local authorities wide powers to deal with this evil, but up to 1913 only about 98 out of 329 had made bylaws to restrict it; and to-day hundreds of thousands of children of seven years of age and upwards work before and after school, often for as many as 20 or 30 hours per week, and in some cases up to 40 or 50 hours.

But the fact must be faced that, in the great bulk of cases, the wages of the children are an economic necessity to the parents. Any raising of the school age will have to be accompanied by a system of maintenance grants. The principle of such grants is already recognised, for they are made to secondary school scholars; and as for the cost, there will not in the future be much force in the time-worn query, "Where's the money coming from?"

Daily Express
20.10.16.

WILL WOMEN GIVE UP THEIR WORK?

QUESTIONS TO BE FACED WHEN THE MEN COME BACK.

What will be the position of women when the soldiers come home? When the men of the new armies are released in their thousands and come back to their old places, will the women contentedly relinquish the life they have learned to appreciate and enjoy, and will their employers be just as glad to release those who in many cases may be working a little cheaper than the men who occupied the same positions before the great call came?

This question, which will affect nearly every household in the kingdom, is surely one that deserves every attention now in order to save the possibility of trouble when demobilisation begins.

The idea that women will march out in a body when the disbanded men march in is more fantastic than real. Who shall deny women the right to engage in any profession or occupation after the war? Women in the past have been stay-at-homes, but the war has changed all that. The position of women is not the same now as it was in the Victorian era, or even ten years ago, and to-day it is complicated by reason of the fact that women as a class are by no means mentally inferior to men, and have indeed proved extremely successful in practically all the spheres of work they have invaded.

TESTED FITNESS.

Every office, shop, and workshop bears witness of women's fitness in commercial life. These women, many of whom had never left home previous to the war, are quite capable of enduring long hours of exacting and irritating labour. There is the case of certain provision shops where, to my knowledge, the girls work twelve or fourteen hours a day regularly, and even put in overtime during the busy season.

Women have probably achieved their greatest success, however, in those professions where mental skill is demanded, and physical exertion reduced to a minimum, but even in trades where the exercise of physical effort is predominant and mental action is practically nil, women have proved their ability to work side by side with and in the place of men.

One can quite understand those who are working from purely patriotic motives giving back their positions to the men who have been fighting to protect them from any repetition of the horrors of Belgium, but there are many who, having tasted of the joys of freedom, will not like being cased up between four walls again, with very little pocket money and a life of continual domestic drudgery to look forward to.

Then again, take the case of a woman in a good position who married her husband before he went across the sea, and whose partner returns incapacitated for life. It would become necessary for the wife to take her husband's place as the bread-winner of the family, and she would keep her position—as a childless wife. But that is another question which will demand careful consideration. The calm acceptance by women of their share in industrial life is likely to—and has already—undermined millions of marriages. What then becomes of the cry for more babies? If the State calls for more the State must first make the necessary arrangements for pensions sufficient for its disabled warriors to live on. It would be grossly unfair to expect the soldier's wife to go out and earn sufficient to supplement a meagre allowance, and at the same time be making efforts to bring up a young family. Children who "come up somehow" are not likely to make the kind of citizens a nation wants. Reduction and limitation

Glasgow Herald.
23.10.16

QUICKER OUTPUT.

WOMEN'S RECORD AS WAR WORKERS.

(By a Special Correspondent.)

It takes two to make a bargain, and both must keep it if any material benefit can possibly arise out of it.

The past and present troubles between the employer and the employed are mainly due to the over-riding of existing agreements and the supplanting of others. It is understood that the parties to an agreement are fully cognisant of the meaning of the various clauses which are drafted to safeguard the interests of both parties; otherwise they would not attach their signatures for the purpose of completion.

At the moment protestations rage furiously. For the most part a spirit of goodwill is supreme, with here and there a threat of strife if one of the parties to industrial concord should fail to "play the game." What is meant by "the game" is as well known in industry as in cricket, but the rules are not as strictly (unfortunately) observed. The teams do not seem to be under the same amount of control as those which take the field.

For instance: several Labour leaders have been indulging, and very properly, in heart to heart talks with employers of labour. One of their number has laid it down as something which goes without saying, that one of the conditions in after-war employment and the removal of restrictions on output shall be the safeguarding of the men's position as regards rates, etc. This is a point which needs no begging; it is a natural progression in the order of change.

QUESTION OF RESTRICTION.

But there is a point which needs pressing, and that is the present position of labour and this self-same question of restriction.

We have it on the authority of several of the largest employers of labour and by official figures, that not only in shipbuilding and engineering but also in the mining industry, the output during this time of this great national crisis, inclusive of overtime, is per man approximately the same as in peace time. On the other hand, it has been found that where women are employed their output is greater in ratio with the men.

Is it not necessary, therefore, and would not material good arise if such men as Mr. G. H. Roberts, Mr. John Hodge, and Mr. Stephen Walsh and other progressive Labour members of Parliament would visit their constituents in the areas where, officially, restrictions are supposedly set on one side for the war period at least, if not for ever?

To hug illusions is an unprofitable business under any condition; no unit can afford to indulge in such an embrace for long and yet survive; therefore, let us who are striving or seeking after a real solution face facts as they are and abstain from applauding promises.

LOOKING FORWARD.

The months roll on, and it is full time that the innumerable committees tabled their plans dealing with our industrial future. Taking into account the efforts of our competitors, there should be an abundance of work for skilled and unskilled labour when peace and consequent demobilisation are accomplished facts.

And, turning for a moment to the effect of this newly returned factor to skilled industry, may it not well be that those who have striven in Flanders, France, and the East for us, will largely solve the question of unrestricted and increased output? The men who have fought and bled, in many cases, in the fight against the Hun and his lust for world dominion, will not rest even on their honourable laurels of war, but desire to carry on in a bloodless manner the trade war of peace. They will receive every encouragement from employers throughout the length and breadth of the land to secure unrestricted earnings for unrestricted output.

Meantime, let the Labour leaders secure for these self-same soldiers the larger and quicker output which the Munitions of War Acts provide, under safeguards which peace time could not make more stringent should anyone attempt their breaking. When this has been done we can move on to the business of after war workshop regulations. Let us first eat the bread provided ere we pass to the baking of the next batch.

ance, and at the same time be making efforts to bring up a young family. Children who "come up somehow" are not likely to make the kind of citizens a nation wants. Reduction and limitation of the family will assuredly follow any system of meagre pensions or any cheapening of the labour market.

LABOUR'S VALUE

The entry of women into the labour market is likely to do much in the way of reducing the labour value of the male, and competition between the cheap female (who is paid on the basis of the support of one) and the dearer male (who is paid on the basis of the support of a family) will grow more bitter. Enmity between men and women as competitive workers existed before the war. It will exist afterwards, and is likely to be a source of trouble. Antagonism between the workers has been accentuated by large numbers of women who have worked to get money for the present only, and without a clear object in view, thus rather unfairly competing with men who have the future welfare of themselves and their families to provide for.

The British manufacturers, possibly aided by a small tariff on imported goods, will undoubtedly compete with each other in their efforts to secure the pre-war trade of the Germans, and they will of necessity introduce new machinery which will make the work easier and simpler by requiring only a single action on the part of the worker. The single action machine is one where one person, the "layer-on" or "taker-off," lays on or takes off for ever. Wages is always the heaviest item in a firm's expenditure, and the manufacturers, after having introduced their "single action" machines, will seek female labour because it is cheap, though in normal times few employers would prefer women to men if the wages paid were the same in both cases.

HOME AGAIN.

The solution may be simpler than it seems at present. Many women who are now paid high wages because of the scarcity of labour will, in the inevitable adjustment, find that their labour value has fallen considerably. They will go home again to find that home life, tinged with the experiences and pleasant recollections of the business world, has gained much in attraction. Instead of grumbling at the "four walls," they will be glad of the relaxation afforded after their strenuous times, and their tennis clubs and other activities will seem far more pleasant than ever they did before.

Husbands and fathers coming home in the evening will find a new helpmate full of animation, and one who is able to discuss present-day affairs with a perfect understanding, and when the returned warriors recount the stories of their adventures the womenfolk will also have many tales to te of their business achievements and associates.

P. E. G.

Weekly Dispatch
22·10-16

702/7

THE PROBLEM OF THE WOMAN IN THE MAN'S JOB.

"Should Employers Be Forced to Reinstate Soldiers?" Discussed by Labour Experts.

Over three-quarters of a million of women have directly replaced men in industry since the war began, and a hundred thousand additional women have been engaged, making altogether about three and a quarter million workers in the main occupations of the United Kingdom.

In a year's time these numbers will be enormously greater, and no recent event shows more plainly what an abundance of woman-power is still available than the fact that when Mr. Stoll's music-hall musicians struck for higher pay, some 2,000 women were ready to take their places.

When the demobilisation of the Army begins the men will have every right to be given work, and the position of these women workers, many of whom are working for lower wages, will be one of the most difficult problems of after-the-war.

Italy has already dealt with the problem by the issue of a Royal Decree compelling employers to take back after the war the men who have been called to the colours, and Switzerland under its conscription law makes a similar provision.

Should an Act be also passed by the British Parliament compelling employers to reinstate their workmen after the war?

Below are the answers of prominent men and women labour leaders to whom *The Weekly Dispatch* put this question:

MR. J. R. CLYNES, M.P.

"The length of the war has pushed many things beyond the provisions in the first Munitions of War Act, which require employers to give priority of employment to returned soldiers when readjusting staffs of workmen after the war.

"Priority should be extended to a certainty, and either the State or the employers, or both together, should be made responsible for security of work after the war for men who during the war gave security to their country.

"Whatever it may cost, this is one of the accounts which honour requires the country to pay."

MR. ROBERT TOOTILL, M.P.

"The question of reinstatement of workmen after the war is one that ought to attract the attention of those who are seriously anxious to deal sensibly with after-war problems.

The honourable and truly patriotic employers of labour will carry out the Government's obligations and pledges without resort to Acts of Parliament to compel them.

"There is a danger of those employers who are a constant menace to the principle of recognised standard wages making use of a glutted labour market to decline their reinstatement undertakings, their object invariably being cheaper non-union labour.

"Rather than compel employers by Act of Parliament to reinstate workmen who are now serving the colours, when they return after the war I would much prefer to trust to the employers' honour and good will to do full justice to their former employees.

"If you pass Acts of Parliament to compel employers to reinstate you must be consistent and fair by also compelling workmen to be reinstated."

MR. WILL THORNE, M.P.

"I would have no objection to voting for a measure framed to secure the re-employment of workers now on war service.

"Under the Treasury Agreement, which was come to between trade union representatives and Mr. Lloyd George and other Government officials, a definite promise was given by the Government that all trade union rules and customs abandoned during the war period would by pressure of law be restored at the end of the war. This agreement applies chiefly to engineering and shipbuilding establishments, which are two of the staple trades of the country, and may reasonably be expected to remain in at least a normal state at the termination of hostilities.

"I do not anticipate any difficulty in the trades mentioned for soldiers getting back to their old employment, but it is doubtful whether employers in every industry can by Act of Parliament be compelled to re-employ the old workmen, because in the economic upheaval which has taken place and in the disturbances which may yet occur it is impossible to foresee exactly what the position of many industries and business undertakings will be in the future."

MR. WALTER HUDSON, M.P.

"This is a matter that can be, and should be, settled between the employers on the one side and the men's organisations on the other, as there are many important points which would never be satisfactorily woven into an Act of Parliament.

"The return of men unbroken by the war is the most simple part of reinstatement in their former employment. There is the other needful and more difficult side of dealing with the partially incapacitated, that only those who have an interest in each side of the question can understand—What is the most suitable work for such men and the remuneration they should receive?

"In a number of industrial circles this matter is already having attention between the employers and the workmen's representatives."

MR. J. H. THOMAS, M.P.

"Most emphatically—yes.

"The least we can do for those fighting our battle is to guarantee them employment on their return.

"So far as railwaymen are concerned, although upwards of 100,000 have enlisted—and unfortunately many have already paid the great sacrifice—we have an agreement which ensures not only the return to their employment, but, moreover, that their position shall not be prejudiced as a result of them having done their duty."

MISS MARGARET BONDFIELD, National Federation of Women Workers.

"Pledges as to men being taken back by their employers have already been given, and can be found in the Treasury reports, and we are planning to protect the women workers' interests and are arranging very full reports of their work.

"Discharged soldiers are given a month's full pay and a maintenance allowance until they are placed in some position; therefore the women taken from industry should also be given a month's pay and a maintenance allowance until they find other work."

MRS. PEMBER REEVES, Author of "Round About £1 a Week."

"Women must not keep the places of those men who have gone to the front.

"It would be most unfair for a man to return to find a woman had filled his position and was perhaps getting less pay than he did, thus reducing wages.

"The great thing is to keep up the rate of payment."

MRS. DESPARD.

"The whole question of labour after the war is going to be a serious one, and the women who have taken men's positions do not provide the most serious phase of it.

"I cannot see that an Act compelling employers to take back their men would be necessary. Great numbers of men will never want to return to their old positions, and great numbers also will be unable to do so. I am afraid there will be a wave of emigration. The free, broad life of the Colonies on ranches and farms will appeal as never before.

"Those women who do have to give up their positions will have to be provided for until they can get other work. They are war workers and must be treated as such.

"I sincerely hope wages will not have been reduced by the influx of women workers. The great mistake the working men made was in not admitting women to the trades unions when they began as war workers. Then they would not have been able to accept lower wages through ignorance.

"Of course, many of the war workers are married women who have taken their husbands' places or are only working to keep their little homes together till the men return. These women will be very glad to go back to home life again."

WOMAN—AFTER THE WAR.

Mrs. Fawcett Talks like a Real Optimist.

"I SEE no reason for any anxiety as to woman's position in the industrial market after the war," said Mrs. Fawcett, the president of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, when I went to see her the other day.

"I am more optimistic about women in the labour world, indeed about the whole woman's movement, than I have ever been. The women have come into industry to stay. There will be more openings for them in the great reconstruction process which will follow the present cataclysm, and they have already had the chance of proving what they can do.

"Why should there be any question of forcing employers to take men back into their positions when they return from the front? Of course they can take them back if they want them and the men wish to return, and naturally women in those positions would make no attempt to keep them. But many of the men will be unable to come back, others will prefer some new form of work, and still others will want new lives in newer countries.

"TOO VALUABLE TO LOSE."

"And for those women who have been turned out of their positions there will be numberless opportunities. A shipbuilder who now employs many women said recently that when his men come back the women must give up their present posts, but added that others must be found for them. They were too valuable to lose.

"The same feeling exists in the engineering works in Scotland where only women are employed. And, by the way, a new engineering factory has been established at West Hartlepool where women are to be trained. It used to be the favourite anti-suffrage argument that a woman could not adjust and take care of certain delicate parts of a machine without asking a man to help her. She had never been trained to do so then.

"Everywhere I go, and I have been in the North several times in the last few months, I find a most amicable spirit existing between men and women workers. If there really is any resentful feeling among the working men that women should have gone so far within the last two years, I have not encountered it—and, as far as I can see, they have done all they could to help them, admitted them to their trade unions in some cases, and encouraged them to form trade unions of their own.

"I take an optimistic view of the whole labour situation after the war. There will be so many new developments for industrial activity. I cannot believe in the 'slump' that many predict.

"When the war began I felt the suffrage must be laid aside. It seemed to me we must sacrifice that for the country as men were sacrificing all they had to give, but now I know that it has not been sacrificed. More than ever, by supreme service, we have made our claim.

VOTES—AFTER THE WAR?

"Yes, it would be an excellent thing if all suffrage societies could unite after the war. A step towards that is the new consultative committee of constitutional suffrage societies. Seventeen have joined so far, the conditions being that they are working only for suffrage and that they have more than 100 members.

"The militant societies, as such, naturally are not included, because they wished to cut themselves off from us some years ago; but we have Suffragists who were militant at one time and now belong to other societies, and at our recent conference we included the Y.W.C.A. and British Women's League, because they are working for women's interests, though not for the suffrage.

"The consultative committee keeps in touch with certain M.P.s and works constantly for the furtherance of interest in the suffrage.

"There are very few active anti-Suffragists now, it seems to me. All the old bitterness and antagonism have almost disappeared. Time and again recently on the platform I have been with speakers who said that two years ago they had been against the suffrage but that now their arguments had been swept away.

"I used to fear," added Mrs. Fawcett, with a smile, as she handed me a little book, "that I might not live to add the last and most important chapters to this history of the suffrage movement, but now I believe and hope that I may be able to begin work upon them before very long, and I have made many notes and annotations for a new and fuller edition with the work of the last two years added, and then the great and final victory."

MARION RYAN.

Aberdeen Journal
24-11-16

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY IN WAR TIME.

POST-WAR PROBLEM.

"There is a hope for a permanent raising of women's industrial position and a close approach to equality in the direction of the nation's affairs." In these words Mr J. E. Highton, Glasgow, summed up a review of the part women had taken in industry during war time, which he presented to the Aberdeen Workers' Educational Association at Marischal College last night. There had been, he said, a large increase of women employed. Most of the increase was in work that was normally men's. Out of the increase of, roughly, 1,000,000, no fewer than 866,000 were replacing men. Those women were engaged mainly upon work which was unskilled and semi-skilled—the best in munitions and engineering work doing what might otherwise have been done by "a handy man." From the point of view of the employer so far, the women taking the man's place was inferior to man. Women's earnings, on the whole, were higher than prior to the war, but were still much lower than men's. In munitions work where their pay was fairly high, it was largely due to artificial restrictions which had af[illegible] other trades, caused a shortage in them, and to some extent increased wages. The conditions under which they were working were, on the whole, better than those for men. They did not stand r[illegible]ht work so well, and on the question of the [illegible] upon their health, the evidence was incon[illegible] The sources from which the women had [illegible] drawn were the normal reserve, which alw[illegible] existed, of women capable of doing industr[illegible] work. There had been large transfers from low-paid to well-paid trades and occupations. Many, single and married, came from the homes. They were told that the leisured classes had given their time to the country in this matter. So far as he had been able to ascertain, there was practically no truth in it. Those transfers had taken place within narrow geographical limits, which would simplify the post-war readjustment. In the latter, while women and employers would loyally make room for the men, the depression which must follow in due course would, unless arrangements had been made before it, give rise to keen competition. Mr A. Hall Wilson presided.

Birmingham Post.
Nov. 30, 1916

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

AFTER THE WAR PROBLEMS.

Under the auspices of the Birmingham Workers' Educational Association, Dr. Marion Phillips, of the Women's Labour League, delivered an interesting lecture at the University last night, on "Women in Industry." She said the increase in the number of women in employment due to the war was still considerably less than one million. The increase of women workers in industrial processes and in commerce was something like 800,000, but that was not a net estimate, because it included women transferred from other groups of employment. The wages of women had been raised to a higher level than before, but owing to the continued rise in the cost of living the wages were still behind a living wage. After the war a very critical period would arise because of the men returning to their employment, and the women ought not to be left stranded. During the period of demobilisation no woman should be discharged without a month's notice or a month's wages. Before the war the average wage of women in industry was about 11s. to 12s. a week, and during the war it was approximately 18s. to 20s., and it would be a national error to let those wages go back to the old standard. It must be ascertained what industries were unhealthy or unsuitable for women, and when that had been decided the standard of wages must not be allowed to go down for women working alongside men in similar processes, although, of course, in some cases the rate of wages would not be exactly the same because women were less efficient in those trades than men. But in no case could it be suggested that a wage of less than 30s. or 35s. a week was a proper living wage for man or woman. She mentioned many improvements that were required in factory legislation, and urged that 48 hours should be regarded as a normal week's work for everybody.

Labour Leader
23-11-16

1916 cf: under June

AN OPEN LETTER TO "THE ENGINEER."

By R. C. WALLHEAD.

I have just received a cutting from the *Engineer* for November 3—that date is, I think, correct—in which you complain that I have misrepresented you, by quoting an article that appeared in the *Engineer* for December 1, 1915.

I will pass by your somewhat elephantine gambolling with my name, which is probably indicative of your taste, and certainly lacks the saving grace of wit, by ascribing it to a temporary loss of temper that your generous (?) proposals for dealing with Labour after the war should be resurrected from the comparative obscurity in which they lay, and placed before the thousands of people such proposals eminently concern.

I will again give the quotation, the meaning of which you say I have entirely perverted.

> The introduction of female labour might be used so as to lead to a lowering of the rates of payment for service. The fact of the matter is, not that women are paid too little, but that men are paid too much for work which can be done without previous training. It is only the Trade Unions which, after the war, will stand in the way of our realising the anticipation that we might be able to reduce our workshop costs by the employment of women. Much depends upon the attitude of the women themselves. If they can be brought to see the economic advantages to the country, to recognise the facts we have put forward, and agree to accept a lower scale of wages than skilled men they may, by their preponderance of numbers, be in a position to defy the Unions.

You admit that the quotation is "almost verbally correct," and then you proceed:

"The LABOUR LEADER matters little or nothing to us, but we must protest as energetically as possible against an article which, as a whole, has no such meaning, being distorted until it appears like a capitalistic attack on Labour. The article dealt with women labour, and pointed out that women might retain their place in the workshop if they would agree to accept lower wages than men, who have been paid on too high a scale for work that, as we now know, can be equally well performed by unskilled labour. Unions insisted on skilled men, fully apprenticed men, being employed on certain operations. Those men drew high wages. We now know definitely from experience that women can do the same work after a few weeks' training. The economic deduction is surely obvious. The more intelligent workmen, at least, will not ask the country to go on driving tacks with a golden hammer when an iron one will do as well; to use expensive labour where cheap labour is quite as effective."

When I say that if the temper disclosed in the quotation from your issue of December 1, 1915, represents the attitude of mind of the employers, it does not indicate any advance towards "the new spirit" which the war is said to have produced, you whimperingly tell us that I have misrepresented you.

Well, in face of your own exposition of the meaning of your article, do you still insist that I perverted your meaning?

When the Trade Unions made the concessions allowing dilution of labour, they did so upon the solemn understanding that the conditions prevailing before the war would be returned to. Personally, I never believed that that would be possible, for reasons which are probably more obvious now than was the case when the change was made. But you are proposing that the change shall be made permanent, not by mutual agreement with the Trade Unions concerned, but by using the "preponderating number of women workers to defy the Unions." Those are your own words. You propose to start a sex war, to set daughter and sister against father and brother, in order to reduce wages. If your argument does not mean that, then words have lost their meaning.

You tell me that my object seems to be "to set Labour against Capital." But that requires no effort of mine. You are proposing to make an attack upon the wages of men who you say are paid too much for certain kinds of work, and you propose to do that by the dastardly method of persuading women to defy the men's Unions in the interests of the Capitalists, who buy your meagre brains! Try and think again, and then you may discover that Socialists do not create the struggle between the workers and the Capitalists. They explain the causes of the struggle, and they point out to the worker the best means he can adopt in order that he may fight with the best hope and chance of success.

You charge me with loose thinking, and in doing so you imply that my looseness of thought is in connection with the use of improved machinery and quickened processes of wealth production. If your mental processes were not so vague, if you were conversant with Socialist thought, you would know that no Socialist objects to the use of improved methods in production. He objects to your method, the method you propose in dealing with the problem of female labour after the war. You evidently desire to use the quickened processes to bring down wages, and thereby reduce the standard of living of the worker, which was, in all conscience, low enough. I want quickened and increased output so used that wages should increase, the length of the working day be reduced, and the general standard of living of the workers be thereby improved all round, physically and mentally.

You say that men have hitherto been paid too much. I write this from the Clyde district, where, prior to the war, the wages of engineers was 8½d. per hour, 38s. 3d. per week of 54 hours, truly a magnificent wage. In some towns wages are as low as 34s. per week, and there are few places where engineers' wages soar into the empyrean heights of £2 or more. You may declare this to be too much, but you must not expect me to share your ideas. As opposed to that, my position is that if any work is necessary and useful it is worth a good living to the worker who performs it, and I absolutely deny that a rate of wages which does not guarantee more than an average of 34s. per week can be considered "high." You, evidently, have a curious conception of high wages.

If you wish to employ women upon work that they can now perform through the perfection of machinery in order to release men workers for wealth production in other directions, then the women and the Trade Unions ought to consent only upon the condition of equal rates of pay, otherwise evil results will accrue to the women workers.

I sincerely hope that before the workers in the engineering trades admit women workers at low rates of wages, which will indubitably tend to lower the whole standard of living, that they will fight with all their strength to the bitter end, and in that fight I will do my utmost to help by every means in my power.

Glasgow Herald
Nov 27, 1916

WOMEN'S WORK.

THE AFTER-WAR PROBLEM.

Dr Henry Dyer, chairman of Glasgow School Board, delivered an address on "The War—and Women's Work and Education" at a meeting of the Association of Teachers of Domestic Science (Glasgow and West of Scotland) which was held on Saturday in the Religious Institution Rooms, Glasgow. Miss Martin, the president, presided.

Dr Dyer said it was evident that in the reconstruction which would take place after the war women would take a very important part. The unwelcome prospect of competition between men and women for the same kind of work and the problems involved would require careful consideration. Of all the problems which the war would leave behind it, the most complex would be the adjustment of the relationship of women to men and to the State. There would be three parties in the field—the employers, the working men, and the working women. The employers would be tempted to play off the women against the men by offering them higher wages than they had received previously, but which would be lower than those which had been paid to the men. The workmen would be tempted to deal with women as they had in the past, namely, by demanding their exclusion from the better-paid occupations. The women would be tempted to undercut men in order to secure employment. The economic struggle might be transferred to the political arena, where the women, unless they were by that time enfranchised, were likely to come badly off. It was evident that unless patriotism was translated in time of peace into a desire to make personal sacrifices for the national weal, there was certain to be a long period of trouble in the labour world. The condition which should guide all was that there should be equal pay for equal work and general efficiency. (Applause.) In a reference to the employment of women as car drivers and conductors in Glasgow, Dr Dyer said he had no love for seeing women doing work of that sort. He had too great a respect for women to put them to employment which required that hard work. He preferred that they should undertake work of a more congenial kind. Women should not be asked to undertake hard physical work which men at present did.

The Clarion
Dec 22 1916

...men Workers After the War.

SIR,—No real study of this most important problem can usefully be made without due consideration of the psychological as well as the economic issues involved. In the current number of "The English Review," a pronounced feminist (Mr. W. L. George) takes up the attitude of the candid friend, and trenchantly examines the probabilities and dangers of the situation.

In order to excite an interest in the article, kindly allow a little space for the following excerpts: "It follows that at the end of the war a mob of female labour will seek employment at any price, undercutting itself and undercutting men." "As for the men who want the full life—meat, beer, and a shilling to put on a horse—they will be beaten by women who can live on bread-and-butter and a novelette." "Women dislike trade unions." The whole article is well worth the time and attention of every Socialist and trade unionist, especially those connected in any way with women workers. H. B. SAMUELS.

The Times
20-12-16

WOMEN'S POSITION AFTER THE WAR.

MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, speaking at the Aldwych Club yesterday on "The Sphere of Women after the War," said she did not believe that the barriers which had been broken down to enable women to enter skilled occupations would again be built up. Trades unions had made a mistake in the past in not encouraging women to get skilled work, and the standard of remuneration that went with it.

It would be impossible to ask women to go back to the conditions which obtained formerly in women's work, and it would put them at a terrible disadvantage if the bulk of the working men of the country had the franchise, and they were without a scrap of political power. If the franchise were in future to be based on service, the services of the women must be remembered.

The Everyman. Dec 8, 1916

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Important article.

WOMAN—AFTER THE WAR

I.

It is a matter of much discussion as to whether those callings and professions which have been thrown open to woman by the war will remain open to her after hostilities have ceased. It is argued that woman, having shown herself capable of administration, having given proof of her organising powers and adaptability, will be in demand in times of peace, and that having once got her foot into certain close corporations she will be able to keep it there. In my opinion woman has come to stay in the clerical departments of business life. Male stenographers and typists will be outnumbered by female, and for this reason. During the war, employers, deprived of skilled clerks, have been compelled to fall back on untrained girls. The latter, to their credit, have done their utmost to learn the work, and in an astonishingly short space of time have become as proficient as the man whose place they have taken at a lower rate of pay. Those clerks who return safe and sound and whose employers guaranteed them their situations will doubtless still find a vacancy awaiting them, but where the original clerks have been killed I do not think the employers will care to exchange female labour, already trained to the particular routine of an individual office, for male labour which has still to be instructed and which demands a higher wage.

This, however, only applies to the ordinary run of commercial offices. It has no reference to banks, insurance offices, or highly specialised commercialism of any kind. At the present moment the overwhelming majority of the clerks in banks are women, some few of them are book-keepers, and in the case of the latter they are undoubtedly highly skilled. The average rate of wage varies, according to the particular bank, from twenty-five to thirty shillings, and, of course, overtime is paid after a certain hour. The more highly skilled clerks are paid from £2 to £2 10s., and in one or two cases as much as £3 a week. It is not, however, at all likely that after the war women clerks will be retained in large numbers in banking establishments.

In all the big banking companies it is necessary for a clerk to obtain a nomination from one or more directors, and the candidates thus nominated are required to pass a certain examination. The majority of banks pay between £40 and £60 the first year of employment, and the salary is raised so much per year automatically. Those clerks who remain in the business are gradually promoted to positions of responsibility. The whole system, indeed, is founded on the idea that the particular bank shall obtain the services of a number of recruits specially trained for the business who, it is hoped, will remain with them throughout their career.

It is obvious, however, that such procedure would be impossible in the case of women. No woman in the beginning seriously regards her career as that of a clerk. She looks upon office work merely as a means of earning her living, or filling up her time until she gets married; and the banks would be faced with the problem of the annual loss of a number of recruits on whom they had expended a certain amount of training. I do not think that there is any chance of women being permanently employed in banks, though it is possible that some few may be temporarily retained.

The same holds good in the case of insurance companies. At a certain branch of a very old assurance society, numbering thousands of clients, the staff has been depleted of some twenty men, whose places have been taken by women. There remain in the branch only three men over military age, and the heads of departments are girls who, before the war, occupied the position of stenographers. They have shown themselves to be quite adequate to the work, and the general routine of the branch is carried on as in pre-war days. In some cases girls of four and five and twenty are doing the work of men ten years their senior, while the chief book-keeper of the branch, aged twenty-two, is doing the work of two trained accountants. Her salary amounts to one-third of the sum paid to each of the men, though it is fair to state that she is paid overtime after the hour of five. None of these girls, however, will retain her position after the war. They have been told specifically that they will return to their positions as stenographers, and that their technical knowledge of insurance work will not entitle them to a position on the staff.

For the members of the staff of an insurance society are in the same position as the bank clerk. They go in at a fixed salary and receive automatic yearly increases, and on retirement are paid a pension. None of these things, however, comes the way of the women employees; and although at the present moment the work of the insurance companies of this country, involving thousands of the most intricate calculations, is in the hands of women, I think it highly improbable that any but a very small proportion will be regarded as staff employees. After the war they will return to the work from which they came, subject to a week's notice, whereas a member of the staff, save for the very grossest incompetence or misconduct, is retained in his employment until old age.

In the case of young girls it is not easy to see how this particular rule can be altered; but it seems to me that where women have been employed in the same office for a number of years it would be to the advantage of the company which employs them to make them members of the staff. For it should be remembered that the woman in receipt of a good salary, with the assurance of permanent employment, is not likely to plunge into marriage so quickly or so easily as the young girl at a small weekly wage.

That this is a matter of regret, so far as the well-being of the nation is concerned, goes without saying. For the moment, however, I am discussing the probabilities of women retaining the salaries and positions which they have been receiving since the war, and I think it not impossible that a small number of women, say those over thirty, may retain such positions, even though the overwhelming mass of women will be dropped out of responsible positions in commerce directly the men come home.

The fact that there is a complete absence of combination among women engaged in offices, and that for the most part the idea of a trade union is regarded as vulgar, not to say lowering to the dignity of the middle-class, will strengthen the decision of the employers in this particular. Had women stenographers a working trade union they could have made terms with the employers and have secured, both from the banks and insurance societies, certain undertakings whereby those women who had so many years' experience to their record should be retained permanently on the staff.

It has been left, however, for the individual clerk to fight her own battle, and in some cases she will probably be successful. It has been brought to my attention that there is already one woman bank manager, and that some twenty or thirty others are being trained for similar appointments. Doubtless some proportion of these women will be retained when peace is declared, but the mass of women clerks will find themselves sent back to their old status.

I have dealt in this article with the two branches of commercialism which have swallowed many thousands of middle-class girls. I propose in my next article to deal with journalism, in which profession the war has left many vacancies which, at first sight, suggest the possibility of an increase in the number of women engaged on the Press.

MARGARET HAMILTON.

New York Tribune
1-4-17

702/82

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Woman's Future in Great Britain

By Arthur Gleason

Bad years are ahead for the women of England. But let no one worry unduly. They have come to stay, and they will obtain the vote. During the transition period, when the shell factories are becoming industrial plants, when the returning soldiers will have first call on the jobs, when the men's trade unions are making up their minds whether women are their allies or their enemies, and when Parliament is deciding whether its ancient solitary reign will be molested by these energetic newcomers, the female semi-skilled workers will have a severe experience. The unskilled workers will have the same sordid experience they have always had.

This period of transition may extend through several years. Gradually, the creation of new industries, making use of the new automatic machinery introduced under war pressure, will again offer jobs to the demobilized women. Winning the suffrage, women will have the power to enforce their demands for proper payment, and, as voters, they will suddenly become welcome additions to the male trade unions, and, together, they will continue the fight for a high standard of living for both men and women.

About eight hundred thousand women have recently entered industry, transport, commerce, government employment and agriculture. Five hundred thousand of these are busy in munition-making.

Workers After the War

Many of these women will return to the home at the close of the war, but a large percentage have come to stay. The number of women now directly replacing men is about 800,000. These have replaced the men in semi-skilled and unskilled work, one woman for one man. This is direct substitution. Indirect substitution is found when woman takes the place of an unskilled man or a semi-skilled, who, in turn, takes the place of a fully skilled man. Group substitution, when a group of women takes the place of a smaller group of men. Substitution by rearrangement, when women plus automatic machinery do work previously requiring skilled workers. The introduction of women by these methods of substitution is practically universal throughout the trades. In trades with definite agreements the women's rates approximate the men's. Where there has been no agreement, the women's wage has been better than before the war, but still far too low.

Of women in women's work—in the fuse and powder trades, as the result of arbitration, a gain has been made. In electrical engineering and telephone work, except for certain cases, the rate has changed but little. Why has woman won a decided advance in mechanical engineering and not in electrical engineering? The answer is that she is organized in mechanical engineering. Skilled groups of women workers in the powder machine trade have won real advances. In sugar confectionery, tailoring and shirt making, a fair advance has been made. But all three trades are closely related to war work. Where the woman's trade organization has been strong she has obtained a decided rise in wages, whether she has been doing women's work or substitution work in men's jobs. But the bulk of women's industries have not kept step with the increased cost of living. Nor has substitution for men necessarily obtained the men's full rate. Munition workers have obtained a fair minimum promised them by the government exactly in so far as their organizations have enforced the promise.

It is clear, then, that it is possible at any time to obtain a decided advance in women's wages, including sweated industries. This advance will be obtained when, and not until when, the trade unions' movement enforces it. The trade union movement will probably not enforce it until women have the vote.

The war has introduced grave dangers to the health of women by night work, overtime, hot atmospheric conditions, such as occur in certain processes in woollen textiles; severe muscular action, as in the lifting of a heavy weight, and by poisoning, as in certain of the processes in shell filling. In munition work, there has been a nervous strain, connected with certain of the processes, and the dangers of fire and explosion. In addition, certain factories are in Zeppelin areas, and, on a telephone warning, all lights go out and the women lie flat on the floor until the danger is past. When the word comes to them to rise one or two in a department are found in a faint.

To offset this the government has made the most determined effort in the history of any public institution to enforce proper conditions of work, to fight against overtime, to establish cleanliness, sanitation and nourishment. The Welfare Department, under the Ministry of Munitions, conducted by perhaps the best known social worker in the English-speaking world, Seebohm Rowntree, has literally labored day and night to guard the girls and women of Britain. It has sought to preserve 500,000 women from results of war pressure which would have been disastrous. As a peace measure, welfare work is still an open question when conducted by private enterprise, unless it is clearly an addition to a living wage, and not a clever substitute for it. But as a government measure in a time of the severest crisis in the history of the world it deserves nothing but praise.

Of the 800,000 women who have transferred themselves into new work, how many are going to stay? No one knows. An organization to combine women in certain trades sent out recently a form of questions with the inquiry, "Do you wish, after the war, to return to your former work or to stay in what you are doing now?" Of 3,000 answers 2,500 replied that they wished to remain in the new work. That is, five-sixths. On the other hand, an investigator who has made a study of social conditions among the Coventry workers tells me that the majority of the women say they will leave industry and take up home life after the war.

Jobs for All?

Will there be work for all? No one knows. Coventry has already received orders for 1918, and it is probable that industry there will run on at full capacity for a year or two, at least, after the war. In Sheffield, the employers plan a swift conversion to the trades of peace. The great steel firms anticipate an undiminished demand for their product. What made shells will be turned into railway supplies, for instance. Already they have orders which guarantee the immediate future—orders from Great Britain and from Russia. They state that they will continue the women at work and will at the same time fit in the men. But such a report is unusual.

There are men's trade unions, as in certain of the transport workers, who stood by the job until the women received the same rate of pay as they possessed. One or two other men's unions have promised to make the same fight for the women. But these instances of rendering the work of reconstruction easy are rare, and the women must probably make their own fight, unaided by the government, by the men's trade unions and by the employers. Unorganized and unenfranchised, they will be the centre of unrest and suffering—a running sore in industry, imperilling the standard of living established by the men's organizations, scabbing wages and weakening the trade union movement. With votes and widespread unions they would become a vital element in the emancipation.

It rests with the women, by agitation and pressure, to establish for themselves a standard of living and to hold fast to the undoubted immense gains they have made during the war. The task is probably not one primarily of creating work. The rebuilding of Belgium and northern France, the deterioration of plant in Great Britain, the closer industrial association of England with her colonies, the needs of Russia—all give promise of a stimulated market for British products. The task is one of organization, devising a machinery for connecting the worker with the job, safeguarding unemployment and maintaining the standard of living. The new Minister of Labor is arranging to breathe life into the sleepy institution of labor exchanges and to add 800 to the number. The government has offered the extension of compulsory unemployment insurance, which only meets the needs of some of the war workers, and meets those needs only in part. Seven shillings a week amounts to poor relief, and does not reconstruct the industrial situation of the total group.

Certain of the women leaders have suggested a widespread unemployment insurance which shall preserve the standard of living, an analysis of the market as to where workers will be required, with the distribution of such information through trade unions and employment exchanges, and a supply of blank forms to be filled up by the workers desiring future employment; due notice of dismissal to be given by "controlled" establishments, and return railway fares to be paid to those workers who have come from a distance, and the use of government factories for a continuing national work. Further, they have suggested a system of training in new trades for women displaced from work. Such is the immediate programme.

Suffrage Will Decide

But back of it lies a deeper need. The suggestion has been made for a minimum wage. This could well be made part of the general policy, which was already beginning to be formulated before the war, for a minimum wage in agriculture and the underpaid men's trades. Other measures of reconstruction are being pressed by the leaders of working women. Investigation is needed as to what employments are hurtful to the woman's organism. Reform of the factory laws is included in the changes that are now seen to be required. The eight-hour day must be enforced. President Wilson, by his decision in the railway strike, has enforced a principle to which the trade unions all over the world must respond. Women officials are required in greatly increased numbers to safeguard the position of women in industry. Not only must the number of women factory inspectors be increased, but it may prove to be necessary that the new profession of welfare workers in factories shall be appointed by the state rather than paid for by the employer, and the new Labor Ministry must have among its undersecretaries a representation of women. The trade unions must grant admission to women in return for monetary contributions, and the women must have a measure of control of the machinery of the union. The children, who by means of a special certificate have leaked into industry, must be returned to school. This, at one sweep, would relieve the labor market of 180,000 persons in industry and agriculture. It is probable that all these reforms are dependent on the winning of the suffrage.

The Wild Animal Famine

(From The Detroit Journal)

The wild animal market of Hamburg, in its flourishing day the largest in the world, is closed up bone-dry. There is such demand for shipping facilities that ships cannot afford to carry such things as animal cages, at once bulky and having much waste space. Traders who went into the back country and brought out its strange creatures now bring out only rubber, pound for pound more valuable than anything that breathed and not given to biting off careless fingers.

That is why there is a famine in monkeys. Zoological gardens have to depend upon nature for fresh specimens, not upon the shippers. Experimenters have to stick to guinea pigs. Actresses must go back to poodles.

Sheffield Correspondant
23-4-17

Blackburn Weekly Telegraph
28-4-17

702/83

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY,

What will be Their Position After the War?

SHEFFIELD CONFERENCE.

At a conference of the Sheffield Women's Industrial Joint Board, in the Montgomery Hall, on Saturday afternoon, with Mr. W. Kean in the chair, Mr. W. C. Anderson, M.P., moved: "That this conference demands that in all cases of demobilisation of women after the war such means shall be employed as shall inflict the least hardship on the individuals concerned, and such measures must be adopted as will produce the maximum of harmony in the industries concerned." He said that if the war came to an end with working men and women unprepared as to what they wanted to happen, then the future would be very black. There would be some millions of soldier workmen coming back to work and there were three or four million workers now engaged on urgent war work, many of whom would find a slump in their work. While there would be big schemes of work on housing, and putting in order the countries devastated by the war, replacing the ships lost and in other directions, there would be difficulty in doing this work if the cost of materials was high.

Million More Women Workers.

Different districts and trades would find themselves differently affected. About a million more women were now in industry than before the war. Some of them wives o soldiers, others middle-class women, and some from other walks of life, would want to leave industry, but others would want to remain, and he thought it advisable that the trade unions of men and women should confer and come to agreement to see that there was no clash for jobs, no sex war. He suggested that arrangements should be made to give munition workers thrown out at the end of the war similar benefits to those promised to soldiers, and special arrangements made in the Labour Exchanges to find them work.

Councillor A. Short, who seconded, said that Labour Exchanges could not place workers in jobs unless there was work for them, and he recommended the development of agriculture to find such work.

The resolution was carried.

Shorter Hours.

Miss Margaret Bondfield moved that women, having shown fitness for many classes of work hitherto reserved for men, shorter hours should be adopted to retain women in such occupations, and that a council should be appointed to make recommendations for legislation on the matter. She urged that women should not consider they had an open road into every trade without consideration of the welfare of the men and of other women. Consideration should also be given in choosing the employment of the physical disabilities to be faced, and the effect not only on the women but on future generations. They wanted a fresh consideration of Trade Board rates, and efforts made to speed them up in making new rates, which was a very slow affair.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. C. Bobson, and carried.

A resolution moved by Mrs. Wilkinson, protesting against the extension of working hours for women, was also carried.

WOMEN WORKERS.

MR SNOWDEN AND THE LABOUR PROBLEM.

Mr Philip Snowden, M.P., in an article on "The Problem of Women in Industry," in the annual report of the Blackburn Trades and Labour Council, reviews the effect of war conditions upon the labour market, and the great inrush of women to trades and occupations formerly reserved for men.

The opposition of the trade unions in the majority of cases has in the past (says Mr Snowden) retarded the entrance of women into the skilled and mechanical trades. The abrogation of trade union rules and customs, and the adoption of schemes for the dilution of labour, have for the time being broken down this obstacle to the larger employment of women. This will be the most serious of the many phases of the question of women's labour which will have to be dealt with after the war, and upon the way in which the relations of women to trade unionism is settled will depend whether this innovation is to be harmless or extremely detrimental to the general standard of labour conditions in this country.

"It is probable (he continues) that it will be in the engineering trades where the greatest difficulty of dealing with women labour will be experienced after the war. It is not correct to assume that women have taken the places, or at any rate are doing the work, of skilled men in the engineering trade. What has happened, rather, is that there has been a re-arrangement of work, and the skilled man, instead of being employed only partially upon work requiring great skill and experience, and for the greater part of his time on work of a mechanical nature, has been put wholly to work of the first-named class. The extension of automatic machinery will assist the employment of women permanently, and it will lessen the demand for highly-skilled labour. There will undoubtedly be a very large number of women after the war qualified to take the places of men as machinists in engineering workshops—work of a semi-skilled or unskilled character.

"We have to consider, therefore, recognising that this women's labour will be largely available, the extent to which it is likely to be utilised by the employers. They will, to a large extent, depend upon two things: First, whether such women can be utilised for the purpose of keeping down the rates of wages, and, secondly, made available for employment in labour disputes. Normally, the employer is sufficiently alive to his own interests to employ those workpeople, regardless of sex, which are most profitable to him. If experience has shown that women are inferior to men in such work, and unless that inferiority can be compensated by lower wages to the women, women will not be employed. Generally speaking, the views of the employers are that women are inferior to men in organising power, interest in business, initiative, resourcefulness, and physical strength; but that women are superior to, or equal to, men in manual dexterity and deftness, in routine work, and in positions above which they have no desire to rise. The conclusion to be drawn from this experience is that in mechanical occupations where manual labour and deftness are of importance, and the work is of a routine character, employers will not discriminate between men and women, if wages are equal.

"To sum up, then, the question is mainly one of equality of conditions. Trade unions must recognise that the competition of men and women cannot be destroyed. It may be equalised. That is the crux of the question. By legislation, or by trade-union organisation, the possibility of women competing on the basis of lower wages must be made impossible. If the principle of equal pay for equal output is enforced, then the competition of women in new spheres of industry may be regarded with equanimity. On that basis the competition will be one of efficiency and not of wages."

Liverpool Post
11-5-17

WOMEN AND WORK.

AN AFTER-THE-WAR PROBLEM.

Yesterday, at the Liverpool Rotary Club, Miss Eleanor Rathbone delivered a short address on "The Position of Women." Everyone recognised, said the speaker, that the war had, for good or for ill, made a great and permanent change in the outlook of women, and it was a change which was almost opposite to what even the most hopeful feminists could have anticipated. In the first paralysis that fell upon industry after the war women's industries were hard hit, and there was considerable dislocation of employment. But after a few months they began to recover, and others had sprung up. The making of munitions was an industry that women had thrown themselves into with very great heartiness. A revelation as to the industrial capacity of women was one of the changes that the war had brought about. The problem that was pressing upon the country at the present time, the conservation of the food supply, was bringing home to all of them the fact that the question of how to spend their wealth was quite as important as how to produce it, and clearly this was a problem, the successful dealing with which was going to depend to a very large extent upon women. As to what was going to happen after the war, Miss Rathbone said that women were not going back to their pre-war occupations. It was unfair in the interests of the women themselves to ask them to do so. Now that they had shown their capacity for doing skilled work in occupations which were before closed to them they would not willingly give up their economic independence. Then, from the point of view of the employers, were they going to be content to do without the great reserve of female labour which they had found so valuable and so useful? And, from the national point of view, was it right that the nation should deprive itself of any great fount of human energy, ability, and skill? Miss Rathbone urged that, while women were prepared to make all the sacrifices that they could reasonably be called upon to make, they should be free and enfranchised and given the same opportunities of appealing to Parliament as men.

The President (Mr. Lloyd Barnes) conveyed the cordial thanks of the club to Miss Rathbone for her talk.

Daily Mail 3.5.17

Globe 2.5.17 702/84 Globe 702

"BLIND ALLEYS" FOR GIRL WORKERS.

Complacent people are continually saying "the war has discovered women, given women their chance, shown themselves and other people what they are capable of."

Of course it is perfectly true, but there is another side to the question, and it is one to which more attention must be paid if the war is not to do a very bad turn to the girl workers of this generation while doing a good one to the women.

Ask any teacher in a big secondary school for girls what the effects of the war have been on the school, and she will tell you that one very deplorable result is the transference of dozens of girls at about the age of 15 from school to business life. One after another they leave from the middle forms, attend a commercial college for a short time and pick up the rudiments of shorthand and typewriting, and then "get a job" at a few shillings a week.

Of course there are jobs of a kind in plenty with the present shortage of man and boy labour, but for most of these girls they are simply "blind alley" occupations, leading to nothing in the future, for not only will some (alas! not all) of the men come back to their jobs later on, but also simultaneously the pressure of work due to the war will slacken in many directions and the crowds of temporary girl clerks will be a drug on the market.

"It almost makes us *weep!*" said a woman who teaches in one of our largest cities the other day. "For it isn't as if they were doing work of such value to the country that the sacrifice can be reckoned worth while. They are not. An enormous percentage of these girls are not in the least fitted for the life and can never by any possibility develop into good business women. I have talked with several really efficient women clerks lately and they all agree that girls of this type are of very little use, and that the time which has to be spent by their superiors in putting right their mistakes practically discounts what they do to help.

"Now ever so many of these girls would be extremely useful in other work—on the land, for instance—but they simply won't hear of anything but the commercial college—commercial college all the time—until we teachers begin to hate the sound of the words! The present state of affairs is simply an abuse of a useful institution."

* * * * *

"Who is to blame?" I asked.

"The parents chiefly. The general plea is that they cannot afford to keep the children at school later in these hard times; but in many cases we *know* that is not the real reason, as the people are better off now than they have ever been. No; it is just that it is 'the fashion.' Mrs. Smith boasts that her Florrie, who is only just turned fifteen, is earning 15s. a week in So-and-So's office, and Mrs. Jones feels that there is something disgraceful in the fact that her Lily is still at school though nearly sixteen, and has never earned a penny in her life. And they think a clerkship is something extraordinarily 'high class.'"

Cannot the parents manage to see clearly in this matter in fairness to their daughters? It is their business to do so, for the girls have no experience of life, and it is natural for them to enjoy having money to spend.

Of course another obvious aspect of the question is the danger of allowing girls of this age to be freed suddenly from discipline and restraint and to become their own mistresses with money to spend and no responsibilities. The big offices that employ most of these young girl clerks are usually situated in large towns, which makes the matter worse. The majority of these girls ought to be still at school or in training for a really useful career, or, if expense is really a difficulty, doing some work of a different kind where they can be looked after as individuals instead of being left to their own devices to work out their own salvation—or the opposite. One can hardly blame the girls themselves for enjoying, and perchance misusing, what they call their liberty. One might as well put a small child in a sweet shop and expect it to use common sense and not make itself sick!

GRACE MARY GOLDEN.

TRADE AFTER THE WAR.

WOMEN & WORK IN THE BUSINESS WORLD

BY EDITH M. BARTON.

I.

The average modern business man's estimate of the business acumen and intelligence of woman is, it must be confessed, somewhat on a par with that of the French King, who said, "Madame, we have taken you to give us children—not to give advice." And the modern business man is not far wrong. Woman has depended so long on her economic value as the mother of the race, that even her much-vaunted adaptability is somewhat tried when she is suddenly called upon to take a new and responsible part in the world's business. No wonder only 50 per cent. of the Women's War Service Registrations were effective entries; or that of these only one-tenth were given employment.

Yet educated women are as eager to prove themselves in trade or business as women of the industrial classes have done in industry. But to be a real national asset in business in the coming tussle girls must be educated from a business point of view, in the same way as are the boys of the family. The need cannot be met by an intensive course lasting from one to two months, which may slightly familiarise women with business routine and requirements, but by no means saves the situation.

WOMEN IN COMMERCE.

How far women can help in the commercial fight for trade after the war is a moot point. At present feminine activities in this direction are in a transition phase brought about by a temporary shifting of men and women's sphere of work; only after much experimenting will each individual find the best expression for its special qualification. In the national interest, means should be taken to level the state of affairs, and this with the greatest possible dispatch. Sir Clement Kinloch Cooke wrote as far back as December, 1915, advocating that the question of women's employment after the war should receive the closest possible attention; that select committees composed of members of both Houses of Parliament should be convened, the proceedings being conducted in public and carried on from day to day. In 1917 the intensive system in business training still holds sway—to our discredit.

CROWDED PROFESSIONS.

But unless girls are educated on business lines, Commissions are powerless; and even in these modern days most parents hesitate to allow their daughters to be educated on business lines of efficiency. Where girls are fortunate in having a really decent education they are dumped into a profession; for by some unknown course of reasoning, though business may be all very well for the boys of the family, for girls it is not "the thing." Consequently every other educated wage-earning woman one meets is a teacher, acknowledgeably one of the worst-paid of professions. Since the war, women are crowding into the medical profession in the same way. Here, at present, they are wanted, although how far this is a temporary demand brought about by the exigencies of war, remains to be proved.

The question to be faced is what will happen in cases where the men do not return. Home Office Committee schemes of intensive training tend to flood the market

WOMEN & WORK IN THE BUSINESS WORLD.

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II.

Much has been written about the way in which women have made good since the war, but there is another view of the question. It is no exaggeration to say that thousands have proved their incapacity in spheres which men have hitherto considered distinctly their own.

And yet women have many advantages. They possess a greater innate recuperative power than men, are more resistive to adverse influences, and longer lived than men. If statistics are to be believed, they are more honest than men in the long run. Another authority affirms that on the whole, whether for accuracy, patience, and assiduity women are to be preferred to men in clerical work, although it must be remembered that with regard to accuracy it is not the accurate people who are always accurate—it is the inaccurate people—on their guard!

Apart from the feminine pitfall of adaptability, there are various reasons for these failures.

To men business is a great adventure, fascinating, as an essential factor in the progress of civilisation. A life adventure, in fact, and one that is to achieve great results by personality, integrity, and pluck.

FEMININE SOPHISTRY.

To women business is merely an incident; a rather boring interlude in the general scheme of living and loving and giving in marriage. Although she may spend half a lifetime in an office, a woman almost always forgets that commercial success is personal, not social, and can only be won at a price. That the qualities of persistency, intelligence, and integrity tell as much in a woman's work as in a man's; that she has the same chance to "make good." To return to an old story, her commercial horizon is walled in by her working hours. At the earliest possible moment she thankfully pins her pretty hat on her pretty head and turns her back on the day's work as so much mere drudgery!

Women must "wake up" if they are going to do their share of work in the great after-war projects in British trade. Facilities for improvement are theirs, opportunities are theirs. Success may be theirs. But success is not easily won.

How many women in city offices are earning anything like £300 a year? Only a very few, equalled in number probably by those few women who have even a slight knowledge of the technique of finance, of some dim idea of what a "graph" conveys.

UNLIMITED OPPORTUNITIES.

Unfortunately most women have a warped idea of the vast economic trading system which makes civilisation possible. With all their imagination and intuition they have failed to visualise the wide scope for enterprise and efficiency in the business world.

But the fact has to be faced that during the strenuous years after the war the development of business and trades will vie in importance with professional work, already a rather played-out proposition. Trade offers unbounded possibilities for success, for work for Empire, on broader lines hitherto undreamed of; it must not be forgotten that professional women are limited to purely insular interests.

After this great war Germany is confidently awaiting the great economic "boom" which has its prototype in the period after the war of 1870. It is up to the British to disillusionise the Huns; and women, who are becoming a power in national economics, may do their part in safeguarding national commerce.

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The question to be faced is what will happen in cases where the men do not return. Home Office Committee schemes of intensive training tend to flood the market with incompetent women. They may meet an emergency demand, but what of the strenuous struggle for world commerce after the war? If women are to be a factor they must be educated on very different lines from those of pre-war days.

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After this great war Germany is confidently awaiting the great economic "boom" which has its prototype in the period after the war of 1870. It is up to the British to disillusionise the Huns; and women, who are becoming a power in national economics, may do their part in safeguarding national commerce.

Manchester Dispatch
12-6-17

WOMAN AFTER THE WAR.

Her Choice and Her Necessity.

(By ELISE GRANGE.)

"Men will be quite domesticated after the war," said a friend of mine as we were passing through a military camp the other day, where the men were carrying out sundry necessary domestic duties, such as the preparation of meals for the soldiers and the cleanliness of the camp.

I thought how remarkable a feature of the war it was that not only have women taken on men's work, but, by force of circumstances, many men have taken on work which, in pre-war days, was peculiarly part of woman's sphere. Housewives, for instance, feel the presence in the larder now of a man who forbids her to do this or that. She is no longer the mistress of her own foodstuffs. There is a being in the house who dares to find fault intelligently with her methods, and even go so far as to sit in judgment upon the cookery book.

Yet, after all, it does not disturb her imperially! She feels that when peace is restored it will synchronise with the majestic return of her power in the larder and entire command of household duties, no matter how efficiently domesticated the exceptional times may have made the man. Nor is she troubling herself whether these domesticated men—now in the making—will remain of the domesticated world. She does not care one iota whether they do so remain or not, for in either case she would not be robbed of anything. Things are different, however, in the business world. Men *are* concerned, and quite naturally so, as to whether women will remain in any material degree in the sphere of the male. They ask themselves whether peace will mean the return to the fireside of the myriads of women war workers. Will the office stools be vacated, the bench and the plough be taken over once more by the men who left them? We are justified in indulging in an abundance of speculative sentiment in this matter. We are right when we say the men ought to have their jobs back again, but we are also entitled to powder over our reflections the dust of sentiment for the women, too. Let us see.

Of Necessity.

Women cannot of necessity return—at least immediately—to the hearth and remain there in anything but small numbers when the war is ended. In many cases the country has claimed the life of the one who before the war made the home possible; and, again, there may be by the fireside, permanently, a crippled or a blind man. It is hardly likely the woman of such a home would feel that she ought to vacate the desk, or the bench, or the plough.

In thousands of instances the fight for existence will be woman's justification for retaining her war status and holding on to the job which she has made her own. If we have taken her breadwinner, or have returned him to her a burden, that woman has the right—the indisputable right—to continue in her employment and to be remunerated equivalently with men. Will profiteers dare to offer these women, who have given of their best, a wage which means for them a bare subsistence? If we have permitted the breadwinner to be killed we have no right to relegate her to a pre-war position. We must spare her some sentiment, too.

702/85

Of Choice.

Another phase of the woman's position after the war is whether she will *choose* to remain on the sacred soil of man's domain when necessity is not in the reckoning. Will she be ready and willing to return to the dusting, the needlework, the pastry-making, or to the more laborious duties of scrubbing, washing, baking, and battling with babies? A few may. Just the few who will make the undeniable exception to the rule, for the rule will, to all appearances, be that woman will remain where war conditions have placed her.

She has tasted the sweets of comparative independence; economically, she has discovered her individuality; we have hustled her into the belief that she is economically indispensable—a necessity as a war winner; she has been remunerated in hard cash handsomely and well. She will quit her job not only with reluctance—she will return only under pressure to the humdrum existence which she was persuaded by the exigencies of the time to forsake.

It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that for a time, maybe a considerable time, woman, as regards the position she holds in the labour mart, is where she will remain. The word "sphere," as applicable to men's work and women's work, has in many cases shed its significance. Man's and woman's spheres have ceased to be distinct. It was necessary that this should be so. Bloodshed has erased the equator; the barrier which has hitherto divided the sexes has gone.

The "sphere," as it was known to us, is no more, and all that remains is for the employers of female labour to make haste in serving *their* apprenticeship, in order the better to know how to treat women workers, neither to pamper nor bully, for at the present time male employers of women and girls do either the one or the other. Women expected to be treated on a basis of business, one of equality in every way with men. When this obtains we shall be making rapid strides. Unused energy is of pre-war days, and who would have it otherwise. None but the prejudiced.

Women have come to stay in the industrial, commercial, and professional world. Their ability has been proved, their necessity established beyond doubt. The choice of women labour was made spontaneously and received popular national acclamation. Posterity will judge whether post-war treatment of them is just.

Daily Chronicle
28-6-17.

RECONSTRUCTION AFTER THE WAR.

Problems of reconstruction after the war are to be discussed at meetings to be held from August 3 to 12 in the Hampstead garden suburb under the presidency of Mrs Barnett.

Among those who will deliver addresses are the Bishops of Oxford, Lincoln, and Peterborough, Canon Masterman, Principal Selbie, Sir Oliver Lodge, Mr. Herbert Samuel, M.P., Mr. Sidney Webb, Lord Leverhulme, Miss Mary Macarthur, Lord Lytton, Lord Burnham, and Mrs. Crichton. The motto of the meeting is: "Where there is no vision the people perish."

East Anglian Daily Times
29-6-17.
702

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

LECTURE BY DR. MARION PHILLIPS.

At Ipswich on Wednesday evening a large audience assembled to listen to a lecture by Dr. Marion Phillips, general secretary of the Women's Labour League, in the part now being played by women in industry, and the wide and far-reaching results of such employment. The meeting, which was presided over by Councillor R. F. Jackson, was held under the auspices of the Women's Labour League, in conjunction with the Women's Section of the Furnishing Trades and Workers' Union.

In introducing Dr. Phillips, the Chairman said the introduction of female labour to such an extent as now known amounted to a silent revolution, and they ought to consider what would be the permanent effect on labour, and whether the result would be to improve the general conditions of male labour, as had been proved to be the case with female labour. Trades Unionists had now to decide upon their policy, and he was of opinion that the best policy would be to act not as a sex union, but as one union desirous of improving the conditions of labour generally.

In her opening remarks, Dr. Marion Phillips dwelt on the present condition of women's labour, and the effect which the war had had upon industry. The good effects were infinitely more important than the bad ones, these by the improvement in the standard of wages and the wide opening of industrial paths hitherto closed to women. Women's work had improved all round. The great question was what attitude the men, especially the Men's Trades Unions, were going to take towards women when the war was over. In dealing with women they had to face realities, and consider the women's, the employer's, and the Trade Union's positions. They could not imagine that women would readily face a situation whereby they were totally excluded from a large number of trades in which they were fully capable of doing the work. It was perfectly natural that men should see the danger of women's competition in undercutting wages, but that danger had been welcomed in those unions which fixed the basis of payment as "equal pay for equal work." The lecturer saw no reason why that principle should not be extended throughout all industry, so that women would come in only with an equality of economic standing. The whole of the questions referred to required a change of outlook as well as system, and they had to look at the matter from a different point of view—not to go on saying that women were the people who undercut wages, but to give them a chance not to undercut. And the facilities for women to enter into Trade Unions must be increased in every possible way, to assist in gathering in the unskilled and semi-skilled women in larger numbers. If men and women worked together with the same intention of attaining unity, there would be more hope in the future than ever before.

Builder 13-7-17

Problems of Reconstruction.

A summer meeting is being arranged for the first time in London this year, and will be held in the Hampstead Garden Suburb from August 3 to August 17, to consider problems of reconstruction. Among the subjects to be considered are all the main problems of reconstruction, whether religious, international, economic or educational; and a strong section will deal with arts and crafts, under the presidency of Mr. Henry Wilson, with whom will be Sir John Burnet, Mr. George Clausen, Mr. Halsey Ricardo, Professor Lethaby, Mr. C. Harrison Townsend, and others. Addresses will be given by the Bishop of Oxford, the Bishop of Lincoln, the Bishop of Peterborough, the Dean of York, Canon J. H. B. Masterman, the Earl of Lytton, Lord Burnham, Lord Henry Bentinck, M.P., Principal Selbie, Sir Oliver Lodge, Mrs. Creighton, Mr. Herbert Samuel, M.P., Miss Maude Royden, Mr. H. J. Mackinder, M.P., Mr. Sidney Webb, Mr. J. A. Spender, and Miss Mary Macarthur. Particulars, including proposals for outings and relaxation, may be obtained from the Secretary, Miss Bolden, The Institute, Hampstead Garden Suburb, N.W. 4

TRADE AFTER THE WAR.

WOMEN & WORK IN THE BUSINESS WORLD.

BY EDITH M. BARTON.

III.

During the coming trade war gaps in the depleted ranks of business workers must for the time being be replaced by women. There are, broadly speaking, two great classes from which these workers may be drawn—the well-educated type who, before the war, devoted themselves mainly to those professions open to women, and the vast army of girls newly embarking upon life from schools of every grade.

So far it is the professions which have almost wholly absorbed the energies of educated women workers, and this mainly by reason of the advice given by modern educationalists. There has been a conservative idea that it was infra dig for a girl to have a bent towards commerce. Truly, with all our vaunted independence, we are not very much in advance of the Mid-Victorian phase of a "gentle race of gentlemen petters." The professions are "genteel," and so parents are advised to turn their daughters into teachers, doctors, dentists, nurses, civil servants, sanitary inspectors, health visitors, and welfare workers. All professions more or less overcrowded *and* underpaid.

Consequently at present the business world is flooded with young, half-educated, and superficially-trained girls, who can never hope to attain success in their work; they are so heavily handicapped at the outset. They are even lacking in the first rules of the game, for they cannot master arithmetic and they cannot spell correctly. An educated woman who has been working some months in the National Service Department at St. Ermin's, and is now under the L.C.C., declares that the time and the amount of paper wasted simply because women and girl clerks cannot spell is "appalling." The standard is equally low in city offices.

EFFECTIVE MEASURES WANTED.

This state of affairs can only be remedied by those responsible for education, and if women are to be a factor in commerce as they are already in industry, prompt and effective measures must be taken in the fundamental process of educating girls on higher lines. During the coming years it will be more necessary than ever for girls to be trained to be absolutely self-supporting. In many instances war will leave them without father or brother. Their prospect of marriage will be lessened. The war has effectually answered the plea for women's emancipation. Women of the future will perforce have to fend for themselves.

Protection is preparedness, and the vast majority of our middle-class girls are in a parlous state of unpreparedness. In their industrial capacity women have proved themselves a power. In the professions women are making headway; in commerce and trade women, en bloc, are at present almost a failure. Why?

Perhaps commerce has not attracted quite the type of girl required to ensure business success. But whatever the material, it is there to be used to the best advantage, and this can only be done by preparing the groundwork of education on right lines. Certainly it cannot be achieved by a course at a cheap business training "college," of which there are far too many, and whose methods are utterly inadequate to cope with the work of patching up our modern system of educating girls versus boys. This lower standard for girls' education and an extraordinary lack of ambition are among the main factors of failure.

Education on national and elastic lines must be made the means by which the boy or girl of real ability may be fitted to fill any position which their intelligence indicates. Girls need a knowledge of English. How many, or rather, how few, typists can compose even an ordinary business letter every business man knows. Then need a business knowledge of

TRADE AFTER THE WAR

WOMEN & WORK IN THE BUSINESS WORLD

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IV.

Women who are on the eve of winning political responsibility have hardly as yet awakened to the importance of business responsibility. To compete with enemy trade after the war there must be a sound system of national self-protection, and in this system femininity must of necessity play an important part.

How far the well-educated woman who sets out to woo success in the world of commerce will succeed remains yet to be proved. Esoterically she has many advantages; to commence with, her intuition should be of value; under her feminine impulsiveness there is usually much patience with minor details allied with great administrative ability. Moreover, she possesses the charm of novelty. It is still a new sensation for the city financier to barter stocks and shares with a woman; to meet in the stronghold of his city office a member of the opposite sex able to discuss finance and futures with an all-round knowledge that commands his respect.

And already there are a few such women, who have embarked on a business career, who by their steadiness and application have won for themselves positions of responsibility; and this apart from the enormous number of business women who have quietly and unostentatiously worked up huge returns for their firms—ostensibly managed by men—in every department of trade.

THE DANGER.

For the really capable woman who proves invaluable at her work the danger lies in the fact that should she enter post-war schemes of commerce in any great numbers—and this is fairly sure to be the case—the comparatively few responsible positions will be given to men at the head of affairs. If educated women are to make good in commerce, stronger inducements must be offered in the way of salaries. The old order must be swept away, and if women attain to positions hitherto held by men, they should also attain the salary of masculine proportions.

The well-equipped woman will find among city men a very conservative attitude of tolerance towards women in business, which is almost as difficult to meet as actual hostility. One business woman who commenced life in a city office as a 15s. a week typist, once asked her chief a question on the subject of finance, only to receive a tolerant smile and the reply: "You would not understand if I explained; no woman knows anything about finance"! The same woman—still young and charming—is now drawing a yearly salary of nearly £500, and "does not intend to stop at that."

COMMERCIAL POSSIBILITIES.

Her opportunity came when all the best men of the firm had to leave "for more important business in France," and the chief, during a visit to America, left everything in her hands. She "carried on," buying and selling stocks and shares and generally conducting the business with so much success in his absence, that on his return she was promoted to her present position.

Undoubtedly the time is nearing when women, too, will take a place among the aristocracy of commerce. One may cite clever Lady Mackworth as an instance of the heights to which a woman with ambition may attain. It is said that her services must be worth at least £10,000 a year to the business concern with which she is connected. Here one meets sheer business capability of the highest order, combined with Discretion—which one reads means Prudence—Judgment.

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Education on national and elastic lines must be made the means by which the boy or girl of real ability may be fitted to fill any position which their intelligence indicates. Girls need a knowledge of English. How many, or rather, how few, typists can compose even an ordinary business letter every business man knows. They need a business knowledge of languages, and they, of course, need the simple rules of arithmetic and spelling. All these qualifications, if mastered early at the outset of a career, make for efficiency in after life.

What is really wanted is a Press campaign with regard to girls' education. Then the higher education of women might receive its due meed of consideration.

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Apart from the tremendous commercial possibilities for women in post-war commerce, great opportunities are afforded of achieving valuable social work.

One woman of modern ideas and wide sympathies on the Board of Directors of any important company, could do more good for the general welfare of the staff of a large industrial concern than twenty "Welfare Workers."

Fundamentally, the capable business woman should be responsible for much good reconstructive work. Commercially her services when she is well educated and highly trained should be invaluable.

Globe.

25-6-17.

Miss Barton's Articles

TRADE AFTER THE WAR

WOMEN & WORK IN THE BUSINESS WORLD

BY EDITH M. BARTON.

V.

Always at various times in the history of English commerce and industry there have been epoch-making periods. But all these are as nought compared with the consequences of present-day events, which have brought women into the arena of the world's work in almost overwhelming numbers.

At present there is one burning question in connection with this new economic aspect. What is going to happen to women workers in every class of industry and commerce when our men come home from the war? Admittedly this is a vast problem which cannot be solved in theory; it can only be settled in practice. But that women should seek to keep their posts to the detriment of men who have made such great sacrifices for others is unthinkable. No wonder the pessimist predicts a sex war. But one prefers to think with the optimist, who holds that after the war there will be ample reconstructive work of every type to provide plenty of scope for both men and women.

ENEMY TRADING.

In commerce we have the great problem of enemy trading. And transferring to Great Britain trade which has hitherto flourished in Germany is no easy matter. It will need all our British grit and perseverance; and if women have been able to prove themselves equal to new and unusual tasks—as they have done during the last three years—it is only just to allow them to take their *fair* share in after-war problems.

Take one comprehensive instance alone. In the enemy sample section of the Commercial Intelligence Department of the Board of Trade are some 13,000 examples of different lines of goods manufactured by Germany and Austria. The exhibition includes a considerable variety of jewellery, textiles, hardware, glassware, fancy goods, and miscellaneous articles sent by the enemy into the world's markets, including the United Kingdom.

Almost every one of these samples provide openings for women's work in a more or less degree, and if this *huge addition to pre-war trade* is to be captured, surely there will be room for both sexes to earn a living competency.

For it must be remembered that after the war women will have fewer opportunities of fulfilling their true vocation of wife and motherhood, although there is little fear that the romance of love will be routed from the realm of commerce. Nature sees to this. Vote or no vote, woman cannot get away from the fact that nature has primarily designed her to be the complement of man. The mere fact that a woman has other interests outside home need not necessarily prevent her marriage; and a good business training and even some years in the business world need not necessarily unfit a girl for home life.

If the influx of women into trade and industry leads to State motherhood, so much the better for the nation as a whole.

RESEARCH WORK.

The new habit of industry acquired by women can, after the war, be utilised for the benefit of national commerce. If we can hope to capture a third of this enemy trade, in which previously we had no part, it stands to reason that women must help with their brains and with their ideas.

Sir Alfred Keogh, the chief of the Army Medical Service, where, if anywhere, women have proved their splendid capabilities, sounded a clarion note when, in a tribute to the "magnificent work" achieved by women in war time, he emphasised the importance of "taking women's brains seriously."

The period of transition will undoubtedly be difficult, but nowhere could women be more useful than in the gigantic task we have before us of capturing enemy trade.

In pioneer work highly educated girls with a liking for research might well devote their intelligence to scientific and industrial research work, a branch looked upon by experts as being of the first importance for our future trade development. There is many a process the secret of which would spell success to the British manufacturer. The lines upon which such work might be carried out have been outlined by the Right Hon. Sir Albert Spicer in his very able article on "British Trade after the War," published in "The Globe" of June 20. Scientific and industrial research is one of the many departments of after-war trade development in which women as well as men should be able to do much important and useful work.

Willgate Monthly
June 1917

June to December 1917

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

WHAT IS LIKELY TO BE THEIR POSITION AFTER THE WAR.

Dr. Marion Phillips (general secretary of the Women's Labour League), at a national conference of working-class organisations at Bradford recently, gave a paper on "Women in Industry." She said the big question of the future was what attitude working men were going to take towards women workers when the war was over, and especially what action trade unions were going to take. Trade unions ought to be thinking of what they were going to get. Now many of the old trade union rules provided for the exclusion of women. She could not imagine women consenting to be totally excluded from a large number of trades in which they had found themselves fully capable of doing the work asked of them.

If working men did not recognise that the employers would, and would take advantage of woman's position. After the war there would be a larger number of adult women wanting employment. These women would know quite well they could do the work in most trades; they would know perfectly well that their economic position was stronger when there was a wider field open for them; they would want to get as well paid work as possible, and they would be very determined not to go back to the old scheme of things in which 11s. was the average wage. But between 11s. and the 20s. she had suggested as the present wage point at which most women were engaged, there was considerable scope for the employer in bargaining. That, in broad outline, was the kind of situation that would arise if there was an effort to preserve the old trade union rules which provided for the total exclusion of women.

On the other hand, it was perfectly natural that male workers would see a danger in women's competition. That danger had been dealt with perfectly successfully in the cotton textile industry. There they had got equal pay for equal work. She saw no reason why that principle should not be extended throughout all industry, so that women should not come in without an equality of economic standing. Women ought to be made just the same as men from the employers' point of view.

Much would be said about the suitability of women for particular kinds of employment. She hoped these questions of suitability would not be decided after the war by unions composed of a vast majority of men. These, and cognate questions, should be decided by employment boards constituted of equal numbers of representatives of employers and employed, the latter being appointed by the workers themselves, and including women as well as men.

Finally, she urged that men should take women into partnership in industry, and enable them to stand in just as strong a position as men in the labour market through the trade unions. They should increase in every possible way the facilities for women to join trade unions, and not be jealous of women and insist on rigid rules to exclude women. Whatever happened in the future, they must get the women better organised than they had been in the past.

Lady.
5.7.17.

A notable opportunity for mental stimulus and physical refreshment will be afforded by the Summer School to be held at the Hampstead Garden Suburb during the first two weeks of August (3rd to 17th). Taking for its motto "Where there is no vision the people perish," the Committee, with Mrs. Barnett as president, have arranged a comprehensive scheme by which the main problems of reconstruction, religious, international, economic and educational, can be studied. A notable list of speakers includes the Bishops of Oxford, Lincoln and Peterborough, Sir Oliver Lodge, Lord Burnham, Lord Lytton, Canon Masterman, Principal Selbie, Mr. Herbert Samuel, Mr. J. A. Spender, Mrs. Creighton, Miss Maude Royden and Miss Mary Macarthur. In the arts and crafts section Professor Selwyn Image and Mr. George Clausen are among the speakers. Lectures and conferences will take place daily, and there will be opportunities for relaxation, including an afternoon at Lord Leverhulme's Hampstead house, where his wonderful Chinese porcelain is on view. Tickets are one guinea, and board-residence can be arranged at the Suburb. Miss M. Bolden, The Institute, Hampstead Garden Suburb, N.W.4, will send full programme on receipt of a stamped envelope.

Common Cause 13.7.17 1917 702/89 702

Representation of the People Bill in Committee.

JULY 4TH. CLAUSE 15. PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

Proportional Representation was again defeated in the House of Commons on July 4th, and is now definitely cut out of the Representation of the People Bill.

The debate was an interesting one. MR. MONTAGUE BARLOW (*South Salford*) moved an amendment cutting out the first sub-section of Clause 15, providing that in a constituency returning three or more members, each elector should have one transferable vote. His chief supporters were SIR THOMAS WHITTAKER, MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, and MR. WALTER LONG. On the other hand, the amendment was opposed and Proportional Representation supported by MR. ASQUITH, LORD ROBERT CECIL, SIR JOHN SIMON, and SIR F. E. SMITH.

The main argument on the one side was that Proportional Representation would destroy efficient Government, by weakening majorities, and giving representation to groups of cranks. On the other side, it was contended that it would give "more accurate representation in Parliament to the opinions of the nation, more freedom of members and candidates from undue pressure and more stability to the Government of the country." In spite of the support given to the principle by so many of the best intellects on both the front benches, it was defeated on a division by 201 to 169—majority in favour of the amendment, 32. The whole of Clause 15 then fell to the ground.

PROGRESS DELAYED.

No time is being given to the discussion of the Representation of the People Bill this week. This is probably because not much more progress can be made until the Boundary Commissioners have finished their work.

Planning for the Future.

SOME PROBLEMS OF AFTER-WAR TRADE.

There are hopeful signs that we are trying to overcome our national reluctance to think ahead. Plans for reconstruction after the war are occupying many minds, and, in addition to the Committee appointed by the Government to thresh out these problems, private groups are meeting for discussion and undertaking propaganda.

The creation of a Ministry of Labour to deal with matters affecting labour conditions is a step that has long been needed, and the development of the Board of Trade more on the lines of a Ministry of Commerce should mean that Government will watch over and cultivate markets both at home and abroad to a much greater extent than it has done in the past.

THE AVOIDANCE OF TRADE DISPUTES.

One of the most thorny problems before us is the avoidance of trade disputes. If we are to hold our own in the markets of the world, we must present a united front. Before the war there was great unrest in the labour world, and this is bound to break out again unless the reasonable demands of labour are met; but, at the same time, we cannot expect to compete on favourable terms with other nations if there is any artificial restriction of our output. Both capital and labour must consider the lessons of the war, and be ready to adjust their difficulties in a reasonable spirit.

A Sub-Committee of the Reconstruction Committee has been considering the relations between employers and employed, and recently issued an interim report recommending the formation of joint standing industrial Councils. Each industry, the Committee consider, should have an organisation representative of employers and workpeople, to have for its object the regular consideration of matters affecting the progress and well-being of the trade from the point of view of all those engaged in it, so far as this is consistent with the general interest of the community. The precise nature of the problems that will have to be faced naturally varies from industry to industry, and even from branch to branch, within the same industry, and their treatment, therefore, will need an intimate knowledge of the facts and circumstances of each trade. Such knowledge is only to be found among those directly connected with the trade, and can only be utilised to the fullest extent if the workpeople are given a greater share in the consideration of matters affecting their industry, and employers and employed are kept in constant touch.

CONSULTATION BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYED.

The Committee recommend that, in addition to the National Councils of the different trades, there shall be formed:—

(*a*) District Councils, representatives of the trade unions, and of the employers' association in the industry, or developed out of the existing machinery for negotiation in the various trades.

(*b*) That work's committees, representatives of the management and of the workers employed, should be instituted in particular works to act in close co-operation with the district and national machinery.

This necessity for more consultations between employer and employed is emphasised in the essays on the Relations between Capital and Labour, in a very valuable volume recently issued, dealing with questions of reconstruction. Writing on the standpoint of labour, Mr. G. H. Roberts, M.P., deplores the state of mutual suspicion and ill-concealed antagonism into which employers and employed were drifting before the war, but rejects the idea that some people are putting forward, of a cruel and widespread class warfare when "cannons cease to vomit and trenches are emptied."

"Having seen the son of the well-to-do and the son of the labourer watching and fighting together in order that their country may remain great and its people free, I cannot think," he says, "they will soon forget the comradeship that inspired them to common endeavour and sacrifice in withstanding the foe, nor that they will sanction lightly the resumption of industrial hostilities."

MUTUAL CONFIDENCE IN SETTLING DISPUTES.

Sir Benjamin C. Brown, writing on the standpoint of Capital, takes the same view. He holds that kindly feeling between Capital and Labour has been much discouraged of recent years by the interference of people who know nothing about the circumstances, and that if employers and employed could feel more confidence in one another, and come together to talk things over in a friendly spirit, a great deal of misunderstanding would be avoided. "Where there is confidence, mistakes are easily explained, and where there is kindly feeling injustices are easily put right." Legislation, he maintains, should be the last resource, and it is a very bad one. "Settlements across a table are friendly, but a Parliamentary fight means victory on one side and a defeat on the other, and bad blood on both. I think the old maxim is safest, "Never win a victory till you have exhausted every chance of arranging a compromise."

THE UTILISATION OF WOMEN'S WORK.

One of the problems with regard to which employers and employed will have to consult is that of the restriction of female labour, and it is to be hoped that in any conference that takes place (whether local or national) fair representation will be given to the many thousands of women who have worked during the war emergency at trades hitherto closed to them. With proper organisation it should be possible to continue to utilise their skill and energy as fully in peace time as in war, and it will be a national loss, as well as an act of gross injustice, if trade unionists insist upon the restitution in their entirety of pre-war rules with regard to women's employment.

In the volume of essays to which reference has already been made, Mrs. Fawcett, writing on the "Position of Women in Economic Life," describes the discovery of the immense reservoir of unused, or only partially used, productive power which this country possesses in its women as "one of the economic events of the war." While recognising to the full the valuable work trade unions have done in obtaining improved conditions of labour, she maintains that in the matter of women's labour they have pursued a mistaken policy, which has had a terribly depressing effect on women's wages—the union being all the greater because it is against the principles of the creed they have professed. "The elevation of the status of labour has been a religion to many of them, but in this matter of women's labour they have 'denied their faith to make their faith prevail.' Forcibly to prevent half the nation from undertaking skilled work is a hideous tyranny, which has kept huge masses of industrial women in a sort of serfage, from which before the war escape seemed almost impossible. Now the wisest and most experienced of the trade unionists know that women have come to stay."

There will, no doubt, be a certain amount of opposition to women remaining on in the trades that they have newly learnt; but it is to be hoped that not only the leaders, but the large majority of trade unionists, will be ready to give them fair play. If, instead of trying to drive women out, trade unionists would insist on equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex, the danger of women being used to lower the prevalent rates of wages could surely be overcome.

M. M.

Christian Globe
2.-8.-17.

Women After the War.

I do not agree with Miss Mary MacArthur when she declares that there will be no sex war in industry after the war. The commercial interests of the two sexes in the labour market will be diametrically opposed to each other, and there will be, I feel sure, keen competition to depress the standard of wages. The determining factor in casual labour will be its cheapness, and not its suitability, and it will never be possible to convince the average woman of the danger of undercutting men in the labour market. So many women have been trained to fill men's places that when the men come back they will not readily surrender the good money and independent position with which the war has provided them.

Scot's Pictorial
11.8.17.

The Workers After the War

It is good to hear from no less an authority than Miss Mary Macarthur that there will be no sex war in industry following the war. So many others have said and believed that the men who return from strife when the war is over will find their places filled by women unwilling to be turned out, and that men who have fought to defend the country and the women cannot be expected to stand that. Miss Macarthur did not state her reasons (or those reasons were not reported in the papers that have come into my hands) for thinking there will be no sex war. The most satisfactory reason, of course, would be that work enough for both men and women might be found, and it ought to be, and will be, found if only we are not content after the war to go back to the old order of things—to buying most commodities from abroad, even from Germany, because we are too lazy or too thoughtless to grow them or make them for ourselves. I, personally, am deadly afraid that most of us will not trouble long to support home industries if we can get "just as good" from other countries. Yet if we do not, the last state of this country will be worse than is the state of Russia at present.

Liverpool Courier
4.-9.-17.

WOMEN AFTER THE WAR.

Liverpool Lord Mayor Invites Suggestions

Some correspondence has recently appeared in reference to the employment of women after the war, one writer going the length of suggesting that the Lady Mayoress should call a conference to consider the subject.

It is recognised on all sides that the matter is one of great importance, and the Lord Mayor desires it to be known that it is engaging the very careful attention of the Liverpool Munitions Committee and the Ministry of Reconstruction. It is not considered desirable to make any statement at the moment, and it is felt that no practical result could be expected from the holding of a conference at the present stage. At the same time, however, the Lord Mayor will be much obliged for any suggestions for dealing with this very important and difficult question

Lady
20.-9.-17.

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702/90

There have been some gloomy prophecies as to what will happen in the labour market after the war, and some alarmists have even predicted a sex war. The alarmists have been answered by the optimists, who cheerfully contend that there is no danger because women have undertaken men's work only as a temporary measure, and will vacate their posts when the men return. This may be true as regards some women and some jobs, but one feels that the problem will not solve itself in this way. One also feels that the "status quo" would not be desirable, even if it could be restored. The ideal of every country should be to be self-supporting. The war has taught us how very far England has declined from following this ideal. If it is to be pursued there will be no need for women who have found their vocation in certain branches of agriculture and industry to abandon their work, for their support will be needed in the new economic struggle. It is this fact which will avert a sex war in the labour market, especially if women workers combine to resist any attempt to exploit their labour, and to insist on a wage which will not undersell men's work.

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Daily Express
25-9-17.

WOMEN WORKERS AFTER THE WAR.

CONTRACT TO PROTECT BOTH SIDES.

The Government is taking important steps to safeguard its various departments against a general exodus of women clerks the moment peace is declared, and to protect the future of the women clerks who will ultimately be replaced by male clerks.

To obviate any general exodus at an inconvenient period the women clerks are being asked to sign agreements that they will not leave their employment for at least four months after peace is signed. Every clerk who agrees to this will be given a supplementary bonus when she leaves of between 10s. and £1 for every month of service. It is estimated that the average clerk on leaving will be entitled to quite £20 as a parting gift.

It should not, however, be imagined that the Government is only selfishly thinking of itself. On the contrary, much consideration is being given to the problem of what is to become of the women clerks when the State no longer requires them. However useful the women may have been, there will be a great cutting down of national expenditure after the war, and these clerks will then have little opportunity of commercial employment.

The solution favoured by the State is emigration to the Overseas Dominions, and in due course a plan may be expected by which every assistance will be given to the women to go to places where they will benefit themselves, their new home, and the Empire.

An important step in this direction is in the encouragement of study. There are many girls under sixteen in State departments who do the hundred-and-one odd jobs usually performed by the junior clerk. Henceforth, these girls will have to go regularly to night school. In the continuation classes they have to attend they will be discouraged from learning shorthand and typing, but instead will be taught such practical womanly subjects as will fit them for a new creative life in other climes.

Birmingham Post
2.-10.-17.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

AN AFTER-WAR PROBLEM.

Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, M.P., who has been appointed an additional Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and an additional Parliamentary Secretary for the Board of Trade, a joint office of the two departments for dealing with foreign trade and commerce, presided last night at a meeting, held at Queen's College, Birmingham, under the auspices of the National Union of Women Workers. The object of the gathering was the first of three lectures on the subject of the "Past Present, and Future History of Trade Unionism for Women."

Sir Arthur said a consideration of the subject before the meeting was due, and really overdue. In the first place, Birmingham was a great town for the employment of women, and in a rather different way from the Lancashire manufacturing towns. There there was a great number of women in one particular employment, whereas Birmingham was an important place for many diversified employments for women. Even before the war the question of women's employment was one of the most complex and difficult parts of the whole of modern industry. He would not attempt to analyse the reasons for the state of wages and disorganisation of women in industry which then prevailed, because the causes were tolerably well apparent to anyone who knew the subject. At any rate, before the war the position of women in industry in this country was not satisfactory, and it badly needed setting to rights.

A Changed Situation.

With the coming of the war the whole situation had taken another complete change. With so many men diverted to fighting and to other purposes, the need for women workers had been increased manifold, and instead of there being a glut of women workers there was now a great demand for them. It had been found from the experience of the war that women had been able to do work which formerly was reserved for men. Not only so, but the substitution of new kinds of machinery for old in many of the engineering works had enabled a certain amount of work to be done by women with the new machines which probably could only have been done by men on the old machines. The result was that after the war the problem would be quite different from what it was before. That was his reason for saying that the subject was well worth considering now, so that they might have a better knowledge of where they stood in regard to the matter. After the war there was bound to be a good deal of dislocation in the country, inasmuch as when the men returned some industries would stop and others would be starting work again. The amount of dislocation and hardship that would be entailed would depend a great deal on the measures taken to meet it, and on the understanding and intelligence of the people generally who would be affected or who could influence the people who were affected. He believed that if there was goodwill not only could the production of this country be immensely increased as compared with what it was before the war, but as part cause and part effect of it, the share of the people who were underpaid before could be made, as it ought to be made, a great deal better. For all that one needed goodwill and understanding, the goodwill to try and set in motion, for example, a scheme like that proposed by Mr. Whitley's Committee. (Applause.)

Miss Dawson then delivered an address on the

authority than Miss Mary Macarthur that there will be no sex war in industry following the war. So many others have said and believed that the men who return from strife when the war is over will find their places filled by women unwilling to be turned out, and that men who have fought to defend the country and the women cannot be expected to stand that. Miss Macarthur did not state her reasons (or those reasons were not reported in the papers that have come into my hands) for thinking there will be no sex war. The most satisfactory reason, of course, would be that work enough for both men and women might be found, and it ought to be, and will be, found if only we are not content after the war to go back to the old order of things—to buying most commodities from abroad, even from Germany, because we are too lazy or too thoughtless to grow them or make them for ourselves. I, personally, am deadly afraid that most of us will not trouble long to support home industries if we can get "just as good" from other countries. Yet if we do not, the last state of this country will be worse than is the state of Russia at present.

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With the coming of the war the whole situation had taken another complete change. With so many men diverted to fighting and to other purposes, the need for women workers had been increased manifold, and instead of there being a glut of women workers there was now a great demand for them. It had been found from the experience of the war that women had been able to do work which formerly was reserved for men. Not only so, but the substitution of new kinds of machinery for old in many of the engineering works had enabled a certain amount of work to be done by women with the new machines which probably could only have been done by men on the old machines. The result was that after the war the problem would be quite different from what it was before. That was his reason for saying that the subject was well worth considering now, so that they might have a better knowledge of where they stood in regard to the matter. After the war there was bound to be a good deal of dislocation in the country, inasmuch as when the men returned some industries would stop and others would be starting work again. The amount of dislocation and hardship that would be entailed would depend a great deal on the measures taken to meet it, and on the understanding and intelligence of the people generally who would be affected or who could influence the people who were affected. He believed that if there was goodwill not only could the production of this country be immensely increased as compared with what it was before the war, but as part cause and part effect of it, the share of the people who were underpaid before could be made, as it ought to be made, a great deal better. For all that one needed goodwill and understanding, the goodwill to try and set in motion, for example, a scheme like that proposed by Mr. Whitley's Committee. (Applause.)

Miss Dawson then delivered an address on the past history of trade unionism for women, in which she dealt with the movement from its earliest stages down to 1906. This meeting will be followed by two other lectures on the present and future history of trades unionism for women.

Manchester Guardian
9-10-17

LABOUR POLICY AFTER THE WAR.

By the Right Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P.

If there is one thing more than another that the war has proved, it is the folly of posing as a prophet. I do not propose, therefore, to attempt any such rôle with regard to the situation after the war, but shall simply express my personal views on the various matters mentioned, and show, as far as I can judge, the tendency of events.

Turning first of all to the political side of the Labour movement. Now there can be no doubt that a very serious effort will be made to broaden the basis of our organisation, so that full advantage might be taken of the new franchise to strengthen the position of the party both inside and outside Parliament. Of course, I am well aware of the many and varied attempts now being made to establish new parties, and that baits of all kinds are being offered to Labour; but I feel quite satisfied that the end of the war will find the Labour party an independent and distinct political entity.

We are frequently told that the war has removed or broken down the party barriers, and that peace will find politics divided into entirely new camps, but that I very much doubt. That all parties will be compelled to reconsider their programmes and policies may be true, and, indeed, the terms of peace will play a very important part in this matter, especially on the question of armaments, but the idea that the party spirit is dead is pure imagination. Apart, perhaps, from a few small groups, the great Liberal and Tory parties will remain, but the Labour party will grow in strength and influence at the expense of both, and will broaden out as a national party.

The Transition Period.

In my opinion the most difficult time we shall have to face will be the transition period, when, in as short a time as possible, industry will have to change from war to peace. This operation will mean that several million soldiers and munition workers will have to be transferred to new occupations compared with those which they have followed during the past two or three years. It may conceivably happen that many men will return to find themselves competing with others for a job. Naturally, the first question they would ask would be, "Is this what we have been fighting for?" With the memory of what they have already suffered and the sacrifices they have made, they would be faced with the prospect of unemployment and further suffering. A very serious state of affairs would then arise. Therefore, at all costs, efforts must be made to deal with this position in such a way as to avoid unemployment and prevent distress.

It is here that Labour, with a constructive policy, can be of great assistance. The Triple Alliance, composed as it is of the miners, the transport workers, and the railwaymen, have already placed before the Government a scheme dealing with the whole question, which included the demand that all workers should be provided with employment at standard living rates or with full maintenance by the State.

One of the first questions that will be raised at the close of the war is whether the present war wage or war bonus shall remain. I think it will, for two reasons. First, the cost of living is not likely to drop for some time, and it is on this that the war increases have been based. Therefore any attempt to bring down the war increases would be strongly resisted on this ground. Secondly, there is universal agreement among the ranks of labour that the workers must in the future aim for a higher standard of life, and that they will not be satisfied with the pre-war standard. This applies not only to rates of wages but also to hours of labour. Speaking for my own organisation, the National Union of Railwaymen, it may be taken for granted that our demand for an eight-hour day for all grades of railwaymen will be strongly pressed. Here let me observe that the future will not see so many sectional disputes as there were before the war. The great change from sectional and craft unions to national industrial unions will make our movements more national than has been the case hitherto.

To Avoid Strikes.

The question arises: If Labour intends to make a fight for improved status—that is, not only [illegible]

Morning Advertiser
26-11-17

WORK AFTER THE WAR.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN.

The fourth of a series of addresses under the "Fight for the Right Movement" was given at the Æolian Hall, New Bond-street, yesterday, by Miss LENA ASHWELL, who spoke on "Women's Work Before and After the War."

She declared that the whole question of women's work was a staggering one, and difficult to deal with. She emphasised the great difference between the weekly wages of men and women which existed in pre-war days. The average wage of a woman worker in 1912, according to a Board of Trade return, was 10s. 7d. Apart from wages, many trade unions did not admit women to membership, nor were they permitted to practise in the higher professions. A great awakening was needed to change these conditions.

With regard to war work, Miss Ashwell said that in France a much better feeling existed between men and women engaged in making munitions than was the case in this country. If, at the conclusion of the war, she said, greater numbers of women were to be engaged in work, attention would have to be given to measures which would make them efficient workers. The home life could be improved by the establishment of communal kitchens; creches should be taken over by the State, and under the new scheme of education nursery schools would be organised. She trusted that the nursery schools would be used by all classes of the community.

Equal pay must be given for equal work, and after the war there should be no barriers to women or to anyone getting to the top, whatever the work or the profession might be. She believed there would be abundance of work for all, and there ought to be no poverty, for there was plenty of money to go round.

putes as there were before the war. The great change from sectional and craft unions to national industrial unions will make our movements more national than has been the case hitherto.

To Avoid Strikes.

The question arises: If Labour intends to make a fight for improved status—that is, not only increased wages and shorter hours but a voice in the control of their employment—will it result in a period of strikes and lock-outs? I hope not; but all will depend upon the spirit and manner in which the question is approached. The Whitley Report on Joint Industrial Councils provides a basis for the establishment of machinery in every industry. The Government would be wise to use all its influence and power to urge employers and trade unions to meet and establish machinery at once, and face the many problems that await solution. My views on strikes are well known. I believe they should always be the last and not the first resort. If proper machinery is set up and every question is subject to discussion between both sides as it arises, then a strike would be recognised as a national danger, and the absolute necessity of averting it would be appreciated by both sides.

These remarks, of course, are based on the assumption that the difficulties will be between private employers and their employees. I am, however, not unmindful that there are several industries at present under Government control, and labour will oppose them reverting to their private owners. In particular I am referring to the railways and the mines. These are essentially national services, and our demand will be that, just as the State has found it necessary to control them in a time of national crisis, so it would be in the nation's interest that the State should not only retain control but should also take over the ownership.

The Women Workers.

These are only a few of the many problems before us in which Labour is specially interested, but they indicate some of the difficulties that lie across our path. Whilst in the past nationalisation has been opposed by the shareholders, our experience during the war, and the difficulties ahead, such as the cost of materials and labour, are in themselves reasons why many will change their attitude. Equally, however, Labour is watching the danger of the State being saddled with industries bought at a price not justified by their value or the current market price, and therefore imposing a burden on the people. Thus it will not only be on the question of transfer from private ownership that the fight will come, but rather on the terms and conditions on which the bargain is struck.

Another important question is that of the position of women workers now engaged in industries which have hitherto been closed to them. Whilst in some cases, as, for example, the railways, we have an agreement that the women shall not prejudice the return of the men who are fighting our battles and whose places they fill, yet we must recognise that in many industries women have come to stay. The only safe course to follow is to insist that wherever women are employed doing men's work they shall receive men's pay. This, in my opinion, is the only way whereby the standard conditions may be maintained. Any attempt to treat women as they were treated before the war would, in my judgment, be disastrous.

Daily Express 2.-11.-17.

MARRIED WOMEN AND THE WAR.

NEW AMBITIONS SOWN BY REGULAR INCOMES.

By W. L. GEORGE.

The powerful influences now at work on all women will peculiarly affect the position of the wife. She will, of course, benefit and suffer exactly as will her single sisters, and come up as they will against male labour; she will find her status raised by the growing realisation of her importance in the State, and absorb political education like the male voter. She will, however, feel certain effects from which the single will be free. Notably, her state of mind will have been altered, in millions of cases, by having for three or four years enjoyed a *fixed and regular* separation allowance instead of a precarious share in her husband's wages.

That is a greater influence than might be thought, for the regular income is now a habit, and I doubt whether the new women voters will submit to the old state of uncertainty. They seem to me much more likely to throw in their vote with the Labour party, and to demand the "Right to Work" Bill, with its 30s. a head all the year round—and who will think it fair to say them nay?

GAIN OF POWER.

It would be neither fair nor safe, for many married women have gained power as leading hands and shop forewomen; indeed, in one case known to me, a woman is now assistant manager of a factory, and controls nearly 2,000 women—and men. All this has sown a seed of ambition that will flourish as the green bay-tree.

This does not mean that more married women will enter factories, nor that they should be encouraged from their homes, though many of the childless are available. Close on 100,000 additional marriages were registered in 1915, but the birth-rate is slowly falling, and so there is nothing between labour and many married women. I believe, however, that their drift will be away from, rather than to, the factories, owing to the rising cry for population.

This cry is largely based on cant, for those who demand children offer neither security of food nor comfortable houses, but time and necessity will kill cant and bring about a swift movement for an increased maternity allowance. This is now 30s.; I believe it will rise to at least 10s. a week for ten weeks; I believe, too, that the feeding of school children will become compulsory, while a popular care movement enlists a vast number of wives, to replace some well-meaning but untaught spinsters.

That will be a liberating movement which will relieve from factory work many a married woman and release her for the care of a home less miserable and exacting than the one she knows today.

Birmingham Post. 5.-11.-17.

WOMEN AND AFTER-WAR EMPLOYMENT.

To the EDITOR of the DAILY POST.

Sir,—Your correspondent of October 29, in his justifiable anxiety that the claim of the returned soldier to his place in industry should be clearly recognised, loses sight of the fact that male civilians occupy with regard to him the same position as women workers.

Granting that the soldier's claim should be put above that of everyone else, is it fair that women should be driven wholesale out of the industries in which they have entered, while men who obtained exemption from the Army are left free to retain any work which the abnormal labour conditions prevailing in war time have enabled them to get?

Would it not be better, the just claims of the returned soldiers satisfied, to allow the rest of the population free competition, with efficiency, not sex, as its basis? By insisting on the principle of "equal pay for equal work" the interests of the workers would be safeguarded, inasmuch as it would then be impossible for a man to be supplanted by a woman simply because her labour was the cheaper.

OLIVE A. JETLEY.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
London, S.W.

Outlook 17-11-17

renewals delayed, and with the wastages of war to make good, there will be a great trade boom after the war—an enormous volume of employment available for both women and men—and the problem before us is not how to drive our new women workers out of industry, but how to regulate their conditions of employment.

The end of the war will find us with more skilled labour than ever we have had before, and with intelligent co-operation between capital and labour and the State we could so increase our trade that the whole of this skill could be adequately employed, and at good wages, when the world calls again for its usual quantities of manufactures, plus the extra quantities needed to make good the war losses. It is not a trade depression, but an unprecedented boom, that we should be wise to prepare for—a boom in which we shall need the services of every worker, male and female, to enable us to take the largest possible share of the world's trade and re-establish our own economic position.

One of the absolutely certain results of this German-made war will be a hugely increased demand for British-made goods. Germany, hitherto our greatest rival, has hit and offended all her best customers, with the exception of Austria. Our Colonies and Allies will call for British instead of German products. Our shops will not in future be filled with German goods while our own men are unemployed. Germany will suffer a world-wide boycott. Here it is important to remember that in manufactures America, Britain, and Germany are the world's leading countries—in fact, they are the only really great manufacturing nations. With one of these out of the race—financially bankrupt, her competitive powers weakened, and her goods and agents shunned by the bulk of mankind—it follows that the available trade will stand to be shared by the other two. In future the race for commercial supremacy will be between Britain and America, and in that competition we shall obtain all the trade our works and workers can undertake. The United States of course has a larger productive capacity in most trades than the United Kingdom; but America cannot beat this country in neutral markets, save in case of one or two special lines, because in that country the mineral deposits —the coal and iron—are about 1,000 miles apart, and the manufacturing plants are mostly between 400 and 500 miles from the coast—a big geographical handicap—besides which wages are abnormally high in America. All the same, we shall find the United States, and not the United Kingdom, getting the lion's share of the trade Germany will lose if we do not maintain a high productive capacity and rate of output. We are bound to get all the business we can do. We can obtain abundant employment for our people, with America taking the overflow of neutral trade.

To those who imagine that Germany will return to the competition with her old fierceness and success—that in spite of the disrespect she has created she will beat us by offering her goods at prices we cannot touch—it may be pointed out that German progress in the past has been due largely, if not mainly, to a set of artificial factors and forces that can hardly exist after the war. It may be said that the very mainspring of German competition has been subsidisation, and for decades, if not generations, German finances will not be in a state to afford the lavish subsidising of exports that characterised the competition of the last fifteen years before the war. Not only will German industries lose about two millions of their men, but they will lose the generous State subsidies, bankers' credits, and syndicate bounties which have hitherto enabled them to sell their goods abroad so cheaply.

It has not been cheap labour or cheap production that has been the secret of German success in foreign markets, but subsidisation. Germany's coal is not quite so good as ours, and it is more costly to mine. Her iron ore is inferior. The minerals are deposited far apart, whereas ours are practically side by side. Again, all their manufacturing plants are far inland. We have our coal, our iron supplies, our works and shipping ports all conveniently situated. Moreover, it is quite a mistake to imagine that low wages have industry takes a new lease of life. We need fear no great unemployed problem after the war. Our trade unionists need not fear the competition of unskilled labour, male or female.

F. T. GOOD.

Author 17-11-17

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WOMEN AND TRADE AFTER THE WAR.

TRADE UNIONISTS are seriously agitated over the question of employment after the war, especially as their own position will be affected by the large numbers of women who have taken up industrial occupations and are acquiring considerable degrees of skill. Without a doubt, many of these women will be reluctant to relinquish their new situations and independence, and many of their employers will not wish to lose their services when the war is over. This not only raises delicate questions of trade union organisation and pay rates, but the problem of employment for the millions of men who will be released from the Army and munitions-making.

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played any part in German progress, so far, at any rate, as the heavy trades are concerned. Twenty years ago a delegation of our own iron trade employers reported that German wages were practically "on all fours" with ours. Since then, it is well known, wages have risen much more in Germany than in this country. No, it is not cheap production that has enabled the Germans to sell cheaply.

The German Government has carried goods for export on its railways at half, and less than half, the ordinary rates. It has paid special subsidies to German ships carrying German goods. The Consular Service has been specially worked in the interests of the manufacturing industries. The banks have given most lavish assistance to exporters. The trade syndicates have worked an export bounty system that has been one of the marvels of the commercial world. In the future it will be impossible for Germany to subsidise her exports to anything like the old extent. Add to that the boycott she will suffer, and her appalling loss of manpower, and it will be seen that German competition cannot be so strong in the future as it was in the past. British industry takes a new lease of life. We need fear no great unemployed problem after the war. Our trade unionists need not fear the competition of unskilled labour, male or female.

F. T. GOOD.

Illustrated
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WOMANHOOD AFTER THE WAR

By Cicely Hamilton

MISS CICELY HAMILTON, the recognised authority on feminist topics, suggests that the effect of the war upon the next generation will be bad because, with the flower of young manhood gone and the strength of young womanhood overtaxed, the children born within the next few years may be a nervous type. She anticipates a temporary revival of femininity, as distinguished from feminism, adjusted later by economic pressure and habits of labour and self-dependence formed during the struggle. Elimination of superfluities of life will tend to result in less worry and better health.

I HAVE been asked to set down in black and white a forecast of the physical effects upon British women of the conditions brought about by the war. Such a forecast, in the nature of things, can be only tentative—in many respects but a guess. It is true that one can put one's finger on certain definite results of war conditions; can say with assurance that there are at this moment large numbers of our woman population who are better clad and better fed than they were when male labour was plentiful and separation allowances for soldiers' wives were as yet beyond the horizon.

That, for the time being, is a definite gain to health. But as the struggle drags on, so food will be dearer and scarcer—while peace, when it comes, may bring harder times instead of the proverbial plenty. With equal certainty one may set it down that an appreciable number of women (especially young girls) are overtaxing their strength at unaccustomed forms of labour in their sturdy efforts to fill the places left vacant by their brothers in the trenches. The nation in its need has called on them to do their utmost, and, so long as the need of the nation is extreme, the effect upon their health of unduly long hours is a minor consideration.

Minor it may be, but none the less it is serious. The pick and flower of our manhood went first to the war, and has given its blood more freely either than those rejected on physical grounds or those who "waited to be fetched." Much of what is soundest and finest in man has died before its time, and left no son behind it; if the next generation is to have its chance, its mothers should be healthy and well balanced.

I have heard that the French "war baby" of 1871 developed only too frequently into a markedly nervous type. If that was the case, the evil is bound to be repeated in our time on a scale incomparably greater. From the point of view of the generation yet to come, it would be well, when overwork there must be, that older women were strained and "scrapped" in health. But war, like the minotaur of old, devours by preference youth, and through youth it strikes at the unborn.

[Elliott & Fry

Miss Cicely Hamilton

The above are some of the more direct and instant results of war upon the physical conditions of women. It seems probable, however, that some of the most important and permanent changes will be produced indirectly; that the daily life and habits of women as a class will be affected, and strongly affected, as a result of a change in their mental attitude and estimate of their own position.

Probable Revival of Femininity

In this connection we have to ask ourselves: What sort of a tradition will women as a class bring out of this greatest of all wars? For tradition means moral habit and outlook on life; and if our outlook on life, our attitude towards ourselves and the social system has not been in any way modified by the experience we have been through, no permanent change will be possible. Without it, woman in the mass—perhaps grumblingly, perhaps willingly—will relapse into her former ways.

On the whole, that does not seem likely in this generation. She may wish to relapse, but the fates will be strongly against her. No doubt war-weariness will bring its reaction, and I expect to see in the very near future a pronounced revival of femininity—a very different article from feminism. Such a temporary revival of fluffiness, of appealing dependence, of the Dora Copperfield, child-wife, kittenish type, would be a natural result and product of the strain through which we are passing.

Counteraction of Economic Pressure

The world since August, 1914, has indulged in an orgy of masculinism. This statement is not intended as a reproach to the male sex, which, as these two years and more have shown, holds no monopoly of the stubbornly combative instincts. Man and woman, we have put our backs into the war; and, man and woman, we are sodden with blood and brutality—blood and brutality have almost lost the power to horrify. When the swing of the pendulum comes, as come it must, both man and woman, for a time at least, will turn and take pleasure in brutality's opposite—an exaggerated, childish femininity.

Probably the phenomenon will be of short duration; probably, also, it will be confined to a limited class, the class of the well-to-do, of those who can afford to be useless. In every other section of society the tendency will be counteracted by economic pressure, by the need to work—and work hard—for self or children. And economic pressure, in its turn, will be seconded by habits of labour and self-dependence acquired in the years of struggle.

One thing at least is certain. The tradition that the average woman will bring out of the war will not be the tradition of a life lived only as the helpmeet and dependent of her husband. That estimate of her place in the world was old-fashioned before 1914, when husbands were more plentiful than they will be for years to come; it survived only by favour of the sentimental and autocratic instincts of the human male and the laziness and inefficiency of large sections of the human female.

Laziness and the autocratic instinct, no doubt, we shall always have with us; but not while the present generation endures will they be able to stifle the inexorable fact that women have been called on to aid the nation in its need—not by gentle persuasion and the homekeeping arts, but by downright, straightforward employment of brain, muscle and intelligence: called on, not as wives and mothers, but as personal hands and brains. What we prize in the war-time woman is hard sinew as well as hard sense; the capacity to think steadily and sweat for long hours without dropping is of more value to a nation in its agony than much sweetness of coaxing manner or much talent for dainty dress.

In the hour of our trial we have taken stock of our resources and stopped the customary wastage of women's good brains and good bodies. Necessity, a law unto itself, has swept aside those lesser laws which forbade the employment of women in certain trades, which condemned as unwomanly certain forms of physical activity. We have found out that strength is strength, whether clad in trousers or petticoats, and that shells are shells whether turned out by women or by men. One forgets the proprieties when the enemy batters at the gates.

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No doubt, when the enemy ceases to batter, the proprieties will come back in part. Certain callings and forms of physical activity are obviously more suited to the average man than they are to the average woman, and in normal conditions would tend to be monopolised by man. But what has been has been; woman in war-time has been praised and prized for qualities once held to be unfeminine, and the old spirit of taboo has passed while the war and its works are remembered.

In estimating the influences that have been brought to bear on the average woman, it must not be forgotten that she has seen many of her duties, once held to be of paramount importance, decried and derided as useless, and fallen in public esteem. Domestic service, paid or otherwise, the employment of household labour in the person of one's servants or oneself—has been recognised in war-time as largely a luxury trade; and just as it is an offence against the nation to keep unnecessary servants, so it is an offence against the nation to multiply the little home wants and the little home preoccupations that were once an admired and essential part of the life of a housekeeping woman.

Benefit of Open-Air Work

The housekeeping class will always form a large proportion of the nation's womanhood, and it will mean much to such a class that it has learned to distinguish between the essentials and non-essentials of a decent home, that it has learned to curtail and simplify its formerly multifarious duties. Even in very modest households an incalculable amount of feminine energy is usually wasted upon the fidget of petty display; a general standard of less pretentious living will mean less expenditure of energy, more time, less worry, better health.

Physically, the nation should benefit by the fact that the number of women working at open-air callings has increased during the war. The field-working, horse-minding, van-driving girl will tend to belong to a hardy race with an open-air outlook on life. The woman who puts her back into a day's good gardening or farmwork could not, if she would, have the same views and manners as the girl whose place is the home, or whose work is sedentary. Her ideals are different, even her ideals of beauty; she admires the grace that is strong and free-stepping, not the grace that is dependent or childish.

Restoration of the Balance

Naturally, this type—the product of the upper and middle-class British woman's predilection for sport and exercise—existed long before war with Germany was thought of; all that war with Germany has done is to increase its numbers and spread its characteristics through classes other than those with opportunity for sport. This is all to the good, for two reasons. First, because the out-of-door woman will be more robust than her sedentary sister, and therefore suffer less than her sister from the prolonged anxiety and nervous strain of the war; secondly, because her training and habits will probably render her immune from the approaching attack of fluffiness and ultra-femininity. She will act as femininity's counterpoise and bring back the balance to the normal.

Next article:
ENGLISH LITERATURE AFTER THE WAR
By Clement K. Shorter

1918. June. 702/95

Manchester Guardian. 7. 6. 18.

LABOUR RIGHTS.

THE RESTORATION PLEDGES.

LONDON, FRIDAY.

The Labour Conference, at its final session in the Central Hall, Westminster, to-day, scrambled through the consideration of a detailed scheme of reconstruction. Over a score of elaborate resolutions were carried after a discussion of from five to ten minutes on each. The speeches were severely limited so as to enable the Conference to finish its business, with the result that there was no adequate discussion of any one subject.

Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., who was down to move an important resolution on national finance, refused to occupy the minutes allowed to him, saying that he could not possibly deal with the subject in the time. This state of things was the result of giving up so much time on the previous days to the controversial subject of the party truce and to the various Kerensky episodes.

The note of many of the speeches on the restoration of peace conditions in industry and on promised reforms was a scepticism as to Government pledges. Mr. John Hill, for instance, in moving a resolution on the restoration of trade union conditions, questioned whether the Government really meant to fulfil their promise of strengthening the Munitions Act in this direction.

Another resolution passed without discussion laid down a far-reaching programme for the prevention of unemployment after the war, including a big provision of public works to absorb labour. An improved State scheme of insurance for temporary unemployment was demanded.

Emancipation of Women.

A biting speech was made by Miss Mary Macarthur, who brought forward a series of demands for the complete industrial and civil emancipation of women. She drew attention to the dismissal of 40,000 women munition workers at short notice just before the March offensive. Although the Ministry of Munitions had been aware for six weeks that these dismissals were going to take place they had never informed the Ministry of Labour, and in some places over 1,000 women were dismissed without the local labour exchanges knowing anything about it, so that no provision was made.

Such action as that, she said, makes us rather cynical about the praises showered on women workers. They are good enough to be praised when their work is wanted, but they are only good enough to be turned on to the scrap heap afterwards. She asked what had become of the Government pledges of 1915 on the subject of equal pay for equal work. Women had not shared in the war advances granted to men workers. It might be said that women were receiving double the sweated wages of before the war, and that men had dependents.

Admitting that, the fact remained that if men were going to allow women to undercut them and women to allow themselves to be exploited to cheapen production, there would be a disastrous state of things in industry. The vote was conceded to women on the ground of their services in the war, yet the Representation of the People Act excluded the vast majority of women war-workers.

The restoration of complete personal liberty was demanded as soon as the war ended. Speaking on this subject, Mr. W. C. Anderson, M.P., issued a warning about industrial conscription. Men of the older classes who were being called up and graded "one," although admittedly not for active service, were not to be sent into the firing line, but these men believed that they were going to be sent there, and they were being told that if they would place themselves absolutely in the hands of the authorities to be used in industry they would be exempt from military service. That, he said, was simply industrial conscription, and a most serious menace to trade unionism and organised labour.

The Irish Problems.

There was a momentary flash of emotion in the speech of Mr. James O'Grady, M.P., on Home Rule for Ireland. "Don't," he said, "let the English have to go to the Peace Congress and be compelled by foreigners to concede justice to Ireland." Mr. Jack Jones followed by a spirited attack on Sinn Fein and separatism generally from the patriotic point of view.

Some delegates objected to a proposal to support Parliamentary decentralisation on the ground that it would interfere with the internal solidarity of Labour. Mr. Henderson reminded the Conference that it would be a tactical blunder to reject devolution. At the next election they would be running candidates in Wales and Scotland, and the party must not set itself in opposition to the national sentiment of those countries. The business of Labour was to capture the separate legislatures that would be set up, and to see that Labour legislation was uniform and progressive.

Very cursory attention was given to reconstruction programmes on education, housing, the abolition of the Poor Law, temperance reform, railways, coal mines, agriculture, and national finance. A woman delegate in khaki uniform held the attention of the Conference for a few minutes by a vigorous plea for proper payment to teachers, many of whom, she said, were paid less than the minimum laid down by the Ministry of Munitions. A delegate from the electrical trade unions discoursed freshly on the proposal in the programme for a State system of power supply, which Mr. Sidney Webb said would be one of the big changes of the immediate future. The Government should establish a score of gigantic super-power stations by which the whole kingdom could be supplied. A strong protest was made against allowing new electrical supplies to fall into the hands of private capitalism. The State was urged to take over the whole business of life assurance.

Mr. G. H. Stuart Bunning described the present system as cruel, lifeless, and inefficient. It overcharged the worker when he was alive and frequently cheated his dependents when he was dead. It enabled the big corporations to make huge profits. They invested large sums in Government investments, and then thanked God that the company was winning the war. (Laughter and cheers.)

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The Electrician. 16. 8. 18.

Contract Prices During Demobilisation.

The following is an account of a discussion which took place before the Manchester Local Section of the Institution of Electrical Engineers on Capt. Digby's Paper on the above subject. An abstract of the Paper appeared in THE ELECTRICIAN of Aug. 9.

The Chairman (Mr. C. J. BEAVER) said that the paper should receive just as efficient a discussion as that usually given to technical papers. This paper was exclusive to Manchester, but in London it had been arranged that a Committee should discuss the whole subject, with the object of determining what action the Institution shall take to promulgate the views of the Author.

Mr. FRANK WALKER agreed that the subject of costs and selling prices and their adjustment in accordance with the fluctuating conditions was of vital importance. The statistics given in the first and second sections of the paper, while of interest, could not be of national service. The campaign lasted only about 6 months, and the French indemnity was paid within 3 years and would not pay for one week of the present war. So great and complex were the forces at present involved that any forecasting of conditions after the war must be attended with a large element of uncertainty. After the war the cost of labour would remain high, while costs of the main materials presumably would be kept stable for a reasonable time by Government control. Much work ordered before or during the war would remain to be executed after its termination. The speaker referred to four phases of the problem, viz.: (1) Adjustment of basis selling prices concurrently with changing costs; (2) Alterations in cost that occur during execution of contracts; (3) After the war completion of contracts now deferred; (4) Machinery for regulating contract prices. The speaker then proceeded to discuss labour costs in some detail. In considering the cost of labour it was necessary to take into account not only the actual rate of pay, but also the quantity of work produced. Care must be exercised to include not only productive labour booked to the job, but also labour included in material, in drafting and erection, and in "oncost." "Standing charges," such as rent, rates and insurance, constituted actually only a very small proportion of oncost. Oncost expenses had increased equally with, if not more rapidly than productive labour. The following table showed three sets of increases in labour rates due to Government Awards:—

	Aug. 1914	Jan. 1917	Jan. 1918	Total increase ÷ by 0·9
Skilled day workers	39/-	46/-	66/4	73/6
Comparative %	100%	118%	170%	189%
Unskilled day workers	21/0	28/0	46/2	51/2
Comparative %	100%	133·3%	219·5%	244%
Women day workers	15/0	19/8	30/0	33/4
Comparative %	100%	132%	200%	222·2%

Thus the increase during 1917 was more than double the total increase during the previous war period. The last column showed present-day comparative costs, assuming the output per man-hour reduced to 90 per cent. of its pre-war value, which probably represented a maximum ratio of output since the rush of recruitment in the first 6 months of the war. The cost of wholly or semi-finished parts, brought outside, or even made on "side orders" in the manufacturer's own works. Similar rapid increases have occurred in "raw materials," though stability in the prices of the metals mentioned has been effected and maintained by Government control. Owing to these increases the actual manfacturing costs during war had greatly exceeded the estimated amount on which the contract prices were based, so that losses had occurred on work already completed or still in progress. Similarly home and export contracts made before and during the war totalling millions of pounds could only be completed at costs exceeding the estimated costs not infrequently by as much as 100 per cent. The question of responsibility for this great excess cost was of great importance. Examples of the sliding scale suggested by Capt. Digby were the purchase of coal according to its calorific value, the variation of charges for electrical energy according to the price paid for coal, and the sale of large electrical machines and surface condensers subject to variations in the current prices of copper and of condenser tubes and plates. The extended application of this principle should be practicable where the quantity of any one material included in the product is sufficient to warrant its use, but this condition did not often apply to electrical and allied apparatus. During the last few months manufacturers had adopted the variable price clause, the essence of which was that "for each one shilling per week by which the rate of labour is increased by authorisation of the Government the contract price shall be increased by an amount corresponding to 1½ per cent. of the contract value or pro rata. Such increase in the contract price is to be in the same proportion as the unexpired period of the contract is to the total contract period." A considerably greater percentage would, however, be necessary for use in connection with pre-war costs.

Mr. STUBBS said that in regard to the terms under which tender prices may be adjusted provision should be made for adjustment as from the date of the tender and not from the "date of contract," which might be a month or two months or even more. Another case where the date was important was in relation to the Priority Certificate. From his experience he agreed that the increase in wages paid had exceeded the increase in the family food budget of all save the middle classes. In fact, he believed that the standard of consumption had risen.

Mr. S. L. PEARCE agreed that it would be necessary for the functions now exercised by the Priority Department of the Ministry to be continued by a Priority Department of some other branch of the Ministry. An extension of the sliding scale would have its advantages, but also its limitations. All articles could not be subjected to a sliding scale, and if contracts were formulated on that basis there could not be any very great divergence in the prices that would be submitted by different firms. The tendency would be practically to drive all manufacturers of a certain class of electrical goods into an association. A system of contracts on a sliding scale would have to be made compulsory. It would have to apply to all or else the aim of the author would not be secured. Whilst prices had gone up something like 80 or 90 per cent. or even higher, the price of electrical energy had not gone up in anything like the same proportion.

Ald. WALKER said that many tenders now contained a clause giving a very short period of acceptance. By this means the manufacturer could compel the purchaser to decide within a reasonable period instead of delaying for months, during which prices would change. A purchaser might prefer a firm price to an indefinite sliding scale. That would entirely depend upon whether all the components affecting the price were brought into the scale. The author specified "rates prevailing in the tenderer's district." That apparently would penalise certain districts where wages were always high. Other counteracting factors must also be considered. The inevitable result of the adoption of the sliding scale system would be the bringing together of the manufacturers, but this might be an advantage. The purchaser could prevent it being carried to an extreme degree. The scheme would be well worth consideration, but would have to be considered by a Committee representative of all the interests concerned. Various points would arise. For example, supposing one firm had purchased sufficient raw material to cover all its manufacturing requirements for a considerable period ahead, and in the meantime the price rose, was that firm not to take advantage of having purchased at an extremely low rate one of the principal components, say copper, entering into the contract?

Mr. FURNISS agreed that any honest trading firm must welcome a sliding scale scheme for prices of electrical machinery, which was comparatively easy on standard plant, but difficult to apply to special quotations. He thought that the enormous safeguard against machinery gambling during the period of demobilisation warranted the extra work that would be necessary.

Mr. LL. B. ATKINSON referred to the question of the whole basis of index numbers based upon an assumed gold currency. It had been suggested that after-war prices should be forced down by creating an artificial scarcity of currency. It was perfectly true that prices rose or fell in relation to large and small quantities of currency, and it was generally assumed that these were related as cause and effect. This, however, was not entirely true. Prices rose because the demand was large, not because there was a large amount of currency in circulation. The currency was in circulation *because* the supply and demand were large.

Mr. MAWDSLEY said that the author's suggested application of sliding scale contract prices to the engineering industry would relieve the manufacturer of a good deal of risk and therefore closer prices could no doubt be quoted. The adoption of a sliding scale system would have to be made obligatory, otherwise it would not work for any length of time; for the purchaser also would not wish to take risks, and if one manufacturer quoted a firm price, and another manufacturer a price subject to a number of indefinite factors the firm price would secure the order, and the sliding scale system would soon go by the board. This question could not be treated in an insular fashion. Other nations had also largely increased their manufacturing facilities and would want business after the war, and even if they adopted a similar system of sliding scales they would not be likely to stipulate for the same percentages. The most disturbing factor would probably be German competition. The problem of the future resolved itself into reduction of costs, taking into account the practical certainty of a continuing high level of wages. High wages, to be permanent and economically sound, must be associated with high production, and a campaign to bring this home to Labour was very necessary.

Capt. DIGBY, in reply, said he was aware that with any sliding scale basis there were difficulties. Mr. Walker's information on labour rates was interesting, but he (Capt. Digby) did not quite follow the reservation by the manufacturer that for each 1s. per week by which the rate of labour is increased by Government authorisation the contract price shall be increased by 1 per cent. or 1½ per cent., dependent on the class of material. Supposing a Government award gave a 5 per cent. increase to men getting 50s. and 3 per cent. to men getting 30s. during the progress of a contract, how was that going to affect the bill which the manufacturers would render? Mr. Stubbs's remarks had reference to the various dates concerned, the date of tender, the date of acceptance of contract, the date of the issue of the priority certificate and "the date of the priority certificate becoming operative." Between the date of the tender and the date of the contract two or three weeks might easily elapse: between the acceptance of the contract and obtaining the priority certificate three or four weeks might elapse, but between the issue of the priority certificate and that certificate becoming operative one could not say how long would elapse because under the rationing system one could not say how long a manufacturer might have to wait for his material. He was not quite sure whether the introduction of the sliding scale system would tend to strengthen what he might call the ring system of tendering. To apply the principle of the sliding scale to some things, such as condensers, water-tube boilers, turbo-alternators or big power-house transformers, was easy, but in the case of switchboard instruments and so forth, where material was negligible and labour

[illegible] main cost, the sliding scale would follow that of labour rather than [illegible]at of materials. He was also not certain that the sliding scale system [illegible]ould have to be compulsory. A purchaser might ask for tenders on a sliding scale basis and a firm might prefer to gamble in regard to price. The sliding scale would give a closer price than the other system. Ald. Walker had referred to the question of rates prevailing in the manufacturer's district. One could not avoid that expression. Increases in wages rates for two classes in London, Birmingham, Manchester and Glasgow were by no means simultaneous or equal. Ald. Walker also raised the question of firms with big stocks. If a firm has a big stock purchased judiciously, he saw no reason whatever why they should not make a profit from it. It might be assumed, however, that merchants' stocks and works' stocks throughout the whole country would be low

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Industrial Reconstruction Council.

Morning Post
21.8.18.

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Daily Telegraph. 2-8-18

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

AFTER-WAR PROBLEMS.

There has just been published the report of a conference between organisers of trade unions, British employers, and others concerned with the industrial employment of women, convened by the British Association for Industrial Reconstruction, on the position of women in industry after the war. It is an interesting publication, full of far-reaching recommendations. It is pointed out that no fewer than 4,713,000 women are at present engaged in industrial occupations. At the end of the war a very large number of these women will be displaced as war industries are shut down, and factories gradually pass from a war to a peace footing. The absorption of scores of thousands of women thus displaced from occupations which they have followed for a long period will create a series of industrial problems of an exceedingly grave character. Whilst many of the women who have entered industrial life for the first time will be anxious, on the conclusion of hostilities, to resume their normal mode of life, a very large number, for one reason or another, will elect to remain in industry. Some will be compelled to do so, owing to the increased cost of living, or because their men folk will return no more. A definite industrial policy for women workers will thus be needed.

The underlying fact in relation to the status of woman in industry is that her position as an industrial worker is, and always must be, of secondary importance to her position in the home. To provide the conditions which render a strong and healthy family life possible to all is the first interest of the State, since the family is the foundation-stone of the social system. It is accordingly the duty of the State to ensure that women are only employed as factors in industrial efficiency in so far as the interests of family life and the healthy development of the race are not prejudiced. Whilst the experience of the war has shown that women can adapt themselves to the needs of almost any calling, it is clear that many occupations now being followed by women are unsuitable for the permanent employment of female labour.

Presumably it will be possible for 400,000 women to return to domestic service or small workshops, from which they have been withdrawn, either by the attraction of higher remuneration or the needs of the country. If, however, women are to be persuaded to enter these occupations in large numbers, the wages, hours, and conditions of work will require very considerable amendment. In particular, the conditions of domestic service will have to be greatly improved, especially on the side of allowing a much greater amount of freedom to those engaged therein. It may be anticipated that the 704,000 women now engaged on munitions work will either have to seek other employment or cease to be industrial workers, at any rate for a time, after the war is terminated; and, in addition to this number, a considerable percentage of the 696,000 who are at present engaged in Government employment other than munitions will no longer be needed. Many women who are replacing men in Government offices and works will have to be willing to give place to the men as they return from their military duties, so that in all probability occupations will have to be found for about 1,426,000 women and girls.

SUGGESTED OCCUPATIONS.

After full consideration of the line of policy which should be followed, the following conclusions were reached by the conference:

1. That the first consideration should be to arrange for the suitable employment of all demobilised men and men discharged from industrial establishments engaged upon the production of munitions of war.

2. That women should, as a matter of course, relinquish the jobs in which they have replaced men, for reasons directly or indirectly attributable to the war, so long as men are available to fill them.

3. That the school-leaving age should be raised to 15, in order that juvenile labour may not compete with adult labour during the period of demobilisation and the readjustment of industry to peace conditions.

4. A determined and sustained effort should be made to attract as large a number of women as possible into those industries which, by reason of their nature, are more particularly suitable for the employment of female labour. Though a complete list of such industries cannot be given, owing to ever-changing processes and methods, instances might be given by way of illustration, such as the textile industries, the boot and shoe trade, the printing and allied trades, laundry, garment making, millinery, confectionery, tobacco, the paper, stationery, and allied trades, sections of the pottery industry, work in retail shops, clerical occupations, and domestic service. Many schools are understaffed, and the teaching profession, consequently, can absorb a great many women; and if the school-leaving age is raised to 15 many thousands of extra teachers will be required immediately. It has, moreover, become clear that the land, especially the less heavy and more skilled processes of dairy work, gardening, fruit-growing, &c., offers an expanding sphere of employment for women workers. The wage rates and conditions of work in these and other occupations suitable for the regular employment of women should receive immediate consideration.

5. The extent to which married women are engaged in industrial employment should be reduced to the narrowest possible limits. Women with dependent children or incapacitated husbands should receive adequate pensions, so as to avoid the necessity of their being forced to enter industrial occupations in order to live.

6. The hours of labour for women engaged in industrial occupations permitted under the Factory Act, 1901, should be drastically reduced. Under the law as it now stands, women may be employed (except on Saturday or its equivalent) for a working day of twelve hours, subject to one and a half hour for meals for two hours' in textile and certain other factories, and for unbroken spells of five hours' duration, save in textile factories, in which case the unbroken spell must not exceed four and a half hours. These hours are much too long, both in the aggregate and in the length of the spell which may be worked without a break.

The conference expresses the view that the policy of an eight hour day on five days a week, and four hours on Saturday or its equivalent, making a total working week of forty-four hours, should be adopted. The majority were of opinion that the interests of women will be best served if the operatives in the several industries are organised in unions constituted on the basis of the industry in which their members are employed, irrespective of sex, and that women should be accorded an equal status with men in the branch life and organisation of the unions.

Daily News 28/8

WORK AND PAY.

The discussion of one aspect of the wage question initiated in this column a week ago has been very profitably developed by Mr. Sidney Webb in his article in last Saturday's "Daily News" and by other well-qualified writers elsewhere. Since the original article appeared the strike that gave rise to it has been settled, but another springing from precisely the same causes has supervened, and though this in its turn is in process of settlement it is abundantly clear that the whole principle on which the differential remuneration of men and women is based is in the melting pot. The community as a whole—not merely the employed or the employing classes—is faced with the fundamental question whether a worker is to be paid according to the value of his work or according to the extent of his family responsibilities. At present the former practice is almost universal, but the outstanding example of the latter—the soldier and his separation allowance—has for the last four years been so conspicuous and become so familiar that the idea it embodies is destined to have far-reaching influence. Already indeed, there are a few firms which grant a higher war bonus to married than to unmarried men, a particularly logical departure in the case of the bonus, which represents an additional remuneration designed specifically to meet the increased cost of living. Such cases, however, are rare, and the differentiation between a married man's wage and a bachelor's is almost unknown outside the Army.

In the past, in point of fact, men's and women's wages have been a matter of bargaining. Pay was fixed at something between the lowest figure a man would take and the highest figure a master would give. The same applied to women. As most working-men are married, the wage demanded had due regard to family burdens. As most women have no one to support but themselves, they were content to sell their work for a price substantially lower than a man's. Against this almost universal differentiation the principle of equal work for equal pay is now pitted. If that principle is conceded the problem of the married man's family must be faced in earnest. The wage that suffices for a woman without dependants is not going to suffice for the man with a family to support. Someone must share the financial responsibility for his children's upbringing, and that someone can only be the State—which would thus be applying to the productive artisan the principle universally approved in the case of the necessarily unproductive soldier. The State's co-operation could take different forms. The less it took the shape of direct money payments and the more it was represented by the grant of clothing or public meals, or a remission of taxation, or a subvention towards rent, the better. It would be a small matter to decide the form when once the principle had been decided. And the principle at issue is in essence this—how far is it a profitable and humane investment for the State to assume extended responsibilities for the physical and mental nurture of its future citizens?

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WOMEN WORKERS.

AFTER-WAR PROBLEMS.

THE FACTORY OR THE HOME?

A considerable proportion of the 4,713,000 women now engaged in industry will become unemployed within a short period of the signature of an armistice, and their position naturally needs sympathetic consideration. Postal, railway, and municipal women will, no doubt, gradually return to normal labour, but the munition crafts will be disrupted by the first breath of peace. No doubt, from the financial and the moral point of view it will be cheaper to pay their wages as unemployed, but that is scarcely the question. The munition factories and their workers need some reshaping and restraining in order to serve in the reconstruction of national life, and this interim rouses problems of an exceedingly grave character. For one thing, many women have adopted industrial labour for the first time, and will be anxious to resume their mode of life now that the national crisis has passed. The withdrawal of these will disrupt the fabric of women's organisation considerably, and make more "ragged edges" than is apparent at first glance. Some women have found "new freedom" in wartime industry; others like the conditions and prefer not to return to shop and factory; others are compelled to continue working, as their men folk will return no more. A great amount of statistical information and much useful deduction and recommendation on "The Position of Women in Industry After the War" is the result of a conference on the subject convened by the Bristol Association for Industrial Reconstruction" and assembled in a sixpenny pamphlet published by Arrowsmith, Ltd., of Bristol.

The New Problems.

Into what industries should the women displaced at the resumption of peace be directed? In what industries should women be retained, and from which should they retire in favour of male labour? What is the best type of industrial organisation for women workers? Upon what lines should we proceed in the great task of industrial organisation which will follow the war? Upon what principle should the remuneration of women workers be based? How far is welfare work necessary or desirable? If a solution of these problems is found, then the way will be cleared for a definite industrial policy in this direction.

The position of woman as industrial worker is second, in the interests of the State, to the promotion of a strong and healthy family life. Accordingly the numbers employed is governed by this factor. Women can adapt themselves to practically every job, though some are unsuited to their physical well-being. Into these they should not be allowed to enter. Of women workers in this country, 1,415,000—practically equal to the increase from July, 1914, to October, 1917—are directly replacing men, and half that number is o munitions service. Domestic service has p vided roughly 400,000 recruits to the industr services since the outbreak of war.

Demobilisation Problems.

The difficulty of reconstruction, in la as in everything else, is the undoubted shortage of raw materials (especially ire steel). The immense military stocks be returned: there will be no "beating into ploughshares and spears into hooks" for a generation to come reorganisation of working hours in industries will absorb women worke demobilised men come back—by whic the whole industrial machinery will b ing its destiny. If demobilisation is out with first regard to raw materi plight of the women munition workers be considerably ameliorated.

It is still a moot point where the whol tion of trades unionism should either b over, the women incorporated in men's or sations (with a reduction in number o latter), or organised according to their On the whole, the basis of organisation industry is preferred as Commissions dealin with industrial matters have flagrantly failed to see that their considerations, and their judgment, cannot be restricted to the men or women separately whose applications are before them. The future of trades unionism must not be clouded by sectional jealousies.

Women's Wages.

The wage problem of to-day is a constant reminder that prior to the war women were generally underpaid. They had no trade organisations, were largely engaged in less skilled and unskilled processes, such as repetition work, and the workers gave no more of their interest than they could help, looking upon a few years of industrial life as the bridge between school-life and marriage. Employers keenly grasped the fact that most women had no dependents, and less physical fitness than men. There was also the idea that they could live on smaller incomes. Trade boards tended to reduce the sweating o women workers, but in the industries chiefly concerned wages were very low and "gave the pace" to all other trades.

The war has seen a revolution in this question, and the standard of wages has been permanently raised. Equal pay for equal work is now demanded, but the principle is easier to assert than to apply. If the principle is now admitted it cannot be reconsidered after the war. Women at lower wages endanger the standard of life for men workers.

There is an anxious feeling that welfare work, so enthusiastically entered upon by the many, is not developing on satisfactory lines. The very titles designate a patronage which is often resented. The principle admits the personal responsibility of an employer for his workers, and is therefore to be encouraged. Girls swept from the sheltered peace of home and school into the unfamiliar turmoil of industrial life need help and supervision, especially in questions of health. A good deal of effective work might be done if shareholders in our great limited companies employing thousands of women insisted on one or more women joining the directorate. In this case the whole business would be more humanised, and more efficient to grasp the adaptableness of their women workers to new business processes and conditions. The masculine inability to see this factor often accounts for great delay in taking up obvious opportunities.

The whole position of women workers after the war is fraught with difficulty and merits careful consideration. At least a million and a half of our population is involved, and any precautions which tend to abolish "a bad time" between the signing of an armistice and the restarting of peace industries with full supply of raw materials must be observed as a national duty

Westminster. 4/9. 1918.

"AFTER THE WAR."

WOMAN'S PLACE FROM A WOMAN'S POINT OF VIEW.

The British Scientific Products Exhibition, which has been running at King's College, Strand, during the past four weeks, closes its doors on Saturday. Judging from the number of visitors who were present in the course of yesterday, the remarkable collection of exhibits which have been gathered togther has lost none of its attraction to the general public. In the course of the afternoon Dr. Ethel N. Thomas delivered a lecture upon "Women's Place in Scientific Industry."

Dr. Thomas, who spoke without notes, prefaced her address by stating that what she had to say would be more of the nature of an informal talk than of a stereotyped lecture. Many people would disagree with her (she said), but nevertheless she was strongly of the opinion that women's place in scientific industry should be upon precisely the same plane as that of men. There could be no such thing as feminine science as opposed to masculine science. Admittedly, in pre-war days women played but a very small part in the realms of science in this country. To-day, however, their activities were increasing hourly. In the skilled region of the workshop, as opposed to the larger area of the factory, at the present time women were engaged in optical work, making from end to end lenses, telescopes, and periscopes. Again, women had the sole control—in isolated cases admittedly—of the machinery involved in certain fruit factories and bakeries.

The lecturer confessed that such a position would only tend to make the dislocation of labour at the outbreak of peace infinitely worse than at the outbreak of war. Approximately, 1,000,000 women had been added to the labour market since August 1914, about three-fourths of whom had been recruited from the obscurity of the non-wage-earner into the fierce light that surrounded the producer. It was absolutely essential that this country shall face the fact that, like all other nations involved in the war at the end of hostilities, it would be comparatively poor. These women would remain consumers. Would it not be in the national interest that they should also remain producers? Personally, she believed that the influx of women into the labour market would do no more than compensate for the loss of the men who had perished at the front in the national cause; and she urged that women should be retained in the more brainy and less brawny occupations. Women should be afforded an opportunity of trying their hands at everything, and then finally they would find their level and simultaneously their right sphere.

Daily News. 4/9.

Cross refs: 70 7

FULLER LIFE FOR THE WORKERS.

Human Reconstruction After the War.

PRACTICAL PROPOSALS.

One of the most important aspects of the new era which has come upon us as the result of the war is the subject of a report which has been presented to Dr. Addison, Minister of Reconstruction, by the Committee on Adult Education, of which the Master of Balliol is chairman.

"We have awakened," says the report, "to the splendid qualities that were latent in our people, the rank and file of the common people, who before the war were often adjudged to be decadent, to have lost their patriotism, their religious faith, and their response to leadership; we were even told they were physically degenerate. Now we see what potentialities lie in this people and what a charge lies on us to give these powers full play."

CRAVING FOR KNOWLEDGE.

With this object in view, the Committee present the warmest plea for a generous reconstruction of many of the conditions of daily life, in order that the workers, both men and women, may have fuller opportunities to satisfy the craving for knowledge and a fuller life. "We are convinced," they say, "that long and irregular hours of labour, night work, and the shift system deprive those who suffer from them of the freedom that all men prize, and the community of the full service of its citizens."

The Committee therefore recommend that the maximum legal working day should not be more than eight hours, that overtime should be reduced to a minimum, and that regular night work, except when essential, should be prohibited.

The report deals with the effects of monotonous work, and recommends that alternative forms of employment should be encouraged. It also urges that wherever possible mechanical devices should be used so as to supersede the heavier and degrading forms of labour, and that means should be found to secure the worker against the constant fear of unemployment.

HOLIDAYS WITH WAGES.

The need for holidays is strongly urged—not, as the Committee say, "periods of unemployment," with loss of wages, but an extension to the workers of the custom among salaried workers of payment during holidays. A weekly half-holiday should be granted by law to agricultural workers.

The Committee condemns the existing housing conditions as an insuperable hindrance to women in any effort at self-improvement, and states that a comprehensive scheme of housing reform is of vital importance, for upon it will depend in no small measure the extent to which women will be able to play their part in public affairs.

As an aid towards reconstruction in the conditions of village life, the Committee recommends the provision of a hall under public control in every village.

1918. 702/101

Daily News. 7.9.18.

Spectator 7.9.18. (Duplicate.)

WOMEN'S FUTURE

Entry to Parliament & the Professions.

LABOUR PARTY'S BILL

The Government, having been advised legally that women are ineligible for seats in Parliament, will soon be called upon to accept or reject proposals for securing their eligibility; and it is thought by some of the most ardent supporters of women's full enfranchisement that the Government will not need any great effort at persuasion in the matter.

Already a Bill has been prepared by the Labour Party for introduction at the earliest possible moment. There are hopes that this Bill, or one in similar terms, will be adopted as a Government measure. It is a Bill of one operative clause, as follows:

> A woman shall not be disqualified by sex or marriage for being elected to or voting in and shall for all purposes be deemed to be capable of being elected to and voting in the Commons House of Parliament.

WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.

There is every indication that the National Conference of Women, which will discuss this matter (among others) under the auspices of the Labour Party on Oct. 15, will be representative and successful. A special resolution to be proposed at the session over which Dr. Ethel Bentham will preside demands:

(1) That the Government should immediately on the reassembling of Parliament introduce and pass through its stages a Bill enabling women to be elected to and vote in the House of Commons.

(2) That further legislation admitting women to professions from which they are now excluded should be passed.

(3) That the Representation of the People Act, 1918, should be amended so as to give the Parliamentary and Local Government vote on a short residential qualification to all men and all women of 21 years of age.

This resolution is to be moved by Miss Mary Macarthur, the first woman to be chosen formally by any political party in a constituency as a candidate for Parliament.

WORK ON COMMITTEES.

"I don't anticipate any serious opposition now to the admission of women," said Dr. Marion Phillips to a "Daily News" representative yesterday. "If women are good enough for voting they are good enough for membership of the House.

"You have women on practically every committee. I cannot think of a single Labour woman of any prominence who has not been a member of Government Committees during the war, and women of various shades of political thought are doing similar work."

Meanwhile, the Women's Freedom League is asking the Executive Committee of the National Liberal Federation to go farther than its program suggests at the Manchester Conference. "We want," says Miss Underwood, the secretary, "to see women M.P.s, women judges, women magistrates, women lawyers, women commissioners of prisons, and women on all juries. We believe this demand would form a popular part of a Liberal program."

Within the next few months the claim of a woman, Miss Helen Normanton, to become a student at the Bar and a barrister will be decided by the Lord Chancellor and the judges.

"A point that may weigh with the judges," Mr. Holford Knight, who has always supported the right of women to enter the legal profession, told a "Daily News" representative yesterday, "is that women were recognised by law when they were enfranchised. Before the Franchise Bill was passed they were not recognised as persons according to Statute Law nor Common Law. Now the judges must decide whether or not their recognition by one branch of law involves their recognition by the other."

WOMEN'S WORK AND WAGES

[To the Editor of the "Spectator."]

Sir,—Had the article in your issue of August 24th entitled "Women's Work and Wages" been written three, or even two, years ago there would have been few, I think, who would have disagreed with the views of the writer. The war, however, has changed many things, and the economical position of women amongst others. Formerly women were willing to accept inferior work, and, in many cases, were not paid anything like a living wage. Now they know their own value, and the world at large knows it also. It is, I suppose, to be understood that the writer of the article refers to the unmarried women workers. For he (or she) must allow that if the married women work, as do their husbands, generally speaking, to support their families, they are, even though women, entitled to the same pay. The unmarried women workers are, compared with the married couples, few in number. But, with the exception of the five per cent. of "superfluous women," they generally marry. These women know that their work is as well done as that of their future husbands, whom nobody proposes to penalize because they are, as yet, unmarried, and they feel that they are justly entitled to have what they earn in order that they may help to provide for their future homes and a "nest-egg" in case of hard times. The women who do not marry intend to be honestly paid in order that, when they can no longer work, they may be able to support themselves on their savings. Till now scarcely one woman in a thousand has been able to do this. The "necessary minimum," of which the writer of "Women's Work and Wages" speaks, must provide this equally with the amount supposed to be necessary in the case of a male worker. The "law of supply and demand" will improve the woman's position. We have to face the fact that a very large proportion of the men who joined the Army will never return to their former work. Women will still be required in large numbers when the war is over. The supply will certainly be insufficient and the demand greater even than at present. It is this fact, and the present political position of women, that will give them the power to enforce their claim to this "necessary minimum." It may also be questioned if the "extra strength of the male gives him endurance." Do not insurance statistics prove that while most men possess considerable muscular strength for some years of their lives, it is doubtful if they have the endurance of women. Certainly they do not live so long.—I am, Sir, &c.,

Edith M. Thompson.

St. Nicholas Terrace, York.

[We have already admitted our correspondent's case though we published a communicated article which took a rather different view. In our opinion the concession of the principle "equal pay for equal work" would be demanded by almost the whole electoral strength of the women, and much domestic trouble would result. It is better to accept the principle at once, and leave it to economic laws—far sterner judges than men—to adjust the working difficulties.—Ed. *Spectator*.]

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COTTAGES ON THE ANNAN ROAD

COMING TO LIFE.

THE present condition of Europe may be likened to a vast cataract daily increasing in volume and momentum by the dam against which it is forcing itself.

As soon as the obstacle is removed the flood will expend itself with great violence over the whole face of the Continent, and unless controlled and directed into the proper channels may dissipate itself in unexpected directions with undesirable results.

The colossal mass of labour now enslaved by the Arts of War may when released waste its whole force in fruitless efforts and aimless struggles with contending forces unless controlled and directed with wise and far-seeing ability by proper inducements into the right channels.

The relative claims of Agriculture, Forestry, Mining, Shipping, Transport, Building, and the key industries have each to be weighed and allotted, and the old dissipation of labour on luxury trades has to be diverted into productive channels.

Only by this means can we hope to reduce the prices of necessaries, for all labour expended on luxuries being drawn from the production of necessaries tends to raise or maintain their price.

Left to itself we should probably find too great a tendency towards emigration or towards small farming or possibly to resume our system of small shopkeeping (a great deterrent to production), or to go back to useless trades and the manufacture of things we can do without.

To prevent this continued control seems to be essential.

This control could be exercised either by a system of licences, or by regulating the labour of men as they are released, or by special inducements offered. First we are to have the fostering of the "key" industries—Glass, Dyes, Chemicals, &c.—but it seems very doubtful whether if we have to do this and at the same time to maintain our supremacy as before in the Engineering, Textile, and other trades, we have sufficient resources in labour.

Some allowance must be made for the dilution of the labour market by the employment of women. When we hear of a cement works run almost entirely with women's labour, the only men remaining being foremen, engineers and rotary kilnmen (Board of Trade Labour Gazette, August, 1918), we can realise what this means. The figures showing the relative numbers of insured males and females employed during July are startling, viz.:—Men, 2,629,012; women, 1,292,872. In the building and construction trades of course this proportion does not hold, there being only 7,631 women against 576,098 men, but the employment of women on concrete, painting, glazing, fitting, &c., is only just beginning, and may possibly increase.

We cannot assume all these women will remain in their present occupations, though doubtless a large proportion will do so.

GRETNA: GROUP OF STAFF HOUSES.

We also have to reckon the surplus labour involved by the abandonment of the superfluous trades which will probably take place, such as cheap jewellery, "fancy goods," perfumes, &c.

But against these two factors there is the imminent prospect of our having to maintain more than one occupation army in the countries defeated. These will absorb a great many of our men even if America does undertake the larger share of this work.

Before the war the number of men engaged in the building trades was approximately 1,100,000. Last July it was 583,729.

After the war, allowing for casualties, emigration, &c., we cannot safely reckon upon more than 850,000, and at first probably not more than 750,000.

With this reduced number we have to face a stupendous amount of work. We have the accumulated urgent repairs of five years on all the buildings in the country, the inevitable renewals of dangerous structures, the arrears of new houses required, also of schools upon a more liberal basis than before, the completion of the large number of uncompleted buildings, the fulfilment of the numerous suspended contracts by lessees who had signed building agreements, and the repair of practically the whole of the roads. In addition to all this there will be the adaptation of the present munition factories to their new purposes. Sir Edward Holden in his speech on the amalgamation of the London City and Midland Bank with the London Joint Stock Bank on the 13th inst., said that it had been estimated that at least 300 millions would be required merely for the purpose of re-establishing our industries. If we add the aforesaid obligations the total would certainly be more than doubled.

Assuming that half this sum goes in wages and that each man receives an average wage of £4 a week that would mean about 2 years' work, but there will be delays, waiting for negotiations, and for raw materials, also for labour adjustments, and it is quite conceivable this period might cover 3 years.

It may be confidently predicted that the effect of this great dearth of labour upon prices will be to maintain the present figures for a considerable time. This is now over 100 per cent. above pre-war prices. These are determined by the cost of living, and that in its turn largely by our shipping and transport facilities.

While war conditions last it is proposed by the National Federation of Employers that licences to build shall still be necessary but not priority certificates for materials, and to remove the tendency to do nothing on the part of employers which is attributable to the excess profits duty it is proposed that profits should be limited. By this means every contractor would be certain of securing a proper remuneration for his services. These licences will probably continue until national demands are satisfied.

Conditions will be affected by the following factors, viz.:—Demobilisation, improvement of shipping facilities sufficient to remove the restrictions on imports, the cessation of building licences by the fulfilment of national requirements, and, lastly, the state of the money market.

These will probably cause three distinct periods, each varying from the other, in respect of the cost of building work.

1. The period between the demobilisation and the removal of restrictions on imports.

2. The period between the date of imports unrestricted and the removal of restrictions on building.

3. The period following these events.

During the first of these periods lasting possibly one year or 18 months it may be expected that the cost of building will remain much as it is now, as the cost of living cannot be expected to fall while imports are restricted into the country; the competition to get food between all the countries of Europe which have starved for so long will tend to keep prices at the present level.

It does not follow of course that the satisfaction of national building needs will be simultaneous with the unrestricted imports of food. The greater urgency of the latter and the universal accen[illegible] be expected to give us the food stu[illegible]

The second period, which according [illegible] the time required to satisfy national needs, viz. [illegible] would therefore cover about 18 months. During [illegible] time no doubt great pressure will have been put upon the authorities to widen the limits of what may be defined as national work, and if successful, this must tend to lengthen this period.

The cost of building during this period will of course vary, war bonuses will be lifted one by one (intervals of four months for consideration of wages are suggested by the National Federation), prices of materials will recover slowly, and we may perhaps look forward to a reduction of as much as 50 per cent. by the end of this period.

After the expiration of these two periods, when everyone may do as they like, a new phase will be entered and the law of supply and demand will have free play, and it would not be surprising if the bids for priority to get work done, which has been delayed so long where continued delay would involve very heavy losses, should induce many employers to offer prices having little relation to the actual value at other times.

Such a condition might cause prices to advance almost to present rates if not beyond them.

It is impossible to predict how long such a period would last. It would largely be regulated by the whole economic position, and that in turn would be settled by the success which attends the effort to stimulate production by bringing employers and men into closer touch and understanding, so that there may be no more cutting of piece-work rates on the part of employers, and no more limitation of output by the men.

Socialistic forces will play their part and there may be a stiff fight to establish the absurd theory of the equality of men.

The Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Trade to consider the position of the building and engineering trades after the war endorses the unanimous complaint of employers as to two things:

1. That at present the workman deliberately restricts output.

2. That the trades union rules class much unskilled work as skilled.

And as to the first they think the causes are twofold, viz.: that certain classes of labour believe there is only a certain amount of work to be done and that it should provide employment for as many as possible, and also that the less superior powers of production of their older fellow workmen should not prejudice their position. Loyalty to their unions dictates this conduct. The Committee think the first idea is fallacious, and that one of the lessons of the war is that there will be more work to be done than people to do it.

As to the second the suggested remedy is the institution by statute of fixed minimum district rates, as in the coal mining trade. They think that to enable an expert workman to earn during the best years of his life the maximum possible wages, *piece work or a bonus system on time work* should be the basis of all employment. Then on this condition and provided that the introduction of automatic and other most recent machinery is freely adopted they consider it will be possible to maintain for both skilled and unskilled labour *a higher rate of wage* than that paid prior to the war. This permanent increase was assessed by Mr. E. Selby in a paper read at the Surveyors' Institution at between 25 per cent. and 30 per cent. In our opinion it will be five years at least before this level is reached, if at all.

There is another element which may possibly offer a solution and reduce these delays. We refer to the possibility of the importation of more labour from China, especially for unskilled work. These men, of which there are 50,000 now at the Front, are doing excellent work, and are receiving 35*s*. a month in addition to their keep. It could only be permitted on emergency grounds, but no one can deny that description of the position for some years to come.

HENRY J. LEANING, F.S.I.

October 1918.

Daily News, 12.10.18.

WAGES APPEAL BOARD

Suggested Tribunal as Extension of Whitley Council Scheme.

The Executive Committee of the National Alliance of Employers and Employed, who have been considering the question of industrial unrest, recommend the calling of a national conference on industrial problems.

Among the suggestions made by the Alliance is the establishment of a Central Industrial Board consisting of representatives of employers' associations and trade unions in equal numbers and of the Government Departments concerned. On this Board all the staple industries should be represented.

For national and local organisation of separate industries it is suggested that the scheme of National and District Industrial Councils recommended by the Whitley Committee should be adopted. A further proposal is that the Committee on Production should be abolished, and a Wages Appeal Tribunal set up. The services of the Wages Appeal Tribunal would be called in on matters of wage adjustment only when the Whitley National Council concerned had failed to reach agreement.

Manchester Guardian. 14.10.18.

War Pledges Bill Essential.

THE Government's War Pledges Bill—the Bill that is to give effect to its pledges to Labour—is long overdue, and its introduction cannot be delayed further without serious danger. Two discussions of the last few days have emphasised its urgency. The best methods for speeding up production in munitions and shipbuilding have been discussed at conferences with munition workers and the trade unions working in the shipyards. The problem of women's labour after the war has been discussed at the Women's Conference at Harrogate and elsewhere. The War Pledges Bill is closely related to both sets of questions. It is needed, in fact, both as a war measure and as a reconstruction measure. Mr. CHURCHILL must have learnt in the course of his conferences with munition workers, if he did not know it earlier, that the unrest which displays itself in disturbing and inconvenient ways in the workshop is largely due to suspicion. And can anybody wonder that the workmen are suspicious? The Government induced them to surrender customs and practices that were all-important in their eyes, as the charter which they and their forefathers had won by generations of struggle and sacrifice. To the onlooker that might seem a small matter in the crisis of the war. But to the workmen it was like granting an armistice in which positions essential to their defence against the power of their employers were surrendered, as a voluntary act, in return for pledges from Ministers. The first demands on their public spirit have been extended as the war was prolonged, and dilution, at first allowed strictly for war work, was applied to commercial work; the circumstances under which this happened were not calculated to reassure the workmen. If we were to fathom the depths of mistrust in the engineering works at the moment we should find that the ordinary workman believes that he will find himself at the end of the war with a great flood of non-unionist labour in the workshops, with his trade union rights lost and a very doubtful prospect of recovering those rights. He hears all sorts of talk about the impossibility of restoring the old conditions and the impatience with which the country, in desperate need of commodities and income, will regard the old restrictions. In this atmosphere it is criminal folly to treat the War Pledges Bill as unimportant, as a measure which may be introduced just as well next week as this. It is needed at once. Until the workman sees the Bill he will continue to doubt the Government's good faith. And nothing poisons the unity of a nation and the will of shell factory and shipyard so surely as mistrust.

The passing of the Bill is also the essential preliminary to the settlement of the difficult and threatening problem that will face us at the end of the war. The war has squeezed into two or three years processes and changes that would have taken a generation, or possibly two generations, in the ordinary course of industrial development. The future relations of men and women in engineering work is not merely a sex problem; it is partly the problem of the changing relations of skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled labour. Anything like an internecine quarrel between men and women or between skilled and unskilled would be a national disaster, though some employers may be tempted to foment it. The trade unions have to find a solution. The best brains of their leaders and of the able thinkers who are now at work on industrial problems ought to be applied to discover the best means of adapting the trade union structure to these new conditions. But no discussion or negotiation on these points is possible until the rights of the trade unions are explicitly declared by Act of Parliament. Once the Bill is passed the trade unions can explore the new situation created by the war with freedom and responsibility. With that Act in their hands the whole question passes into the region of statesmanship; without it every aspect of the question is in the region of war. The passing of the Act is the first stage in the series of constructive measures without which the war will be followed by industrial chaos.

Daily News. 17. 1918.

October

FUTURE OF LABOUR.

Members of Committee to Advise Ministries.

The Admiralty and the Ministry of Munitions announce that the following is the composition (members and those by whom they are nominated being given) of the Joint Consultative Committee which has been set up in accordance with the recommendations of Mr. Justice McCardie's Committee of Inquiry:

Sir Thomas Munro (Chairman), nominated by the Government.

Mr. W. F. Dawtry, Mr. J. Kaylor, and Mr. G. Wilkinson, by Engineering Group of Trade Union Advisory Committee to Minister of Munitions.

Mr. Frank Smith and Mr. W. J. Wentworth, by trade union representatives on National Joint Committee of Shipbuilders' Federation and Shipyard Trade Unions.

Mr. C. Duncan, M.P., by less skilled trades group of Trade Union Advisory Committee to Minister of Munitions.

Sir Allan M. Smith, Mr. T. Philip Chatwin, Mr. D. S. Marjoribanks, Mr. A. S. Ross, and Mr. J. C. A. Ward, by Engineering Employers' Advisory Committee to Minister of Munitions.

Mr. John Barr and Mr. A. M. Kennedy, by Employers' Representatives on the National Joint Committee of the Shipbuilders' Federation and Shipyard Trade Unions.

Secretary, Mr. C. S. Hurst, Ministry of Munitions.

The Women's Trade Union Advisory Committee to the Minister of Munitions have also been invited to nominate one member on the Joint Consultative Committee. They have, however, expressed their unwillingness to make any nomination unless their representation is increased to three members. It is proposed to submit this question to the Joint Consultative Committee itself for advice.

The terms of reference recommended by Mr. Justice McCardie's Committee and adopted by the Admiralty and the Ministry of Munitions are:

To consult with and advise the Admiralty and the Ministry of Munitions on such questions relating to labour as the Admiralty and the Ministry of Munitions may submit for their consideration.

Daily News. 18. 1918.

DEMOBILISED WOMEN WORKERS.

Use of Munition Plant for Peace Projects.

Hundreds of thousands of women in munition works, Miss Susan Lawrence reminds us, will be liable the moment peace comes to a sudden cessation of work, and they will be left in many cases far from their homes with nothing but their unemployment allowance of 7s. a week.

All we could gather yesterday from the Ministry of Munitions and the Ministry of Reconstruction was that "the matter is engaging the attention of the authorities," and that "it has been suggested that the women shall be given a month's pay and a free railway ticket to take them home."

Beyond this—though it is a matter affecting the skilled rather than the unskilled workers—are the preparations, which are going ahead rapidly, for utilising the machinery of war for the constructive work of peace. Here we may quote the program of two or three of the most prominent firms as typical of many others. Vickers, for example, are looking forward after the war to a very largely increased output of ships, railway material, motor-car engines, turbines, and electrical material.

The Birmingham Small Arms Company has arranged to turn to a program which will include a line of manufacture forming a key industry for which in the past we were entirely dependent upon imports from other countries.

Then, again, there is the Aircraft Manufacturing Company, which is looking forward to the experience gained in the construction of aeroplanes for war to prove of commercial value when peace comes.

Financial Times
24. 10. 18.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN AFTER THE WAR.

The general question of the position of women workers after the war has just been considered at an unofficial conference between leading trade union women and employers of labour arranged by the National Alliance of Employers and Employed, the Right Hon. Frederick Huth Jackson, P.C., being in the chair. The first question discussed was whether the one and three-quarter million women who in addition to the three million in industry before the war now compose the women's industrial army could be retained in industry after the war. It was pointed out that there was to be first considered the pledge of the Government to the trades unions that the men should all go back to their old jobs and that pre-war conditions should be reinstituted in industry. There was also the extreme difficulty of the conversion of the factories from the production of raw materials to the needs of peace, and there was the further problem of the obtaining of the necessary raw material so that there should be no break in the work. It was felt that the terms of peace would have an important bearing on the question. It was also anticipated that the rate of demobilisation would be an important factor. Demobilisation proceeding at the rate of 50,000 a week (a very high figure, seeing that four-fifths of the soldiers would have to be brought from abroad) would take two and a-half years at the least. It was realised that the Government must be compelled to fulfil its pledges to the trades unions, but this was seen to in no way apply to new industries, such as the dyeing industry, which has been created during the war, or to the extension of old industries that have led to the employment of an increased number of workers as compared to the pre-war figures. The general opinion was expressed that while there would be a temporary period of dislocation, during which time the whole community would have to be patient and work on a give-and-take basis, there was little doubt that there would ultimately be work for all, and the whole of the women at present in industry could be retained. The possibility of a minimum wage was discussed and the meeting was unanimous that such a thing was advisable, and that it should be based on a reasonable standard of life, but would have to vary in different areas. It was also agreed that during the period of demobilisation it would be better to institute a system of part time work, so that the whole of the workpeople should be employed for part of the day or part of the week, rather than that some should be employed full time and the rest turned out on the unemployment market. It was anticipated that this period would be only temporary, and ultimately all would be reabsorbed. Dissatisfaction was expressed at the delay in the production of definite and co-ordinated plans by the Government, and the conference adjourned, agreeing to meet again either to consider the Government's demobilisation proposals or, failing that, to formulate its own on the nearer approach of peace.

The Times
Wednesday, Nov. 20th - 1918.

6,000 WOMEN MARCH TO WHITEHALL.

MUNITION WORKERS' DEMANDS.

Whitehall was considerably astonished yesterday afternoon by the appearance of about 6,000 women munition workers, the greater number of whom came from Woolwich Arsenal, and the others from munition factories all over London and its suburbs. The women formed up in procession with many large and small banners, and each one of them wearing her munitions badge. They did not look in the least like the expensively-gowned, highly-paid munition worker of whom so much has been heard, but rather represented the woman worker who is the permanent industrial product.

The idea of the demonstration was quite spontaneous, and originated at the Arsenal on the previous day, when it was found that many of the women were under notice, and they determined to go to the Ministry of Munitions and ask for immediate guarantees for the future. Their intention was communicated to the Prime Minister and to the Ministry of Munitions. The Ministry asked Miss Mary Macarthur, hon. sec. of the National Federation of Women Workers, to introduce the deputation. As the procession was about to march to Whitehall-gardens the inspector of police pointed out that while Parliament was sitting no procession could take place within a mile of the precincts of the House. The women made it clear, however, that whether it was legal or illegal they proposed to carry out their plan, so the Prime Minister and the Ministry of Munitions were communicated with. Permission was granted on condition that the women waited until the King had left. Then the 6,000, in excellent order and loudly cheered by soldiers and others, marched past the Horse Guards, accompanied their deputation to the Ministry, and then proceeded to Kingsway Hall to await the result.

Sir Stephenson Kent, head of the Demobilization Department, and Sir Thomas Munro received Miss Macarthur and 20 women shop stewards from the Arsenal. The women carried a small banner, which had attracted much attention, with the inscription, "Shall Peace bring us Starvation?" in red letters. The officials received them with courtesy and sympathy and provided them with tea, and afterwards they left for Kingsway Hall in motor-cars belonging to the Ministry.

Request for Greater Unemployed Pay.

The women's claim was for a living wage while working and for an adequate maintenance allowance on discharge. They urged that the promised £1 a week while unemployed was only worth 8s. 4d. now, and claimed 30s. They also asked for increased pensions for soldiers and increased allowances to soldiers' widows, so that they might not compete with them.

Sir Stephenson Kent said he quite understood the natural apprehensions of the women and he thought they were perfectly right to express them. Everything would be done to make the discharges as gradual as possible, and they would try to reabsorb as many as possible in industry. He could not attempt to deny that there might be a certain amount of hardship. He promised to report to higher authorities upon the matters raised by the deputation, but the only definite statement he made was that the special unemployment pay would date from November 25.

At the meeting at Kingsway Hall, which was crowded, Miss Macarthur said that all those women who had not spared themselves were entitled to rest, and they should have a month's holiday with full pay. After that they were entitled to adequate maintenance until suitable jobs had been found for them.

Manchester Guardian 18. 12. 18.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

LADY RHONDDA INTERVIEWED ON NEW LEAGUE.

London, Tuesday.

The Women's Industrial League, an organisation which holds tremendous possibilities for the future development of women's industry under the new conditions, has come into being very quietly, but already within a month of its inception applications for membership have been received from great numbers of women employed in industry in all parts of the country—tailoresses, shop girls, factory hands, engineering operatives, and especially women holdinng more or less responsible positions in works. It has at the same time the cordial approval of many outside women interested in the welfare of the nation's women workers. It has offices at the Central Buildings, Westminster, and Viscountess Rhondda, who has a very adequate knowledge of the present industrial position, is president.

In an interview to-day with a representative of the "Manchester Guardian," Lady Rhondda explained that the League was formed directly after the armistice was signed by a body of women who felt that such an organisation was urgently needed. In a moment the whole position of industry had changed, and they realised that this would mean the almost immediate discharge of a very large number of women who were now keenly anxious about their future.

There was in some quarters rather a tendency to suggest that these women should go back to unskilled work and to pre-war occupations, where they had so often worked at sweated wages. This, Lady Rhondda declared, would be fatal, and the only remedy was to organise them on a very large scale. Their experience in war industry had proved how precarious their prospects were in peace. Many of them had, indeed, been treated generously by the skilled men who instructed and supervised them, but others had had to contend with an open or insidious opposition. Conditions of work had been unsatisfactory, opportunities had been denied, work poorly paid.

The Premier's Promises.

"What we are asking for," said Lady Rhondda, "is equal opportunity for employment in all occupations suitable for women—equal training and educational facilities, equal treatment with respect to pay and working conditions, and adequate representation by women on all official committees and public bodies. These claims were embodied in a memorial addressed by the League a few days ago to the Prime Minister, and we consider that his reply constitutes a new charter for women in industry. He has promised that the new industries shall be open to them, that they shall have facilities for trade or professional education and training in schools and universities, and he has approved of the demand for equal pay for equal output and for more effective representation on committees.

"The League considers it very important that women should join trade unions, and it will encourage them to form new trade unions as occasion requires. But our idea is that the League can cover a great deal of new ground, and help all classes and types of organised and unorganised labour. It can also deal with interests common to women in all industries, so that, while each trade union deals with the needs of a particular industry, the Women's Industrial League will deal with the common interests of the whole.

"We want to have as members all women connected in any way with the interests of women in industry—labourers, operatives, supervisors, works managers, and directors. We believe that with their help the League will have tremendous possibilities for usefulness. Local committees are being formed in the leading industrial centres, and they will elect representatives on the Central Council. I need hardly say that the League has nothing to do with any political party."

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Times Engineering Supplement 19 XII. 18

Women in Industry.

Lady Rhondda and the Women's Industrial League are to be congratulated on the terms in which they submitted to the Prime Minister the claims of women for continued employment in industry. Whether or not temperate and moderate statement is effective in political discussions, or has always characterized all sections of those who have fought the battle of women, it will always be the best means of attracting the consideration of business men; and the League has been well advised in having, as the Prime Minister recognized, presented a temperate memorial. In particular, it has been wise of its own accord to acknowledge that returned soldiers, in common with skilled men who have helped women by training and supervising them, have a prior claim to employment; and on this basis, and subject to their own stipulation that they should receive equal pay for equal output, the way should be clear for women's employment in the vast variety of work that war experience has shown to be suitable for them. It is, perhaps, more than a coincidence that the League's memorial should end by asking for information on "the precautions by which industrial fatigue may be reduced to its economical minimum and the hours and conditions of recreation correspondingly extended." The memorial professes both wisely and truly that women have no separate interest from men in seeking the "conditions of well-being that are indispensable to the most efficient working." The results of a really sufficient investigation into conditions affecting industrial fatigue might well confirm the belief that the interest of employers in providing conditions of well-being is likewise the same as that of their workers, whether men or women. To convert the grounds for that belief into an orderly demonstration warranted by experience would, perhaps, do more than any other single measure to simplify the industrial situation and conciliate the interests of all parties to industry.

Glasgow Record
24. 12. 18

DEMOBILISED GIRLS.

By ALICE J. WHITMORE.

We are in no danger of overlooking the fact that women as well as men are being demobilised. The queues of girls outside the Labour Exchanges are sufficient evidence, and, though these girls are in most instances simply "reporting" while they receive furlough pay, it is an indication of what is generally happening.

Shortly there will be demobilisation upon a large scale of another type of girl—demobilisation which may prove to be tragic in its results. I refer, of course, to the office girl, the bank clerk, and girls in similar positions, many of whom will certainly be required to make way for the men whose places they have temporarily occupied.

A great number of these girls are to be reckoned among the "pin money" girls, and these, we are told, are to be the first dismissed. If it is possible to make just discrimination, this is only fair, but in many instances this will prove to be a difficult task.

Some girls, however, from the beginning frankly announced their position as one either of patriotic intent or of a desire to earn "pin money." In either case the situation is fraught with danger and difficulty. For the "pin money" girl is just the girl who will for the first time in her life have tasted the sweet joys of independence.

Moreover, she is, as a rule, just the girl who has had no special training for anything. Frequently, too, she has refused to take seriously any work she may have undertaken, and consequently even during the war has not qualified for any good appointment.

Yet, just as domestic servants have declared against a return to their former occupation, so these girls are determined not to return to their previous manner of living.

The "pin-money" girl has tasted the joys of a latch key, of "digs" where she may call her soul her own, and to which she may invite whom she will among her friends without first submitting them to family inspection. She has been able to choose her own clothes without reference to the ideas of the particular clique in which her mother circulates.

She has been able to "pal" with men without anxiety as to whether the Mrs. Grundy who represents her mother's social sphere will consider that she is "going too far," or that "in her opinion something ought to come of it"!

She has, in short, tasted without let or hindrance of the joys of a bachelor existence exactly on the same terms as a man, and now she is confronted with the possibility of a very rough time, or a humiliating return to the old conditions.

The sensible girl need not despair. All sorts of avenues are still open to the girl of pluck and determination. It may be necessary to take a lowly position in order to work her way upward to final success, and the girl who has grit will do this, and thus find the means to train for some special work. Experts will always be needed, and any girl who sets her mind upon it may become an expert in any line she decides upon.

Daily Mail 27 XII 19

Dudley Herald 4. 1. 19.

Manchester Guardian 8. 1. 19

WOMEN'S PLACE IN INDUSTRY.

The difficulties which beset the task of re-establishing the community in full employment—now becoming critical as regards many women—are clearly illustrated in a final report submitted by the Civil War Workers' Committee to the Ministry of Reconstruction. One of the greatest of these difficulties is found in the fact that a large number of people who did not work for a livelihood before the war have acquired a taste for it and an intention to continue in industry. Reconstruction, therefore, is not merely a question of replacement of war-workers by the demobilised soldiers, but of actually expanding the capacity of industry to accommodate the new labour.

The Board of Trade estimates that since July 1914 1,064,000 men have been replaced in industries—other than munitions or Army and Naval contracts—by 878,000 women. If an inquiry made in one Department is typical, the great majority of these women want to go on working. For a variety of reasons even women who took up work for patriotic reasons and are not dependent on their own exertions have no intention of retiring from the labour market. It would certainly ease the situation if such women would take a holiday until labour conditions are more normal. Women to whom employment is a necessity should have the first chance.

The Committee, having stated the difficulty in definite terms, urges that an Advisory Committee be set up to consider the matter of retraining displaced workers and generally of suggesting new or enlarged avenues to employment. It is probable that the impetus to education reform under the new Act may be accompanied with the need for a larger number of teachers. And it is suggested by the Committee that women may find a permanent vocation in some of the departments of labour on the railways which they have occupied during the war.

The gist of the business, however, is that the machine of national production must not only be set going at once, but it must also go at full speed. To solve the employment problem, evidently we have not merely to re-establish industry on the old lines, but to re-create it on new lines which will provide for large and continuous expansion. Employment and production will both fail unless they are considered together as the two halves of an inseparable whole.

STOURBRIDGE ELECTION.

HOW THE RESULT WAS RECEIVED AT LANGLEY.

RT. HON. J. W. WILSON, M.P.

The above photo is given by an arrangement with the "Birmingham Gazette."

STOURBRIDGE (42,405).

*J. W. WILSON (L.)	8,920
Miss Mary MacArthur (Lab.)	7,587
Victor Fisher (Co.Ind.)	6,690
Liberal majority	1,333

The victory of Mr. Wilson was received with much rejoicing amongst his supporters in the Langley district, which has always been regarded as one of his strongholds.. Soon after the announcement was made the hooter at Messrs. Albright and Wilson's works was set going, and this continued for hours, often falling into a screeching noise which represented "Wilson." Immediately the bull started flags were put out of the windows and the Liberal colours became very much in evidence. About 2 o'clock Mr. Wilson paid a visit to the district on his tour of the constituency, being accompanied by his sister, Miss Wilson, and his agent (Mr. E. J. Bagnall). A large crowd met him at the Five Ways, where the motor car made a short halt. The member was the recipient of many hearty congratulations from his followers, and there was a big crush to shake his hand. In a few words Mr. Wilson said he had to thank his staunch and true friends at Langley for once more helping to put him at the head of the poll. He knew that at Langley they had worked hard and he appreciated it very much. He wanted to be the representative once more of all parties, and he looked forward with much hope to the work in Parliament, believing that it would tend to the unity and prosperity of the nation and Empire. (Applause).

Hearty cheers were given for Mr. Wilson, and the motor car drove off in the direction of Blackheath, the member, as it left, standing up in the vehicle and waving the lucky horse shoe which was decorated with his colours, and presented to him by Miss Horton, an Oldbury supporter, a few days before the poll.

The defeat of Miss Macarthur by such a decisive majority came as a staggering blow to many of the supporters of the Labour party, who fondly imagined that she would poll even better than she did. It was impossible to hide their disappointment at the result, but when Miss Macarthur put in an appearance during the afternoon she had a good reception. She delivered a short addredss, in which she thanked them for their work on behalf of herself and the Labour cause. They had been beaten, but she believed that they had laid the foundation for a Labour victory at some future date. She asked them to cheer up as she believed they would soon be in the throes of another election when Labour would have its chance.

CIVIL DEMOBILISATION.

THE WOMEN'S POSITION.

The demobilisation of civil workers has been going on steadily since the middle of November, and the number in receipt of the Government's unemployment donation is growing each week. In the Manchester district there are now some 17,000 persons on the vacant lists of the Employment Exchanges and drawing the grant.

The question is primarily one of women's labour. The stoppage of the manufacture of destructive munitions, the transition from war to peace industry which is following, have thrown many thousands of women on to the labour market. Out of the 17,000 unemployed in the Manchester area, the women number nearly 10,000. In some towns, like the metal-working centres of the Midlands, the closing of war contracts threw thousands of women out of work and caused a simultaneous rush to the Employment Exchanges for registration. There has been little of that in Lancashire. The discharge of munition workers has gone on more steadily. The biggest problem is that raised by the almost complete closing down of the great shell-filling factory near Lancaster with its 10,000 and the aircraft works at Aintree with its 17,000 women. The latter, a finely equipped place, is being converted into a storage depot. But here the unemployment is not purely local, because the workers were drawn from all parts of the country and have now returned to their homes.

All over the country there are other munition works which are dismissing their employees in hundreds. The Government factory for the assembling of American aircraft which was being set up at Hollinwood has been closed. This undertaking, the nucleus of which was the two cotton mills, the Gorse at Hollinwood and the Lilac at Shaw, taken over by the Government in 1917, covered ten square miles of ground. It employed several thousand workers, and the plans were laid for the eventual employment of 12,000. In Manchester one works on shell-making has discharged nearly 3,000 women, and another has discharged 1,700. The men on the unemployed register are for the most part unskilled and semi-skilled workers whose services are no longer required on war contracts. A few hundred skilled men are temporarily out of place, but the number is no greater than in peace-time.

Cotton and Engineering.

The cotton trade, and especially its manufacturing section, is responsible for a fair proportion of the number of workers drawing Government out-of-work pay. The industry is still pinched for raw material, and is running with curtailed production. This, it is to be hoped, is only temporary, for it is largely to the cotton trade that we must look as an absorbent of the women turned off from the munition works, a considerable number of whom worked in the mills before the war. The out-of-work pay continues for thirteen weeks. It is part of the business of local advisory committees to meet the serious position which will arise on the cessation of the grant by helping to secure employment. One avenue seems closed, for there is an understanding in the Manchester district that women are to leave the engineering works before February 1. It has been intimated by the Amalgamated Society of Engineers that after that date its members will not help the women working alongside them. The whole future of women in the engineering trade is very obscure. While the men's unions are determinedly hostile to their continued employment, the women's unions, which have grown very greatly in members during the war, are anxious for lines of demarcation to be laid down to allow of some of the women being kept on.

Pall Mall Gazette 18. 1. 19

702/10

WOMAN'S OUTLOOK

HER PLACE IN INDUSTRY.

By Mrs. Fawcett.

Mrs. Fawcett, having seen her great object attained in the grant of the vote to women, has just resigned her post as President of the National Union of Suffrage Societies.

I am rather anxious about the question of woman's place in the industrial world. Quite a number of firms seem to be opening their places to women, and this is satisfactory. But I do not desire to see skilled women thrust into semi-skilled branches of work where they would be underpaid. This would have a very bad effect upon these women from the nation's point of view, and would make it impossible to maintain what Lloyd George describes as an A 1 standard of health in a C 3 population.

I am not of the opinion that the "pocket money" girl is at the root of industrial troubles. On the contrary, she may be a great help in the establishment of good conditions for women who are less well off and able to fight. In a similar manner doctors who have private means have helped to sustain a certain standard in the medical profession below which others could not go.

Nothing can be expected from Government pledges to Trade Unions, and it is equally impossible to reinstate Trade Union conditions. The whole type of machinery has been entirely altered, and needs reconstruction. I would suggest a series of meetings between Trade Union leaders and members of the Government, in which they could come to a fair decision and, in fact, literally arrive at a quid pro quo.

Women and the Civil Service.

I recall a certain similarity between the situation of these demobilised women and the position of the Suffragettes a few years ago. Mr. Asquith had promised to support us by introducing a certain amendment into a Reform Bill which supported representation of the people. If it had been passed we should have gained the day.

When, however, this Bill was introduced, the Speaker ruled the amendment out, for it was incorrectly framed. Mr. Asquith was thus unable to fulfil his pledge to us. He endeavoured to make amends by giving a special day to a private member's Bill, but this, as we well knew from experience, was useless. In an equal way the Government is unable to fulfil its Trade Union pledges to demobilised women now. In this respect it is bankrupt.

I am of the opinion that now women are voters it will be much easier to remove and amend certain laws pertaining to women's affairs—such as giving the married woman a right to her children. Moreover, before the election, Bonar Law and Lloyd George removed all disabilities from women, and thus made their entry into the legal and Civil Service professions possible. The latter has, of course, been open to women during the war, and they have held temporary positions, sometimes of importance. But as yet there is no real channel through which a woman can enter the Civil Service. The examinations are debarred from her, and if she is successful in obtaining promotion it is usually through influence. It would surely be erroneous to suppose these matters will not be influenced by the number of women voters.

Political Outlook.

I think that women's outlook in political life is extremely satisfactory. Considering the short time the women candidates had to enable them to campaign, the results were favourable. I have heard that Miss Mary Macarthur was not allowed nomination under her maiden name, but was obliged to use that of her husband. So many of the electors knew her as Miss Macarthur, and did not know her as Mrs. Anderson, that it was probably very detrimental to her chances of success. On the other hand, Miss Violet Markham, who is Mrs. Carruthers, was allowed the privilege of using her maiden name at Mansfield. This is an important matter which must be set right for future occasions. I did some public speaking before the election, and I was able to note the keen interest the women took in it, how they followed the different points, and what good hecklers they proved to be.

Manchester Guardian 13. 2. 19

HUNGER IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

A "FIGHT THE FAMINE COUNCIL."

A correspondent writes:—

The sufferings of the peoples of Central Europe from the shortage of food—especially the sufferings of infants and very young children from the lack of milk—are certainly not realised in this country. This is partly due to the fact, no doubt, that many of the English and American correspondents, newspaper and other, who have sent home accounts of the food position in Germany and Austria have stayed in hotels where food for adults, at all events, seems to be fairly plentiful. Their reports, therefore, have been coloured, naturally enough, by their own quite tolerable experiences.

In order to inform public opinion in this country as to the extent of the suffering in the defeated Empires, to help on measures of relief, and, above all, to hasten the relaxation of the blockade, a body called the "Fight the Famine Council" has been formed by a number of men and women distinguished for their social services and public spirit. The members of this Council include Lady Courtney of Penwith, Miss Mary Macarthur, Canon Barnes, Dr. Clifford, Lord Parmoor, Lord Henry Cavendish Bentinck, Principal Garvie, Mr. Jerome K. Jerome, Mr. George Lansbury, and Mr. Arthur Sherwell. They have already collected much information from trustworthy sources as to the gravity of the food situation in the two countries, and they are doing their utmost to arouse public opinion here as to the urgent necessity of relieving it.

6. 1. 19.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WORK FOR WOMEN.

Sir,—Will you please insert this letter with reference to the article headed "Work for the Women," and more especially with regard to the paragraph stating that the girls who have been doing clerical work in the Ministry of National Service Department are the hardest to please. From my own experience, I know the great majority of the girls who were employed at the Leicester area headquarters of the Ministry of National Service, were those who left in some cases more remunerative employment in offices, because they felt it was up to them "to do their bit." Since being unemployed I have met a good number of my late co-workers, and so far from it being true that the women are not keen on working for themselves as long as they are able to receive 25s. a week from Government for doing nothing, I find they are all "fed up" with having nothing to do, and it is only through there being no situations vacant at the present time that these girls are still unemployed.—Trusting this will help to eradicate the wrong impression caused by the article, yours faithfully,

ONE OF THE HARDEST TO PLEASE.

25. 1. 19

WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL LEAGUE.

A good start has been made in the organisation of the Women's Industrial League. Application for membership has poured in from wood workers, machinists, tool setters, varnishers, solderers, gaugers, storekeepers, inspectors, instrument assemblers, clerks, charge hands, forewomen, welfare supervisors, and lady superintendents and others. Local committees are being formed in all industrial centres. The address of the League is No. 1, Central Buildings, Westminster.

Daily News. 25. 1. 19

WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL LEAGUE.

A good start has been made in the organisation of the Women's Industrial League. Application for membership has poured in from wood workers, welders, machinists, tool setters, varnishers, solderers, gaugers storekeepers, inspectors, instrument assemblers, clerks, charge hands, forewomen, welfare supervisors, and lady superintendents and others. Local committees are being formed in all industrial centres. The address of the League is No. 1. Central Buildings, Westminster.

Bulletin Glasgow. 11. 1. 19.

WOMEN'S PAY DAY

How Munition Girls are Paid Their Out-of-Work Benefit

Glasgow's out-of-work women are paid their 25s unemployment benefit each Friday at the temporary Employment Exchange which has been opened at 75 Montrose Street as a centre for discharged women war workers.

A representative of "The Bulletin" visited the Exchange yesterday, and found payment in full swing. It is a huge task but is well managed by the Exchange officials, special arrangements having been made to deal with the women as rapidly as possible.

So large is the number of claims, however, that from ten o'clock in the morning until seven in the evening a constant stream of women passes through the Exchange. Last week about £1800 was paid out.

A Waiting Queue

The Exchange is in the Technical College buildings, a large lecture hall having been taken over for the purpose. Along one side of the hall forms are placed three deep, and on these the first arrivals sit and wait their turn. Outside, down the whole length of a long corridor, there are more forms, arranged schoolroom fashion, and here more women sit in furs. The last-comers stand in a queue on the street, and are admitted as the forms empty.

Many of the women carry books or work to while away the waiting time, and some of them have infants in their arms.

The method of payment is simple and expeditious. The women are called up in alphabetical order, according to their names, the pay counter being divided into departments—A to C, D to G, and so on, with a special section for the "Macs," who are a numerous class. They present their insurance cards, which are stamped with a special mark to prevent the possibility of any woman drawing insurance money as well as unemployment benefit. Then they sign a policy book which the Exchange holds, and pass on to another desk, where they receive their money.

The behaviour of the women, so far as observed by our representative yesterday, was most orderly.

Star. 28. 1. 19.

Women Comrades: FRIENDS OF THE DEMOBILISED SERVICE WOMEN.

One of the newest organisations for Service women is the Women's Section of the Comrades of the Great War, about which Lady Greenwood, the charming wife of Sir Hamar Greenwood, M.P., has been telling me. Lady Greenwood is chairman of the Headquarters Committee in London at 8, Grosvenor-square

"Briefly, our objects are to further the interests and look after the welfare of all members and ex-members of the various Women's Services and the mothers, wives, widows, sisters, and daughters of soldiers and sailors—not their aunts.

Stranded Waacs and Wrens.

"At present a considerable amount of our work consists of looking after the welfare of demobilised Service women—Waacs, Wrens, and such like. In a good number of cases when girls are discharged from the Services they are very badly off—many of them have no means, no prospect of employment; practically no clothes, since the whole of their uniform clothes have to be returned to the authorities; no home in which to seek safe shelter; while some girls are in so bad a physical state that it is impossible for them to do anything but rest for some weeks after the time of their discharge. These we help, so far as is in our powers and according to their particular needs, and up to the present the Women Comrades have been able to render considerable help to ex-Service women.

"One thing I may say in this respect is, that we intend to try hard to obtain a recognised system of State pensions and gratuities for women of the various Services.

Fighting for Pensions.

"Again, the Women Comrades have helped many women dependents of soldiers and sailors to obtain what is due to them in the way of gratuities, pensions, and so on. Some women do not know a bit what money is due to them, or how to set about getting it—in such cases, we find out exactly to what they are entitled, and show them how to obtain it. Moreover, there is no doubt that some women get such matters attended to much more quickly when the Departments concerned know that they are supported by the Women Comrades than they would if they took up the matter entirely on their own.

"Another, and a very important section of our work is that which deals with Maternity and Child Welfare. We hope to develop this branch very much in the near future, for there is very much that women can, and should, do in this direction. We aim at helping women who need assistance and advice; women who are only too eager for their own and their children's welfare to be looked after, if only the right people will give them a helping hand; women who in many cases are able and anxious to pay for such assistance, and who need wise guidance rather than 'charity.'

"There, again, we have an employment bureau, also a lodgings list, from which we can 'turn up' addresses in all parts of the country for the benefit of travelling members."

Newcastle Journal

30 . 1 . 19.

AIMS ON THE NORTH-EAST COAST.

703

By Our Lady Contributor.

Four years and a half of energies directed towards saving the world for mankind have accumulated problems which require the exercise of the best minds of all nations and the patience of peoples, if they are to be settled satisfactorily. Not the least of these problems concerns adult education. We may all regard ourselves as the children of a new era, and as such our minds require a new balance and a readjustment. Also, youth at the outbreak of Armageddon is now manhood and womanhood and childhood adolescence.

Education was not vital to the actual winning of the war, but now that it is won and the League of Nations all but an accomplished fact, it is essential that education in all its branches should receive a stimulus, for it embodies the power to raise to the required status the citizenship which the new era demands. It may be said without ostentation that there is a North of England keenness about the new schemes for adult education which are anticipated as the outcome of the new Education Act. Adult educational settlements are already established at Lemington, York, Sheffield, Leeds, and Birkenhead, and their object is the making of better citizens.

LIGHT IN THE VILLAGES.

Lemington is just far enough away from the town to be deprived of its educational facilities. The social needs of rural populations have up till now been relegated to the background, although it must be admitted that their claims to social and recreative scope were greater far than those of the urban population because of their isolation. It is this axiom which has decided the Y.M.C.A. to plant their army huts in 1,000 villages.

Here let me say a word in appreciation of what the Workers' Educational Association is doing to try to meet the demand of those who, having passed the Rubicon of elementary education, feel that they remain ignorant either from neglected opportunities or lack of them and desire to retrieve their latent possibilities. The Association commands the services of the best lecturers and teachers, and is supported by the mining, engineering and industrial associations throughout the country.

The Board of Education recognising the great field of labour covered by their effort and sensible of the difficulties to be overcome allow a grant of £30 per class which has recently been increased to £45. Affiliated societies pay a minimum fee of £1 1s. and local education committees frequently make a grant in support of the work. Wherever a class of 20 or 30 can be formed the W.E.A. endeavours to meet their needs by supplying lecturers and rooms. Some districts have special women's committees and classes. This leads up to the great problem fronting the Ministry of Labour with regard to munition workers.

WOMEN'S TRAINING CENTRES.

Through the courtesy of an officer of the Ministry of Labour I am informed that it is the desire of advisory committees to establish training centres for the young girls whom they recruited straight from home life at the various stages of the war for munition work and who have no adequate training for any sphere whatever. A period of service of young boys in the army is being met with by concessions of various kinds, it being realised that this period of service has handicapped them in ways which are too numerous to detail. Munition work, like soldiering, died with the war, and the Ministry of Labour recognises a certain responsibility to this younger class of worker, and desires to give them adequate training of some sort which will retrieve any wage-earning capacity they may have lost. The difficulty which confronts them is primarily the financing of such schemes, and secondarily the maintenance of a regular attendance, an essential condition of securing any grant from the Board of Education. The Education Committee have not provided adult education with the exception of the technical classes at Rutherford College and although the new Education Act provides for adolescents up to the age of 16 it does not go beyond that. The matter of attendance is no light one.

AN UNEMPLOYMENT CANVASS.

All the unemployed women would have to be canvassed with a view to finding out what percentage of them were willing to undergo a course of training and to put in a regular attendance for at least 12 lessons which constitutes a short course. If such a training, say at least two hours a day, could be made conditional to the retention of the unemployment benefit the attendance might be secured.

As for training centres, the Northern Counties School could accommodate many of the classes, and I understand that Miss Rotheram is not only willing but anxious to do something in this work, work for which she is so peculiarly suited. The Workers' Educational Association does not generally undertake any special branch of training, but co-operation between elementary and adult education might help in the solution of the grants and secure enough to at least formulate a scheme and give it a trial. All sections of the community are being offered at this unique time facilities to accomplish that in which they have been handicapped.

Training of all kinds is the crying need of the hour—training for wounded, disabled, unemployed, uneducated, change of work, etc., etc. If the world is saved for democracy, democracy must save itself by an intelligent grappling of things moral and by working in unison and with patience to make our inheritance worthy of its price.

WOMAN WHO WANTED WORK.

It is refreshing to know that the spirit of independence has been decadent, not extinct, and that in the case of one woman at all events it has reasserted itself in a striking manner—a manner which many of her countrywomen might emulate. She could have claimed the unemployment donation but refused it saying she wanted work, and insisted on having it. The work offered to her was that most debatable class of unemployment—domestic service. It was readily accepted and the mistress who is fortunate enough to get that woman will undoubtedly admire her spirit and make her life in keeping with it. Idleness can never elevate. The keenest minds are those whose every faculty is alive to the code of laws regulating a healthy development, not the least of them being "man must work."

Daily Sketch 1.2.19. 702/112 702

"IF A WOMAN WERE PREMIER!"

Famous Suffragist Leader Shows How She Would Solve The Strike Crisis In Britain.

FEWER HOURS: INCREASED OUTPUT.

By **CHRISTABEL PANKHURST**, the Leader of the Women's Party.

HOW to stop the strikes! Above all by *Education* — by making the mass of the workers, who are good patriots and good citizens, realise that the way to win a shorter week is not to strike for it, but to work for it!

Industrial unrest has, throughout the war, been a matter of great interest to the Women's Party, who worked to prevent and cure those war-time strikes which sacrificed the soldiers' lives and jeopardised victory by holding up munitions supplies.

The war is now ended or suspended, but strikes continue, and are hardly less welcome to the enemy!

MISS CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

A Plea For Shorter Hours.

The bone of contention in the present strikes is—shorter hours! Now, we of the Women's Party are pioneers and enthusiasts in the cause of shorter hours for the industrial workers. We have demanded shorter hours for the worker in the following terms:—

Short working hours, or, in other words, ample leisure, in order to compensate for the comparatively monotonous nature of his work, and in order to give him ample time to be master of his own actions and compensate for his willing acceptance (for the common good) of authority and discipline while he is at work. Of course, a shorter working day—for example, a six-hour day—is impossible if production is to be decreased in consequence. But it is certain that by the abandonment of all forms of slacking, by greater discipline, by better organisation and method, and greater use of power and machinery, more wealth could be produced in a shorter day than is now produced in a longer day.

These words show that the Women's Party, though opposed to the present strikes, is not opposed to, but is ardently in favour of, a short working day.

Bolshevik Wreckers' Tactics.

But we support it on two conditions. One is that this cause of shorter hours shall not be exploited for wrecking purposes by the Bolsheviks, who, if a forty hours week were established, would urge the loyal majority of the workers to strike for a 30-hour week, then for a 20-hour, or, indeed, a no-hour week!

We claim, in the second place, that the shortening of working hours must not bring about a decrease in goods produced and services rendered. Because, otherwise, the whole community would suffer, and the standard of living of the masses, instead of being raised, as it requires to be, would be lowered!

We of the Women's Party have set out to abolish poverty, and to democratise prosperity by bringing within the reach of the masses the comforts and refinements of life that have hitherto been the monopoly of the few.

Therefore, we demand that side by side with the shortening of the hours of work there shall be an increase in the productivity of work.

This can be achieved if the workers—

Not only agree to, but actually insist upon the use of new machinery and every kind of invention and improvement in organisation and management that will increase the productivity of labour, and so make it possible for the workers to produce more wealth and render more service to the community in a shorter week than they formerly did in a longer week.

The Bolsheviks are opposed to this idea.

Ignoring The Facts.

They wish the British workers to ignore the truly appalling fact (which in itself accounts for the existence of poverty) that—

"In the United Kingdom in 1907, according to the Census of Production, page 19, *the average 'net output per worker' was* £102 *per annum*, and since this sum has to provide not only the wages of the worker, but also establishment charges, including interest on capital, it is clear that the average wage must be something very much less, probably little more than half."

The Bolshevik blinds the British workers to their own real interests by saying that increased wealth production would mean "overproduction"—unemployment; whereas the truth is that the standard of living of the masses cannot be raised unless there is more wealth to go round and if that standard were raised to what it could and ought to be, the *increased consumption* of wealth would be such that every effort of every available worker, man or woman, would be needed to make wealth production keep pace with wealth consumption.

The Wife's 40-Hour Week.

One more point! The cry for the 40-hour week rings out loudly through the land.

But the Bolshevik strike promoters have not announced what arrangements they have made to give the wife at home a 40-hour week.

They perhaps intend to devote some of their extra leisure to doing the family wash and cleaning down the house.

What is sauce for the gander is sauce for the goose, and shorter hours are at least as necessary for the woman who works at home as for the man who works in the factory.

The new housing schemes ought to lighten the drudgery and shorten the hours of the housewife by such methods as a central hot water system, central laundries and kitchens, and the supply of cheap electric power and appliances.

We of the Women's Party call upon the people of this country, without distinction of class, to unite in thinking and working, not striking, to secure for the toiling masses the leisure, comfort and refinement that are the birthright of all British citizens.

Christabel Pankhurst

702/113

Daily Chronicle
18/2/19

WOMAN'S NEW PLACE IN THE WORLD.

OPTIMISTIC VIEWS OF MRS. HENRY FAWCETT CONCERNING THE FUTURE.

POTENT NEW FORCE IN POLITICAL LIFE.

After the greatest war in history—where does Woman stand?

Mrs. Henry Fawcett, who has devoted half a century's work to the progress of women, answers the question in the interview below, recorded by Mr. Harold Begbie.

By Harold Begbie.

At the outset of our conversation I assumed the aspect and tone of a pessimist. I suggested, as politely as possible, that everything was going categorically to the dogs. Europe had been consumed for over four years by a conflagration the like of which no generation had ever known, and at the end of it all the old selfishness remained, the old class differences asserted themselves, and morality, painting her face and pulling on gilt slippers, was off for a fox-trot with old red-nosed mammon at a night club. Anti-climax if ever there was one!

It was charming, the way the lady crept behind my mask.

I never knew optimism so soft-voiced, so modest, so insinuating. Before I knew where I was I was saying "Quite so" and "How true that is" to everything the lady said; and the lady was talking optimism, pure optimism, nothing but optimism, and with a light of confidence in her eyes, a smile of profound enjoyment on her lips; but it was optimism without truculence, without self-assertion—optimism born of deep knowledge and long, hard-working experience. She is a little brown lady, with small twinkling eyes, a smiling mouth, a low voice, and a skin netted all over with fine wrinkles.

"I am immensely proud," she said, gently, "immensely, of the young woman of our day. I think she is a splendid creature, quite a splendid creature. Think what she has done in the war! It is not a flourish of rhetoric to say we could not have won the struggle without her: it is a fact. The young women of our country have helped to save the world, and without them it could not have been saved. They are magnificent, our young women."

MORALS AND MANNERS.

"Yes," said I, behind my mask, "that is true; but is there no falling off in moral quality?"

"I call it moral quality to stick at hard manual labour all day," replied the lady. "Work is a very good test of character, if you ask me."

I spoke about the noisy vulgarity so common in our ugly modern streets.

"Isn't the way in which we show our relief after a hard day's work," she answered, "merely a matter of class? Noise and larkiness may not be altogether pleasant; but I don't regard them as matters for anxiety. Education will get rid of little things of that nature."

"You are determined," I said, "not to be converted?"

"Converted to what?" inquired the lady.

"The fashionable religion," said I.

"What is that?" she demanded.

"Pessimism," I said, firmly, or rather with a show of firmness.

"Oh, dear no; I'm not a pessimist. On the contrary, I think that all the evidence points clearly in the opposite direction. Men and women are growing better. That's progress."

"WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT.

"These strikes?" said I, shaking a portentous head.

She answered at once: "Are they not merely an indication of mental reaction? The strain of the war has been terrific. People talk of high wages earned by the workers during the last few years; they forget the great physical and mental strain these workers have endured. I think we must expect outbreaks of this kind. I am sure it is a mistake to exaggerate their significance. Things will settle down. It will take time; but we shall settle down. We shall pull ourselves together, and proceed to build up a better State, I'm sure we shall."

"In which women . . . ?"

"I am not depressed," she said, "by the defeat of our candidates. Women came too suddenly before the electors as legislators. There was no time for real canvassing. It will be different at the next election."

"You think women can make a real contribution to our political life?"

KAISER'S VIEW OF WOMEN.

"There's no doubt of that. Take the case of infant mortality. The two countries which show the lowest rates in this respect are countries where woman's political influence is highest—New Zealand and Norway. It is interesting, too, to remember that the countries in which, legislatively, women occupy the lowest place are Germany, Austria, and Turkey. That, I think, is very significant. I am extremely glad to know that German women have now got the suffrage. I think it may make a considerable change in the politics of Central Europe. A friend of mine amused me very much by narrating to me a conversation she had enjoyed with the Kaiser on his yacht during the Kiel Regatta a few years ago. He quite blazed up. She had introduced the notion of woman's political equality with man. The Kaiser exploded! The idea of woman's suffrage annoyed him extremely. It was like a red rag to a bull. Militarism, of course is the antithesis of woman's suffrage. The women of Germany ought to be forces on the side of sanity and peace.

HAPPIER HOMES.

"No: I am hopeful of the future. I think the moral character of nations will be greatly changed by woman's influence. Look at the old books and see how we have already moved from a morality which is now almost unthinkable. Do you remember in 'Pamela' how the virtuous woman is chased by the rake, first here, then there, until at last, convinced that her virtue is unconquerable, he proposes marriage to her, at which she falls upon his neck and her parents shed tears of joy! Imagine such a thing in these days! All the old books bear evidence of a much lower idea of morality than exists to-day. Woman's influence makes for a far higher moral standard. I am sure of it. It seems to me perfectly certain that the relations between the sexes will improve, that the moral life of the nation will be purer, and that domestic happiness will get more and more strength the more women's political power is brought to bear on legislation."

"Religion," I said, "seems to be losing its influence."

"I wonder," she replied, "if that is true. Dogmatic religion certainly seems to exercise less power, but I rather think there is something like a new attention in the general sphere of religion."

"But surely that is only among the educated? The great bulk of the people, abandoning dogmatic religion,, seem to abandon religion altogether. They can't be bothered by it. And without religion of some sort. . . ."

"Well, I cannot say whether this is true or not. My work lies chiefly among the older people, and there I find that religion maintains its hold."

"In fact, you are undismayed by the evils of this present time?"

"I think I see those evils as clearly as other people, but I see also the abounding good which is everywhere, in my view, overcoming those evils. Think how great and beneficent is the change made in our industrial life by the influence of women;

MRS. FAWCETT.

[Elliott and Fry.

it has created a new industrial conscience. Social welfare has become a force in our industrial life, thanks to the magnificent efforts of women. But the character of woman has itself been powerfully changed in these last years. That is a most important consideration I know a case of two girls who left a comfortable home to do real hard war work. The other day their grandparents, with whom they lived, inquired when they would return to the peace and luxury of their home. They replied that they had learned to support themselves, that the feeling of independance was precious to them, and that they proposed to go on working for their own livelihood. That means a new moral dignity.

MODERN POLITICS.

"The communal idea, too, has made enormous progress during the war. Young girls are finding a new definition of life in the struggle for existence. I think a much higher type of womanhood is in process of creation. And a State that can boast a noble womanhood need fear no inner danger. Oh, yes, I am an optimist."

I made one final shot. The character of our political life, surely that has lost something of its old nobility, something of its old honesty?

She said she did not profess to know very much about modern politicians. "I am told," she said, "that Mr. Lloyd George is a man not to be trusted. I reply that nine days after he had become Prime Minister he caused a message to be sent to me assuring me of his intention to press forward women's suffrage. He fulfilled that promise. My experience of Mr. Asquith is not so happy. He led us to suppose that our efforts were to be rewarded; he made distinct promises to us. Mr. Lloyd George rated us at the Albert Hall for not seeing the infinite importance of these promises; but they were never fulfilled. I judge men by their actions. Mr. Lloyd George has done more than any other man to secure the triumph of liberty and democracy in the war, and so far as I am concerned, he has kept his word."

MEMORIES OF GLADSTONE

Daily Chronicle

18/2/19

MEMORIES OF GLADSTONE.

This led to her memories. She told me that her husband, the blind Postmaster-General, never liked Gladstone, and never felt that Gladstone trusted him. To Professor Fawcett, the noblest man of that age was John Stuart Mill—a most lofty soul whose very presence diffused a moral atmosphere in which men felt that they breathed the airs of heaven. In matters of finance, Professor Fawcett used to say Gladstone would go as far as he was allowed: but in matters affecting the liberty of the human spirit he would go only as far as he was driven. John Stuart Mill loved liberty like a mistress.

To Mrs. Fawcett, as well as to her noble husband, liberty has ever been the sovran music of human life. She has worked for humanity to this one end, worked that humanity might be free—not merely free in a political sense, but free in the individual soul of man and woman—believing that the essential good of humanity would preserve it from the anarchy of license.

It is good that youth, entering into its inheritance of freedom, should remember how that heritage was won for them by brave women and good men, who faced the scorn and derision of their generation because they believed in liberty. Mrs. Fawcett has turned 70, and she was a suffragist at 20.

Half a century of faith, half a century of work, half a century of courage, is her contribution to the progress of women. Never once did she stoop to violence, and never once lose faith in the triumph of her cause. I went out from her presence cleansed of the leprosy of doubt. All's right with the world.

Nottingham Evening Post

14/2/19

FEMALE "SLACKERS AND SHIRKERS."

MISS MACARTHUR'S VIEWS.

Miss Mary Macarthur, speaking at a meeting of the National Federation of Women Workers, said they had been told that the women who had toiled so strenuously during the last four and a half years had become slackers and shirkers, and preferred to receive a dole of 25s. a week rather than take up domestic and other work.

There was no doubt that a large number of women were receiving the allowance who were not entitled to it, just as the giving of it would never solve the question of unemployment amongst women who wanted to work, but refused to become the slaves of capitalism. Women wanted a new life and the privilege to enjoy it.

Daily Express

19/2/19

LETTERS FROM OUR READERS.

PROBLEM OF WORKLESS WOMEN.

To the Editor of the "Daily Express."

Sir,—In the manifesto of the Labour Party, published on November 28, 1918, and signed, among others, by Mr. Henderson, Mr. Clynes, Mr. Robert Williams, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, and Mr. Snowden, was the statement that its "programme is a challenge to reaction." Then it makes the following assertion:—

"The Labour Party stands for complete adult suffrage, in industry for equal pay, and the organisation of men and women in the trade union movement. There must be no sex party. The Labour Party is the women's party."

As this is a definite statement of policy, may we ask the signatories how they make this agree with the present state of affairs? All over the country women have been thrown out of work as the result of the action of various trade unions. Has the Labour Party made any protest to the unions?

Women knew they must come off shell and fuse work, and they were prepared gladly to give way to soldier and sailor returning from the war, but, after making full allowance for unemployment from these causes, there remained thousands of women who should have stayed in the various works. For these women there is nothing but starvation as out-of-works or semi-starvation in badly paid occupations.

Will the Labour Party explain their manifesto in face of the action of the various trade unions? What have they done for the women? At the beginning of February do they still make the claim to be the "women's party," as at the end of November? The thousands of capable women now besieging the doors of the employment exchanges are interested in their reply.

AMY LILLINGSTON,
Press Secretary.

Women's Industrial League,
1, Central Buildings,
Westminster, S.W.1.

II.

To the Editor of the "Daily Express."

Sir,—I see in Saturday's "Daily Express" that Lady Rhondda says there are 1,500,000 women out of work. I should like to inquire if she has ascertained if all these women are really in need of work? In all the Government offices there are numbers of married women, whose husbands are in good posts and quite able to keep them. These women make no home, live in expensive furnished rooms, and utterly ignore "the cause for which matrimony was ordained." Another class are the widows with pensions and no children. If these two were not allowed to take the work it would make room for the unmarried women who are bound to keep themselves, and in many cases help to keep the home together. Lady Rhondda speaks of further money doles from the Government. Surely these doles are a curse to the country. Take domestic service and laundry work only. Women will not take either as long as they are paid to say there is no work.

Hampstead, N.W.3. A WOMAN.

III.

To the Editor of the "Daily Express."

Sir,—Lady Rhondda states that at present there are more than half a million women workers who are receiving unemployment allowances, and any one with a knowledge of human nature can easily imagine they will continue to do so as long as possible. She also states that there is probably an additional million of women workers out of employment. Would it not be possible for, say, half a million of them to assist half a million householders by offering themselves for domestic work? I purposely refrain from using the word service, as I am informed it is considered derogatory to their position. I feel certain that if they did they would be received with both open arms and doors.

MILLAR WILKINSON.

Guildhall, London, E.C.2.

This subject is discussed in a leading article on this page.

702/114

702

Times

19/2/19

THE OUT-OF-WORK DONATION.

A MILLION A WEEK.

WOMEN AND DOMESTIC SERVICE.

The number of unemployed persons receiving the out-of-work donation on February 7, the latest day for which complete returns are available, was about 735,000, and the weekly cost to the Treasury must now be close upon a million pounds.

Present indications are that unemployment will further increase, though not, perhaps, to any alarming degree, and that the charge on the national funds will correspondingly become greater. Whatever is happening in Ireland—and it is possible that Sinn Fein is making political use of the situation in that country—the general administration of the donation is, we understand, being closely watched. Labour leaders in fact are complaining that women are being forced to take work against their wishes. It may be said that the additional number of out-of-work donation policies lodged in the first week of February, a number rather more than 55,000, is the smallest recorded since the system came into operation.

A noticeable feature of the latest additions to the volume of unemployment is that the persons affected are chiefly engaged in the uninsured trades. A continued increase is reported, however, in the building trade, and here an early improvement ought to be seen. Generally speaking, women are finding more difficulty than men in securing fresh work, but more women are now turning to domestic service, and a development of this movement may make the situation easier.

Analysis of the statistics is available only to the end of January. At that date the total number of unemployed persons whose out-of-work donation policies remained lodged at Employment Exchanges and had been signed during the preceding six days was 678,703. Of these 625,149 were civilians, and 53,554 were demobilized members of the forces. Of the civilians more than two-thirds were women and girls. A comparative statement published in the *Labour Gazette* shows that of the total number of unemployed on January 31, 112,946 were registered in the London district, 102,578 in the West Midlands, 128,613 in the North-Western area, 62,907 in Scotland, 59,093 in Ireland, and 58,583 in Yorkshire, the remainder being spread over other parts of the country. The number of policies lodged by civilians increased by over 60,000 in each of the first three weeks of the month, and by over 80,000 in the last week, the greater increase in the last figure being due mainly to the increase in the number of women who became unemployed. The number of policies lodged by soldiers and airmen increased less rapidly at the end of the month than in the first half.

According to available records the total number of payments of out-of-work donation during the five weeks ending January 31 was 2,452,820, a weekly average of 490,564, of which 439,626 went to civilians, and the average weekly amount paid in the same period was £614,099. Unemployment was heaviest in the ammunition and explosives industry, which returned 20.80 per cent. as out of work. In the engineering and ironfounding trades the percentage was 13.06, an increase of 12.26 over the figures for the week ending January 25, 1918. There was a 10.39 percentage of unemployment in saw milling, and a 7.10 percentage in building.

Daily Express
19/2/19

702/115

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Glasgow Weekly Record

REC. 15/3/19

WORKLESS WOMEN.

The Press secretary of the Women's Industrial League sends us to-day a letter attacking the Labour Party because, apparently, the cause of the women has been neglected by the organised male workers. In November 1918 the Labour Party stood for "complete adult suffrage, in industry for equal pay. . . . . The Labour Party is the women's party." Now, say the women, when the weaker sex is being thrown out of employment in the munition works the Labour Party makes no protest. More, the women say that all over the country women have been thrown out as the result of trade union action. Consequently the Women's Industrial League wishes to "show up" the selfish trade union males. Is this not a trifle far-fetched? What were all these women doing early in 1914? Were they in munition works? Of course not, for we were at peace, and the majority of the women who now find themselves out of employment were engaged in domestic work of some sort or other. Is domestic work so degrading that they will not go back? Or is it that high wages in munition factories have dimmed the desire to preside over the casserole, the toast rack, or the sewing machine? Domestic service has its drawbacks—and its advantages, which latter, many say, far outweigh the former. All women are not domestically and servitudinally inclined, but we still fail to see why there should be an outcry against the unemployment of women when there are so many women's jobs still to be had. This is an unpalatable truth for the women, but facts are facts, and must be faced.

How to Become a Hotel Hostess.

OPENING FOR BUSINESS WOMEN.

Human Note.

By PEGGY PATTERSON.

"Start a decent seaside boarding house!" said somebody who had suffered much a couple of years or so back, when circumstances forced my mother and me to look round for ways and means of earning a living. It was jest, of course, but jest led to earnest action. We did not set up a boarding-house, in the common construction of the words, but we did journey to a well-known south coast town, rented two big "next door" houses in the best position we could manage, and risked the bulk of our capital in starting a private hotel.

It was entirely a venture; we had no business experience and no special influence to bring us a connection. We only knew what people wanted, or thought we did! The results were, and are, such as to make us bless the luck which followed us, and we urge other women to follow in our footsteps, if they have the desire and capabilities to do so.

Qualifications.

Women with good business instincts, general "managing" powers, catering competence, all-round tact, some social experience, good temper and good manners, together with a small capital, can make big profits by running private hotels—with comparatively easy work after the first efforts. There are great openings in this direction for educated, far-seeing women with ideas and initiative. What was done in Paris by the English madame, in one of Bennett's novels—I forget all names for the moment!—can be done in England, with equal profit and success, by the right women. We have proved it.

Any woman who has practical experience in house management of a general order, has the chief qualifications for the work "ready made." That was the training on which my mother and I relied. Business faculties, of course, are included, for no housewife can be counted a good manager unless she has a grip on the £ s. d. of catering and management.

Choice of locality is important. Seaside resorts or places on good motoring roads are most advantageous. It is a matter for careful thought and personal discrimination, but usually it is bad to aim at isolation. We started our venture in a spot where ordinary hotels and boarding houses jostle each other in the streets. Much might be done in many cases by taking over defunct or comatose hotels or inns, and reconstructing them on up-to-date lines—provided that the locality is promising and easy terms of transfer can be arranged. Such matters might be fixed on a working partnership basis.

Secret of Success.

We aimed at creating the human note in our hotel; we strove to give the place a personality. That is what the public wants. The hotel hostess can only succeed when the furnishing, catering, and all else—including herself—suggest an excellently-run private house: when visitors express surprise and say, "But this isn't a bit like an hotel, you know!" Any one who starts by visiting a lot of hotels "to get hints" for imitation—as one woman did—is not likely to "make good." People are tired of red plush and gilt and printed rules and charges for wall decorations.

It would surprise you all if I were to quote some of the charges at our own modest place. We have again and again to put up charges to check advance bookings, but the plan rarely acts.

There is no doubt about the openings here for women, and what two women have done others can repeat. Any woman who looks to the work must realise from the beginning that her hotel must be part of herself—she must get her personality into her establishment if real success is to be attained.

SCANDAL OF THE GIRL SH

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[By OUR SPECIAL COMMISSIONER.]

Are girls abusing the payment of unemployed benefit on a generous scale? There are two sides to this question, but, in the public interest, it must be investigated.

Already it is estimated that the number of unemployed in the country runs well into one million, and the figures are rising every day.

Starving industries, crying for raw material, have not yet been set in operation. The great industrial machine is creaking painfully as it accommodates itself to the period of transition.

Hundreds of thousands of soldiers are being demobilised and are returning, after four years of bloody conflict, to take up the tangled threads of their pre-war tasks.

The Peace is not yet signed; war still rumbles ominously in the East, and Europe groans under the lacerating wounds of the greatest catastrophe that ever fell upon Western civilisation.

Truly there are problems here to turn our statesmen into nervous wrecks without any worry about home affairs, and yet this problem of the unemployed is one which must be dealt with at once.

From conversations I have had with representative employers throughout the country, I find that they view the situation with grave concern, if not, indeed, with genuine alarm.

TIME FOR CONSTRUCTIVE WORK.

"Thousands of girls," said one manufacturer who employs women's labour on a large scale, "are undoubtedly tempted to slack by the scale on which the present payments are being made. One must remember that very many of these girls were making exceedingly high wages before the war, that their living expenses, compared with other classes, were small, and that they often enjoyed in addition the benefit of living at home with their parents, who did not charge them more than 12s to 15s for their board and lodging.

"It is easy to calculate what must have been 'put past' here when the average wage was £2 10s to £3 or £4. Added to that fact it should be remembered that often three or four in one family earned these wages. Just the other day I heard of a case in which three girls in a family were bringing in their 25s unemployed benefit while the father was in a good position earning £5 10s per week, so that the family's total income was nearly £10 per week! Within a stone's throw of the tenement where they lived another family resided, a father and mother with three young children of school age. The father, who was engaged as a despatch clerk in a large warehouse, earned £2 15s per week, with which he had to feed, clothe, and house his wife and children and incidentally pay towards the upkeep of his better-off neighbours.

"The sooner the Government get away from this payment of doles and set really constructive work agoing, the better for the country. Let me add," said this captain of industry, as he tapped the desk in front of him with gold-rimmed pince-nez, "that while we have no desire to see lower wages, or the worker's conditions adversely affected, sooner or later these payments will become as great a scandal as the workshops of Paris in the days that followed the revolution."

This expression of opinion I found quite typical of the employers in the trade generally. Again and again it was pointed out to me that girls of seventeen and eighteen were drawing 25s and that these girls under normal conditions could not be given employment at that wage without making the business bankrupt.

Daily Express
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SCANDAL OF THE GIRL SLACKER.

EMPLOYER SAYS STATE BENEFIT KEEPS MUNITION WORKERS FROM ACCEPTING JOBS.

SHELL LASSIES' DRAMATIC DENIAL.

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Leeds Mercury
20. 2. 19.

702/116

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READERS' OPINIONS

WOMEN AND LABOUR,

(To the Editor of the Leeds Mercury.)

Sir,—In the Manifesto of the Labour Party published on November 28th, 1918, is the following assertion:—

"The Labour Party stands for complete Adult Suffrage, in industry for equal pay, and the organisation of men and women in the Trade Union movement. There must be no sex party. The Labour Party is the woman's party."

As this is a definite statement of policy, may we ask the signatories how they make this agree with the present state of affairs?

All over the country women have been thrown out of work as the result of the action of various Trade Unions.

Has the Labour Party made any protest to the Unions?

Women knew they must come off shell and fuse work, and they were prepared gladly to give way to soldier and sailor returning from the war; but after making full allowance for unemployment from these causes, there remained thousands of women who should have remained in the various works. For these women there is nothing but starvation as out-of-work, or semi-starvation in badly paid occupations.

Will the Labour Party explain their manifesto in face of the action of the various Trade Unions? What have they done for the women?

At the beginning of February do they still make the claim to be the "Women's Party," as at the end of November?

The thousands of capable women now besieging the doors of the Employment Exchanges are interested in their reply.

AMY LILLINGSTON.

The Women's Industrial Le[illegible],
1, Central-buildings,
Westminster, S.W.1.

Daily Express
21. 2. 19

IS A SEX WAR POSSIBLE?

WOMEN'S FUTURE IN INDUSTRY.

The possibility of a sex war is one of the sinister prospects of the near future.

Round the unemployed women—Viscountess Rhondda, reputed to be the keenest woman of business in the country, puts their number at 1,500,000—a battle royal is now raging.

Since the armistice, when it became apparent that the women workers employed on shell and fuse work would be discharged, and that women dilutees in the factories would have to give place to men, new women's organisations, whose avowed policy is to safeguard the interests of women in industry, have sprung into existence.

The most important of these is Lady Rhondda's newly inaugurated Women's Industrial League, which has offices in Central-buildings, Westminster, and organisers at work all over the country. Lady Rhondda's campaign is viewed with suspicion and mistrust by the women Labour leaders, who consider that the new movement is calculated to stir up strife between men and women workers.

Miss Amy Lillingston, one of the officials of the Women's Industrial League, in a letter to the "Daily Express," states that all over the country women have been thrown out of work owing to the action of various trade unions, and asks what the Labour Party has done to protest against this action on the part of the unions.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

"It is not true that the unions are responsible for women's unemployment," said Dr. Marion Phillips, D.Sc. (Econ.), chief woman officer of the Labour Party, to a representative of the "Daily Express" yesterday. "The Labour Party has always recognised that the women would be in a most difficult position when demobilisation came.

"Before the Women's Industrial League was born or even thought of, the Labour Party urged the Government to make arrangements for women's work when war work ended. The Labour Party urged that the national factories should be retained and turned to peace-time industry.

"No trade union has caused the unemployment of women. The simple truth is that the substitutes are the first to go, and that the dilutee woman labour is the first to be dispensed with, as we always knew it would be.

"The trade unions themselves are greatly handicapped by the Government delay in carrying out the pledges they gave for the reinstatement of trade union rules. Until the unions can see how the Government propose to fulfil their pledges it is impossible for them to reconsider the position for the future with reference to women in industry."

Dr. Phillips takes the view that preference will be given in the old industries to the man worker, whether a returned soldier or not, and that the hope for the woman worker lies in her own special trades and in new industries. The agitation conducted by Lady Rhondda's league is, she says, calculated to lead to feelings of bitterness and sex strife between men and women workers.

National News
23. 2. 19

ARMY OF WORKLESS WOMEN.

Thrown Out at the Behest of Trade Unions.

DANGER TO MORALITY.

THE NATIONAL NEWS is informed that thousands of women who have been employed in engineering works have had to be turned out before men were available to take their places. At Messrs. Vickers' huge Barrow factories, for instance, between 6,000 and 7,000 women have gone, and at another works only 200 out of 4,000 are left.

The blame is laid by the Women's Industrial League on the shoulders of the trade unions, who are said to have demanded the removal of the women, although the employers in numerous cases were willing to retain them.

Many of the workers affected, said an official of the League to our representative, "have people dependent upon them. Perhaps their husbands have been killed or seriously wounded in the war, and they have had to work to keep the home going. It is a serious matter, both from a moral and financial point of view, suddenly to deprive them of their income.

"They don't want to fill places that should be occupied by returned soldiers and sailors, but after making allowance for these there are thousands of women who could have remained in the works. There are industries in which they have as much right as the men. Take aeroplane construction, for instance, which did not exist before the war. There are many others for which women are peculiarly fitted, and we say they should not be turned out by the trade unions, especially when it means leaving the works idle.

"No, I do not believe the fairy stories about injuring their health. Of course, labour of a heavy nature must not be undertaken, but I have seen lots of cases in which the regular hours and adequate pay obtained in the factories have turned pale anæmic women into bright, healthy examples of womanhood, with consequent gain to the nation.

"Go into domestic service and the laundries? I am afraid they will do no such thing. They want better conditions than employment of that kind usually offers, and apart from that the public loses sight of the fact that there are now large numbers of women who must have sufficient money not only to maintain themselves, but a family. That is a legacy of the war with which we have to reckon."

Daily Telegraph
2. 4. '19

FAMINE-THREATENED EUROPE.

Impressed with the sombre reports of famine or threatened famine received from so many and wide spread districts in Europe, a distinguished number of men and women has presented a memorial to the Government, urging them without delay, and as a matter of immediate necessity, to raise the blockade so as to admit a greater freedom in the import of food supplies. It is pointed out that there is no time to waste, as there is a possibility of a catastrophe of unexampled horror and magnitude. Included among the signatories representative of art, literature, the universities, and labour are:

The Marquis of Crewe, Earl Beauchamp, Earl Russell, Earl Loreburn, the Countess of Warwick, Lord Weardale, Lord Parmoor, Lord Buckmaster, Lady Courtney of Penwith, Lord Henry Cavendish Bentinck, Lady Henry Somerset, Mr. William Archer, Mrs. Creighton, Mr. A. G. Gardiner, Mr. Maurice Hewlett, Mr. Jerome K. Jerome, Sir J. D. McClure (chairman-elect, Congregational Union), Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, Miss A. Maude Royden, Mr. G. Bernard Shaw, Miss E. Picton Turbervill, Mr. H. G. Wells, the Bishops of Winchester, Bristol, Exeter, Hereford, Oxford, Peterborough, Southwark, Lichfield, Lincoln, Chelmsford, Guildford, and Kensington, the Rev. William Temple, Dr. W. Scott-Lidgett, Mr. F. B. Meyer, Mr. J. R. Clynes, Mr. Will Crooks, Mr. Arthur Henderson, Miss Mary Macarthur, Dr. Marion Phillips, Mr. Robert Smillie, Mr. Philip Snowden, and Mr. Sidney Webb.

Daily Sketch
27. 2. 19

Daily News
1. 3. 19.

702

702/117

SEX WAR MENACE.

What The Women's Demand For Equal Pay May Mean.

NEED FOR PROMPT ACTION.

The Days Of Sweated Labour Must Never Return.

By Miss KEY JONES, Organising Secretary of the Women's Industrial League.

WITH the closing down of munition works and other factories created during the war, a new industrial problem has arisen. Thousands of women are now on the labour market, with little or no immediate prospect of employment, although their need is urgent.

Many of those women who in pre-war days had no real need to work have now a very real need. Some have lost by death the men to whom they looked as wage-earners. and others are now the sole support of disabled husbands, broken in the war.

The Need Of Work.

The Women's Industrial League has been formed to champion the cause of these women. The prime object of the League is to open the road for women in industry. We recognise fully the claims of certain skilled men and of the demobilised soldier and sailor as coming first in every case; but we do demand that there shall be no obstacle placed in the way of women who wish to help in the world's work.

We claim equal pay for equal output. We want better conditions for women and shorter and more reasonable hours, and we feel very strongly that women should have equal training facilities in both schools and colleges. Also we demand that women shall be represented on all official committees and public bodies, and we are anxious to see women organised in the unions of their specific trades. Broadly speaking, we are out for bigger issues for women.

Call For Fair Play.

Many thousands of women are now industrially demobilised, and it is an important duty of the League to watch the development of the women's unemployment question, and we are out to see that they are properly and fairly dealt with.

We consider that women should be utilised in the labour world, and should be welcomed, but apart from that, on the women's question, we claim on an equality the right to work. Before the war there were thousands of women working under dreadfully sweated conditions, for low wages, and long hours in circumstances that could only lead to serious deterioration of health. 'Most certainly we don't want to see that again, but we *shall* if women overcrowd those industries again.

THE NEW OUTLOOK FOR LABOUR.

Pacific Effect of the Conferences.

By Our Labour Correspondent.

A new stage in the Labour situation is reached with the decision of the miners to participate in the inquiry of the statutory Commission, and with the appointment of a joint committee by the national conference on Thursday to consider and report upon the general problems of industry.

The crisis which menaced the future of the country has been deferred for a brief space, and although it would be foolish to assume that the danger has passed, there is hope that the investigation of the Coal Commission, directed by so able and experienced a chairman as Mr. Justice Sankey, will point the way to an accommodation. Even if only a temporary settlement is secured it will be of inestimable value.

Miss Bondfield.

The next few months will be very critical for British industry, which is at present suffering from inertia and stagnation resulting from transition conditions and general uncertainty. An industrial upheaval of any magnitude during this period would have a deadly effect on all reorganisation efforts.

A TIME LIMIT.

The time available for the first and vitally important task of the Coal Commission, that of reporting on hours and wages, is strictly limited to three weeks. The general industrial committee is not so pressed for time, because its chief mission is to suggest how future demands from other workers than those organised in the Triple Alliance may be met well in advance, so that the difficulties which result from a policy of drift may be avoided.

The free and candid interchange of views between such widely representative employers and workers' officials may not prevent sporadic strikes in miscellaneous trades, but if general lines of policy can be worked out on the questions of hours, wages, unemployment, and joint council organisation, a big advance will be made in the direction of limiting industrial strife.

Miss Tynan.

The employers, at any rate, will have a golden opportunity of confirming Sir Allan Smith's declaration on Thursday to the effect that they are willing to go much farther than the workers think. It must not be imagined, however, that settled industrial peace is to be achieved merely by proposals for dividing profits between capital and labour. The conditions and possibilities of expansion of production vary so widely in different industries that a policy of this kind, unless it be modified by consideration of the interests of consumers as a whole, would merely create a crop of new inequalities, and give rise to new causes of unrest and discontent.

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE.

Satisfaction at the turn of events in the coal crisis must not be allowed to obscure the dangers which still attend the negotiations of the railwaymen and transport workers, although it is difficult to believe that if the recommendations of the Coal Commission satisfy the miners a reasonable settlement of the claims of the other bodies in the Triple Alliance will be unattainable. The railwaymen's representatives meet the Railway Executive again on Thursday, and the Transport Workers' Federation demands on behalf of dock and riverside workers are to be further considered on Tuesday.

The strike of shipwrights, boilermakers, and blacksmiths on Tyneside and other North-East Coast centres has definitely collapsed after a costly and futile effort to force the hands of the employers on the 47-hour issue. Resumption of work, which is to take place on Monday, will open the way for renewed negotiations between the employers and the union officials representing these workers. Apart from its failure as a strike, the stoppage has brought about strained relations between these three unions and the other unions in the Engineering and Shipbuilding Federation, and unless a reconciliation can be secured future movements of these large bodies of workers must be weakened. Meetings of engineering workers in various centres recently have revealed widespread dissatisfaction with the 47-hour settlement, and at the National Conference on Thursday Mr. Brownlie, the chairman of the A.S.E., intimated that a movement in the near future for a still shorter working week was inevitable.

OWNERS AND NATIONALISATION.

Colliery owners have made no secret during the past week of their opposition to nationalisation of the mines, and this should be kept in mind in view of the emphatic declaration of the Triple Alliance executives that the workers they represent "stand unalterably" for "State ownership of mines, railways, and means of inland and coastal transport." The issue is now being definitely joined, and the Swansea Chamber of Commerce yesterday protested strongly against nationalisation, and decided to join hands with the Scottish Coal Exporters' Association, which has similarly protested.

The Ministry of Labour states that in the list of members of the industrial joint committee appointed on Thursday the name of Mr Benjamin Talbot should have been given instead of that of Sir Robert Hadfield as the representative of the iron and steel trades.

Women workers' interests on this committee will be closely watched, although they have only two representatives—Miss Margaret Bondfield and Miss Anne H. Tynan. Miss Bondfield's strenuous activities in the organisation of women and girl workers are well known, and during the war, in association with Miss Mary Macarthur and others, she laboured indefatigable to raise the standard of wages and improve the conditions of the munition workers. W. M.

In order to secure a more effective administration of the work in Ireland of the Ministry of Labour its organisation is being extended into an Irish Department.

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Glasgow Weekly Record.

15/3/19

ATTITUDE OF THE GIRLS.

"I have tried for weeks and weeks," said one lady who runs an undertaker's business, and has been kept particularly busy lately, "and have found it impossible to get a girl to look after the shop. The work is quite easy, and requires no experience, and is well paid for at £1, but I simply can't get the place filled. 'We do better as we are,' the girls say scornfully when offered the post."

The same story was told me by the proprietor of a large hotel.

"Girls say quite openly that they are satisfied with 25s a week and that they don't intend to worry about work until the thirteen weeks are up."

The attitude of the girls, however, was vigorously defended by a very intelligent shell girl with whom I had an animated discussion.

"What right have they to cast any blame on us, I'd like to know?" she exclaimed, thrusting her hands deep into her capacious pockets and looking me straight in the face. "Haven't the Government, that I heard at the General Election cracked up to the sky, decided on this payment? Isn't it the scheme devised by our Heaven-sent political leaders, and can you blame the girls if they take the money?

"We aren't all philanthropists, you know," she added, smiling grimly; "we have to look after number one in this world. And what, after all, is 25s per week?—it's only worth 12s 6d of pre-war money, and no self-respecting girl could live on it. Most of us have been slaving hard for the last three years, and surely if we want a little relaxation now no one will blame us.

"Remember, I'm not excusing the work-shy girl, but I don't think she's so common as some people say. As for reducing the benefit, we know why employers want that course taken. They've been paying starvation wages for long enough, and this is going to find them out.

"Thank God! I say," she exclaimed dramatically, "that some girls are refusing to take jobs at less than 30s a week—it's little enough. When we look round and see the money spent on society weddings, and fox-hunting, and —"

"Fur coats," I said smiling.

She took the jest in good part. "Oh, there were never very many fur coats bought by munition girls, nor pianos either. And, by the way," she said, giving a shrewd dialectical dig, "I think I remember Mr. Lloyd George saying in one of his speeches that the girl munition workers had helped to win the war, and surely a grateful country isn't going to grudge 25s per week."

In further conversation she made the rather good point that as the Employment Exchanges could check a girl's honesty in looking for work by means of her card, the employers were really largely to blame for not using the Exchanges more freely, and thus enabling the officials to weed out the "work-shy."

The existing scheme for out-of-work donation provides, I may point out, a maximum of 13 weeks' donation.

It has been decided that, subject to the fulfilment of certain special conditions, applicants who have drawn the full 13 weeks may be granted a further policy entitling them to draw an additional amount of donation (not exceeding 13 weeks), on a revised scale, provided that they can satisfy the usual conditions for the receipt of donation, such as proof of unemployment and inability to obtain suitable employment.

The additional policy may, in certain cases, be granted provisionally for a shorter period than 13 weeks.

An additional policy will only be issued upon the recommendation of the Local Advisory Committee—in the case of persons under 18 the Juvenile Employment Committee—who will require to be satisfied that the applicant is genuinely seeking work and unable to find it.

In cases where an additional out-of-work donation policy is granted the rates of donation are as follows:—

Men	20/-	Boys, 15-18...	10/-
Women	15/-	Girls, 15-18...	7/6

There will be no change in the rates of supplementary donation for dependent children under 15 years of age, which will remain at 6s a week for the first child, and 3s a week for each additional child.

Manchester Guardian 22.3.19

EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN.

REQUEST FOR COMMISSION OF INQUIRY.

(From a Woman Correspondent.)

LONDON, FRIDAY.

Yesterday evening's meeting of the Women's Industrial League at the Central Hall, Westminster, was the first public meeting it has held in London, and very lively it was. Representatives from branches in Manchester, Lancaster, and many other parts of the country were present, and among prominent women in the audience were Mrs. Fawcett, Dame Katherine Furse, and Miss Lilian Barker.

Judging from the laughter that greeted the story of a Government official who when asked urgently for a six-inch gauge offered to send two three-inch ones instead, hundreds of the girls present had a knowledge of tools. It was evident that a great many of them resented bitterly the attempts to draft them into domestic service, for strong feeling was shown every time the words were mentioned.

Questions were freely asked at the close of the meeting, and a whole series of questions asked by one speaker seemed to wish to establish a connection between the Premier and the formation of the League. Lady Rhondda was even asked whether the memorial sent in her name on behalf of the League to the Prime Minister on the eve of the election, and the letter sent by him in answer next day, were not both written by the same person. Her denial was dignified and explicit. She was further asked whether the formation of such a league should not be left to people familiar with all industrial conditions instead of being undertaken by ex-Government official, to which she replied that people who were in a position to know the present conditions of industry and unemployment were fully entitled to take action to meet the problems. She made it very clear that the Women's Industrial League had no desire to work in opposition to, or to overlap the work of, trade unions; that it considered trade unions absolutely essential, but that it sought to educate public opinion, to watch women's industrial interests, and to have the backing of a great body of organised industrial women. The main thing was that the hundreds of thousands of women now or lately in industry should be organised to develop such new fields as are open to them, to open new doors, and to resist all attempts to deprive them of work for which they have proved themselves eminently fitted.

Lady Rhondda's estimate is that the number of women now out of employment—including the half-million drawing unemployment pay—is about a million and a half.

A resolution was carried calling upon the Prime Minister to redeem his pledges to the Women's Industrial League, and at once set up machinery to enable women to obtain an open field in industry by seeing that they have employment in new industries, and that the pre-war industries shall be kept open to them. A further demand was that the Government should set up a Commission of inquiry to investigate the conditions of women's employment.

Ways & Means 3.5.19

WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

To the Editor of WAYS AND MEANS.

SIR,—It is quite true, as Miss Mabel Willison says in your last issue, that the numbers of unemployed women are increasing, and that the failure to accord any definite recognition to the problem of their unemployment is arousing a sense of bitterness amongst women. But why should Miss Willison be so concerned to safeguard the so-called right of men trade unionists to keep women out of work which they have done with remarkable efficiency during the war? Why *must* women stand by the Government's pledge to trade unionists to establish pre-war conditions in the various trades, however damaging to women's prospects this may prove to be?

Women workers were not consulted in the bargain made between the Government and trade unionists at women's expense. And is it true that men workers will return to pre-war conditions? Have not men's wages risen enormously during the war and have they not secured for themselves better conditions and shorter hours? Are they willing to give up these gains? They must realise that women workers are out for industrial freedom. Women ask to be allowed to compete freely with men in all trades and sections of trades. They are quite willing to take the consequences of free and fair competition, but they are not any longer willing to be cooped up in "women's trades," and to have their sphere and activities defined for them by men competitors.

Women had a long struggle to secure higher education, and to become members of the medical profession—any number of people regarded this as a most "unsuitable" profession for women; their efforts to enter the legal profession have not yet proved successful. Women have had a long fight to get the principle of equal pay for equal work recognised by the National Union of Teachers and the Shop Assistants' Union. It is certainly not an established fact in either of these unions; but surely Miss Willison must recognise that the whole trend of modern life is to secure for women equal freedom of opportunity and equal awards with men throughout all branches of our national life! Are men trade unionists to be the only people to deny this freedom to women of their own class? By doing so, they condemn their own women-folk to sweated trades and sweated conditions. In that case women will not have created a sex war, but it will be there right enough.—Yours, etc.,

FLORENCE A. UNDERWOOD.

Daily Sketch . 15.4.19

702/119

WOMEN MAY BECOME BLACKLEGS!

Need Of Training To Compete With Men In Industry.

THOUSANDS OUT OF WORK.

By Mrs. H. A. L. FISHER.

THE problem of the position of women in industry is no new one, but, like many others, has been brought into stronger perspective, has become urgently pressing for solution, under the changed conditions due to the transition from war to peace.

It is part of the whole complex question of reconstruction, and it is by no means the easiest part.

Before the war it is roughly true to say that, excluding the textile industries of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and the comparatively few well-paid positions in domestic service and the needle trades, women were excluded from the well-paid and skilled ranks of the industrial world.

MRS. H. A. L. FISHER.

They had penetrated a number of trades, it is true, but these, in most cases, were those in which the lowest rates of pay prevailed, for (as for example, in the printing trade) the skilled and well-remunerated positions were not open to women, who were confined to the lower ranks.

Lower Standards.

The reasons for this state of affairs are partly tradition, partly prejudice, partly the natural instinct of the male to preserve for himself his hard-won privileges, partly the unfortunate willingness of the average woman to accept a lower standard of comfort than that of the average man.

Partly, also, it is due to the pernicious effect of the subsidised wage-earner, the woman who is maintained in part by husband or father, and who is content to work for a sum which is a useful contribution to the family exchequer, or which provides he with comfortable pocket-money, but upon which the unfortunate other woman who maintains herself altogether is wholly unable to maintain health or efficiency.

As a result of these and other influences it is broadly true that before the war there were many women wanting work, a limited number of industries open to women, and those industries for the most part ill-paid, often heavy, monotonous and unskilled.

Wages tended to be deplorably low, and efficiency consequently low too.

When The Call Came.

Then came the war, and the consequent demand for women to replace the men called up to defend freedom and civilisation against autocracy.

Men and women alike did their best to serve their country in her time of peril. Men faced the horrors of Flanders and Gallipoli; the women undertook and successfully carried on the work which we had hitherto supposed could only be done by men.

At this moment many thousands of women are out of work

This is in part due to the present dislocation of industry, in part it is the inevitable displacement of the dilutee by the returned soldier or sailor.

Yet no thinking person can doubt that the country, cruelly impoverished as it necessarily must be by the long strain of modern warfare, with its tremendous burdens of expense, needs the labour and the brains of every willing worker.

We claim no privileged position for women, but what we do demand, not only for their own sakes but for that of the country for which they have been proud to work, is an equal opportunity of service.

No one supposes that an untrained woman is the equal of the trained man.

But what the war has proved is that, given equal training and equal opportunity, women can render full service in many an industry which has hitherto been firmly closed to them, and which in the panic of the moment may readily be closed again unless determined efforts are made to keep the doors open.

Equal Capacity.

In many ways the woman has shown a capacity equal to that of the average man.

What, then, are the remedies for the present grave state of affairs?

The first remedy is undoubtedly that of Time.

Dislocation of industry is inevitable after an upheaval of such tremendous magnitude.

We have, however, great powers of recuperation, and there is every reason to hope that with the coming of peace and the reorganisation of industry the difficulties of the transitional period will be overcome, and we shall enter upon a new and, let us hope, more satisfactory period of economic life.

But if woman-power is to be utilised to the full we must think carefully and think clearly.

Two needs stand out above all others.

Training And Pay.

The first is *equal opportunities of training*.

If women are denied this they will inevitably relapse once more into the ranks of the unskilled.

The second is an *adequate standard of remuneration*.

No woman can maintain efficiency upon a diet of tea and bread and margarine, and the girl who has realised that with proper wages she can secure adequate meals will, it is hoped, never again return to the old vicious circle of low pay, over-fatigue, imperfect nutrition, low efficiency, and—thus again—low wages.

But unless her standard of wages is such that she gets equal pay for work of equal value with that of men, she will inevitably be regarded as a blackleg, actual or potential, by the male worker, and as such will be excluded from the skilled and remunerative industries.

Liverpool Courier 31.3.'19

THE WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL LEAGUE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE COURIER.

SIR,—It may interest your readers to know that the activities of the Women's Industrial League, of which the Viscountess Rhondda is president, have begun in Liverpool. The work of the league is to help to secure for women—

1. Equal opportunities for employment in all occupations suitable for women.
2. Equal training and educational facilities.
3. Equal pay for equal output and good working conditions.
4. Equal representation by women on all Government committees and public bodies.

The industrial and national value of women has been fully and generously recognised during the fighting years; it remains yet to be recognised under more normal conditions. It cannot logicaly be denied that what was a national asset in war time is a national asset in times of peace, although certain selfish interests would proclaim otherwise in a short-sighted policy. The brain, the heart and the hand of women are needed to help to create a new and national life and rebuild it on sane and safe foundations. National problems cannot be solved rightly with one-half of the nation left largely unconsulted and restricted or altogether excluded from various activities. Women patriotically demand that every door now closed to them because they are women shall be opened. Their claim is an open road in every field of work suitable for women after the prior claims of discharge men and certain skilled men have been met.

Women have no desire to undercut men or provide cheap labour for employers. Recruits for sweated labour toiling under unhealthy and degrading conditions will not be drawn from women who have enjoyed the benefit of working in national factories or privately-owned establishments where a certain standard of decency and even comfort has been maintained. Enlightened employers realise that cheap labour is in the long run dear labour, and know from experience that fair dealing repays itself two-fold, with the result that business conducted on more honest lines does prosper.

The Women's Industrial League supports trade unionism and encourages women to join the existing unions of their occupations. As a non-party organisation, acting independently and nationally, and backed by strong numbers, the league provides a potent force to strengthen the position of women in every field of activity and safeguard their interests.

All women workers, industrial, commercial, professional, and all women who have the interests of women at heart, are invited to join the league in order to assist actively in removing the artificial barriers that prevent women from taking a full and free share in the production and maintenance of national wealth.

The league is run on democratic lines by representative committees. The membership fee is 1s. All inquiries should be made at the local offices, 20, North John-street, by letter or in person any afternoon between 2 30 p.m. and 6 30 p.m.—Yours, &c.,

(MISS) H. JOLLIE
(Area Organiser).

20, North John-street, Liverpool,
March 29, 1919.

Daily Mirror
19. 5. '19

Newcastle Journal
11/8/19

702/17

THE FUTURE OF THE WOMAN WORKER.

WHAT WILL BE HER EFFECT UPON TRADES UNIONISM?

By A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.

As a result of the war the question of woman's position in the labour market has assumed an entirely new aspect.

IT is impossible at the moment to estimate the effects of the war upon the position of women in industry.

At present we do not know how many of the 1,250,000 women engaged in munitions have been reabsorbed into the ordinary currents of life or are seeking work in other directions, but two things seem to be certain:—

1. That the position of women owing to the legislative and administrative changes following the war will be greatly improved as regards wages and hours of labour.

2. That since young girls of to-day will have a diminished chance of marriage it will not be long before competition for employment amongst women is severely felt, and the need for organisation into trade unions as a consequence will have to be recognised.

Wages and conditions of labour have improved for women in proportion as they have improved for men in industries affected by the war. All that is necessary is to examine the wages paid to women in munition works with the wages paid to women and girls in other industries that were open to them to see the great change that has been effected.

SURPLUS WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

It must be admitted that the wages of a large number of women were the result not of industrial bargaining as between one organisation and another (a bargaining which takes account of the laws of supply and demand), but were artificially fixed by statute or statutory laws.

All the women, for example, engaged in munition work were protected so far as wages and hours were concerned by the Munitions Acts, just as women engaged in certain sweated trades are protected by the Trade Board Acts.

During the war the rates of wages for women munition workers have gone up from 2½d. or 3d. an hour to 5½d. or 6d. an hour, with the addition of bonus money of 6s. a week.

In shell making, which was rather an exceptional trade, they advanced from 12s. or 15s. a week in 1915 to a minimum of 30s. a week, and, in the case of piece work, the wage earned was as much as £2 10s. or £3 a week.

As to the second point, with regard to the surplus of women in industry, it is estimated that the numbers of women engaged in industrial and commercial occupations have been increased by some 40 per cent. since the outbreak of the war, and since a very large number of young men have lost their lives in the war many of these women must continue in industry and become independent workers.

A BRIGHTER FUTURE.

The future, however, for them is lightened by the change that has come over man's conception of women, and specially of the women workers. The rights of citizenship have been conceded to millions of women, and the standard of women's remuneration is therefore much higher than it ever has been.

Some of the occupations in which women have been engaged have proved to be unsuitable. They were rendered necessary by war conditions, but they involve too great a strain by reason of the long hours and the high pressure of work.

There were plenty of illustrations in munition works during the first years of the war in which girls were working for seven days a week and only one Sunday off a month, and there were many other illustrations of labour shifts lasting sixteen hours or night work of twelve hours.

Mr. Lloyd George's promise to the industrial conference on a minimum wage and a forty-eight-hour day includes women, and trade unionism will almost certainly make great strides amongst them, as it has during the last few years. At the present moment considerably over 800,000 women are organised.

A question which is likely to play an important part in the future of the trade union movement is how far women who are employed in the same trades as the men should belong to the same trade union.

In the textile trade this action is universal, and in other trades it has become general, although the Amalgamated Society of Engineers has up to the present refused to admit women to membership.

Daily Chronicle
Jan 16. 1919.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR BUREAU.

DEMAND FOR WOMEN DELEGATES.

The Women's Industrial League is appealing to all women to support the claim for the more adequate representation of women by women at the International Labour Bureau Conference.

It is reported, the League states, that the first conference will take place at Washington in October of this year. This machinery will deal with international legislation vitally affecting women workers, yet it is proposed that only one delegate representing workpeople should be sent from each State in the League of Nations. This delegate, who is certain to be a man, is allowed two advisers, one of whom, Sir Robert Horne has stated, shall be a woman when questions concerning women's interests arise. But this concession is far from meeting the claim for representation.

Already, the League states, seven gentlemen representing Great Britain, France, United States, Italy, Japan, Belgium, and Switzerland, with a secretary drawn from the Ministry of Labour in London, are considering and tabulating matter relating to questions regarding women's employment before and after childbirth, women's employment during the night, and women's employment in unhealthy processes.

The Times. 24.5.19

LEAGUE OF WOMEN.

DEMAND FOR EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK.

Equal opportunities for employment in all occupations suitable for women.
Equal training and educational facilities.
Equal treatment in respect to pay and working conditions.
Adequate representation by women on all official committees and public bodies.

These are the objects of a new organisation of women workers, to be known as the Women's Industrial League, of which Lady Rhondda is president.

It will be remembered that Lady Rhondda recently presented to Mr. Lloyd George a memorial on the future employment of women in industry, to which the Prime Minister replied in a favourable sense.

The new League is to be non-party, and is to work for its objects, which may be summarised as aiming at fair-play for women who wish or have to earn their own living, through a Central Council and local committees.

Women who have been war workers in many fields have responded in great numbers to the invitation to become members. The membership fee is only one shilling. The offices of the League, in Westminster, are in working order, and the clerical and organising staffs installed.

702

702/12

"Self-Determination" in Industry.

It is usually unfortunate when industrial reformers borrow the language of political slang. Industry, engineering in particular, is a more exact business than politics, and gains nothing by adopting the often ambiguous catchwords that politicians affect. The demand put forward in the recent report of the Women's Employment Committee for "self-determination" in industry is a typical illustration of this disadvantage. The phrase can bear equally well two quite distinct meanings. On the one hand, a minority of works in a trade may be obliged to fall into line with a majority in adopting measures for the benefit of its workers. Subject, perhaps, to the reservation that such coercive measures should be taken only on a majority of defined and sufficient preponderance and not on a bare majority, "self-determination" in this sense may have much to commend it. The disposition of enlightened employers, as the Women's Employment Committee recognizes, has long been to outrun statutory requirements for the well-being of employees; and in this, as well as other measures for the benefit of their industry, employers who wish for improvement would be greatly assisted by an assurance that the rest of the trade would fall in line. This assurance they could get by "self-determination" in the sense given above. But the phrase can also mean, and is likely to be often so interpreted, that an individual works cannot concert with its employees measures for mutual advantage unless such measures are approved by the entire industry. No impediment more crippling to progress than "self-determination" interpreted in this sense can be conceived. In any natural evolution the method of advance is that the pioneer steps are made not by an entire class but by individuals, who are followed by others as success becomes apparent. Individual works through a happy combination of circumstances may be able, to the benefit of all concerned within the works, to make arrangements that would not be acceptable to the rest of the trade; and to prevent them from doing so merely because other works were not situated so fortunately would be to deprive industry of its most hopeful method of advance, and to compel those engaged in the individual works to sacrifice their own prosperity without benefiting their industry.

Times

4/6/19

PRE-WAR PRACTICES BILL.

CLAIMS OF WOMEN WORKERS.

An amendment to the Restoration of Pre-War Practices (No. 3) Bill is to be moved in the House of Commons, on the suggestion of the London Society for Women's Service, of 58, Victoria-street. It will be to the effect that, whatever may be the regulations for the employment of workers in the trades affected, women who are qualified for the work shall not be debarred; and also that trades and processes which are in themselves new, or are new to this country since the beginning of the war, shall not be included in the scope of the Bill.

Mrs. Oliver Strachey, hon. Parliamentary secretary to the London Society, said yesterday:—"We support the principle of the Bill. We believe that all the promises made to the men should be kept and the men taken back, but in the trades which have grown up since the war and are not technically new, and the trades which, like the optical, are competing with Germany, and in which there are comparatively few skilled men, women should not be forbidden to work. If the Bill becomes law without amendment it will be illegal to employ women upon any form of work in any of the engineering and allied trades, whether it be filing, drilling, slotting, turning, welding, crane driving, gear cutting, assembling, or any other of the processes for which they have displayed such marked aptitude. They will be turned out wholesale from glass work, light chemical work, and aircraft work, in which they have been one of the chief factors in the building up of the industry in this country.

"The Bill will prevent the nation from making use of the skill and ability of thousands of the girls who came forward to work for their country, and this at the very time when production is most necessary."

Croydon Times

4/6/19

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

The continuance of women in industry is one of the principal problems of industrial reconstruction, and the Women's Industrial League should be an important factor in its satisfactory solution. Its objects, briefly, are (1) equal opportunities for employment; (2) equal training and educational facilities; (3) equal treatment in regard to pay and working conditions and (4) adequate representation on all official committees and public bodies. The attention of all interested in the welfare of women in particular as well as of the community in general is called to a meeting which the League has arranged at the Public Hall on Tuesday, June 16th, to commence at 8 p.m. The President of the League is Viscountess Rhondda.

Evening News

AN APPEAL TO TRADE UNIONISTS

By I. B. O'MALLEY.

We print this article in accordance with our regular policy of giving critics of our views an open platform.

The Restoration of Pre-war Practices Bill is said to be an agreed measure arrived at between Trade Unionists and employers. It is the fulfilment of a pledge given by the Government to the Engineering Trade Unions in the Spring of 1915. In this agreement the women workers did not take part, and as they are mostly under thirty, they can hardly be said to be represented in the Parliament that is now discussing the measure. Yet they are most vitally concerned in what is now happening. If the Bill goes through unamended, it will result in the exclusion of women by law from all forms of engineering work wherever this is demanded by the local men workers. This will happen not only in the case of older branches of the industry (from which they were formerly excluded by custom, not by law), but in new branches, or branches new to this country which have been built up by their labours. A legal sex barrier will be set up which has never existed before; the Trade Unionists will be receiving a little more than the strict letter to their pledge!

The women workers, on the other hand, will be receiving a little less than justice. Many of them are widows of soldiers, many of them have children to support, many of them have had their homes wrecked by the tragic events of the last five years; most of them have their livelihood to earn, and are now faced with the ghastly alternative of starving on the unemployment donation of 15s. a week, or going back at once to special "women's work"—otherwise to the sweated trades.

The Doors of Opportunity.

They would, we believe, face the present with courage if they were given hope for the future. They do not ask for preferential treatment. They have already been turned out of their work, and they recognise that they must wait until trade revives and employment is again plentiful, and the returned soldiers have been resettled in industry; but they do feel that when this has been done they should be allowed fair and free competition. If now, while they are unemployed, the doors of opportunity are shut in their faces, who can say that they will be receiving full justice, or, rather, who can deny that they will be suffering bitter injustice?

To whom then shall they appeal? Till a few days ago the answer seemed clear. The women workers kept quiet and made no agitation, because they believed that their cause was safe in the hands of their fellow-workers and in those of the workers' party in Parliament. They have clung to this faith all along, even when beset with temptations to doubt. It was strengthened by the introduction of the Women's Emancipation Bill, for who could believe that the Labour Party had two voices, and that, while pressing for the equality of women in the professions and in politics, it would itself erect a sex barrier in industry, and impose one of those limitations on human freedom which it exists to destroy?

Disillusioned.

It took the debate on the Second Reading of the Pre-War Practices Bill to disillusion some of us. We believed that recognition, that the exclusion of women was a pre-war practice of a different character from the others in question would come from the Labour benches; we believed that the Trade Union leaders would show that they cared more for justice than for the letter of their pledge. As it was, Mr. Clynes spoke for us, but he was the only one. Some of us thought that if Mr. J. H. Thomas had been there Mr. Clynes would not have spoken alone.

And what is to happen now? We are told that we need feel no anxiety, because the exclusion of women is not really intended, and because, if the Bill goes through, matters will really be settled not by law, but by negotiations between employers and employed. But if the Trade Union leaders do not wish for the exclusion of women why do they not say so in Parliament and in the Labour Press? Why should we be asked to be content with secret diplomacy in the industrial world? We have had enough of it, surely, in politics? We do not want it introduced into the Labour Party itself. We are not content to trust to it.

And if we are told (as I have been told) that we are not to trust to things being all right, but to stand aside content that they should be all wrong, because Labour is engaged in a war to the death against Capital, and must not be hindered by the women workers, or by any consideration of justice; then we say that that was the justification used by the German Imperial Government for its attack on Belgium, and that it did not lead to success. But such an argument sounds strange from the mouths of Labour men, and I cannot believe that many of them will use it. I rather believe that when women workers appeal to Trade Unionists by the memory of wrongs which the Labour movement has suffered, and by the hope of justice for which it stands, they will not appeal in vain. Among readers of the DAILY HERALD at least, we know that this plea will be heard.

Evening News

One large firm employing thousands of women reported that the cost of them represented a standing weekly additional charge of 30 per cent. Men are said to be the best timekeepers, then boys, and women last. Among 18,000 workers men lost 3.4 per cent. time against 7.1 per cent. by women, who, it was also asserted, were constantly changing their place of employment. In one large firm only 40 per cent. of the women were considered permanent employees. Aptitude for training is an important consideration. Women, it is allowed, were quick to learn repetition work; but, if it was of a jobbing nature and requiring special training, they were not found equal to the work. Fair-play compels the admission that it has always taken four years to train a mechanic. As for strength, three women equalled two men on transport or labouring work, and they were the first to tire on long shifts. In short, there is nothing very startling in these carefully-weighed statements. They are generally what people would have expected as the result of severe tests. Otherwise, the record o women varied; but all over it was remark able. Their loyalty and industry at th crisis saved the nation.

Women's Work and Wages.

A pathetic struggle is being made by employed women to maintain their standard of life. When everything is said in the way of criticism of the "doles," it can at least be contended that the Labour Ministry attempted to maintain the standard of life, and to prevent a terrible post-Armistice scramble for what might have been starvation wages. There were approximately 1,000,000 women employed on munition work, and their minimum rate of remuneration worked out at about 33s a week. How does this contrast with pre-war conditions? The War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry consider that the pre-war average of women's wages was estimated on a liberal basis at 3d per hour, or 13s 6d a week. It is probable that the average of women's earnings over the whole field of industry proper was towards the end of the war nearer 35s than 30s weekly. No one dare say that the money paid was too much. If in a prolonged period of strain, often tiring and monotonous beyond the endurance of the ordinary man, this money was bestowed on the physical welfare of the women, it was, indeed, well spent. The report, however, does not indicate that women always gave themselves the first consideration. Industry to many of them is, and will remain, a transitional period between girlhood and married life, and the fact that she is not in work to stay tends to make the worker somewhat indifferent and the employer less scrupulous than he might be. Let us hope that women will not go back to pre-war conditions. Their political power, if intelligently and independently used, should ensure a better outlook once the world returns to normal, as it must sooner or later.

The most instructive Report of the War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry has during the past few weeks been studied by thoughtful people all over the country. The Government have been much criticised. But this at least is to the credit of the Administration—they have turned out more in the way of interesting social documents than any other Government. It is possible to prove almost any theory from a Report of this kind, but a thorough test is not difficult to make. Take the comparison between men and women in the munition metal trades, where the women were numbered in hundreds of thousands. In the matter of quality in sheet metal works women's work was reckoned by employers to be better than men's. In engineering the women's skill was fair or equal to boys'; the men were far superior. In repetition light work women and girls were equal to men and boys; and equal again in aircraft woodwork and cartridges. In aircraft woodwork women's output was equal to that of men, and on cartridges in some cases they excelled the males by 20 per cent. In war time cost in munition works was almost as dust in the national balance; but it is vital in private employment in a normal period. It is considered by metal trades employers that women were considerably more costly than men by reason of the cost of tuition, setting up, &c., and the larger percentage of scrap.

Times
20 . 6 . 19

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S PLEDGE.

(FROM A WOMAN CORRESPONDENT.)

It is understood that the Restoration of Pre-War Practices Bill will be taken shortly after the Whitsuntide Recess. It is said to be an agreed measure arrived at between trade unionists. While there is proof of the sincerity of many men in their support of women's interests, as indeed was proved in the debate on the Bill on June 2, it would be interesting to know to what extent women were represented by women on the Trade Union Restoration Committee.

It is recognized that the skilled unions have a right to claim the redemption of the pledge given to them by the Government in the Treasury Agreement, and because of that pledge the Women's Industrial League does not oppose the Bill; but if the Bill goes through amended, women will not only be automatically turned out of engineering and the allied trades, which cover an enormous field, but also they will be legally excluded from those new industries and industries new to this country, even though these industries have been built up mainly by the adaptability, energy, and efficiency of the women workers.

The Prime Minister made a pledge for the Government in December, 1918, to the Women's Industrial League, who consider that pledge equally binding. In reply to a memorial from Lady Rhondda, president of the Women's Industrial League, Mr. Lloyd George said:—

"The Government has never agreed that new industries come under the Treasury Agreement. . . . To bring new industries under them (the restrictive clauses) would be to endow those classes whom such restrictions benefit with the fruits of the sacrifices of the war, a form of profiteering which nobody who claims respect and deserves responsibility would willingly touch. . . . It will be my care to see that in all these industries no discrimination shall be made against the employment of women. . . . In this way, and in those industrial occupations in which women were engaged before the war, opportunities of every sort will be open to every class of women worker."

PLEDGE CLAIMED.

The Women's Industrial League sent a telegram to the Prime Minister on the introduction of the Restoration of Pre-War Practices Bill claiming this pledge on the following lines:—

"The Women's Industrial League regard with alarm the inclusion of Clause 1, subsection 2, of the Pre-War Practices Bill, introduced yesterday, as the clause appears to be in flat contradiction of your statement that 'the Government has never agreed that new industries come under the Treasury agreement.' This clause also appears to be a grave breach of your pledge given to them that in all new industries that have arisen and will arise 'it will be your care to see that no discrimination shall be made against the employment of women.' They await with anxiety your assurance that the Government will use its power to ensure that the Bill will be so framed when it leaves the House of Commons that the employment of women in these industries will not be endangered."

The Women's Industrial League are responsible to the women who accepted this pledge to press that it shall be safeguarded in the Bill; further than this, they recognize the grave condition of women's unemployment.

A SERIOUS POSITION.

While women have generously recognized the claims of the skilled men and the discharged men from the Forces, their position is a very serious one: thousands are unemployed and in dire necessity for relief. Numbers of these women are widows with children to provide for, married women whom economic necessity drives into the labour market, women with dependants and children to support. Then the unmarried woman worker, "with only herself to keep," is equally driven to seek a sufficiency to do it on.

The uncertainty of the future of employment is an ever-present fear. Again, what is the position of the employed women in industry to-day? Crowded into a limited field—forced there by a Government Department that ought to know better—they are unable to obtain even a living wage. With money so cheap the present rate of women's wages in "women's occupations" is in many cases worse than sweated.

Training schemes with a maintenance allowance of 15s. cannot fail to be unpopular with those who have no other means of support.

WOMEN IN UNIONS.

With what sort of future are these women faced? The doors of the well-paid occupations closed, there is nothing for them but to struggle to obtain a semi-starvation wage and a drab existence. Women have been urged by the Women's Industrial League to organize with the men in their unions. During the war thousands of women, as statistics show, joined those unions which enlightened men opened to them. The Women's Industrial League feels confident that these unions will fight the battle for these women.

The question is this. Is the Bill or is it not intended to exclude women from industry? If it is not intended to exclude women then those who, as the Women's Industrial League, support the Bill as an honourable redemption of a pledge to certain skilled workers will not hesitate to support any amendment which safeguards the interests of women in new industries and industries new to this country, while in addition providing them with legal security in the better-paid occupations they held before the war.

Times
20 . 6 . 19

THE RESTORATION BILL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—The Restoration of Pre-War Practices Bill is one that must be welcomed by all who love fair play, since it is the fulfilment of pledges given. It is, however, a Bill that deals with the future of a principal industry of this country, and one that decides the fate of many thousands of men and women workers, and it is therefore important to consider it carefully in the light of the pledges to see that it does not give away more than was promised.

This country must have increased production at once, if financial stability is to be maintained, and if pre-war customs hinder this we must be careful, in the interests of our very existence, to see that we do not go back farther than we are in honour bound to go.

Every one knows that it was a pre-war custom (rightly or wrongly) to limit output; every one knows, too, that the pre-war exclusion of women from engineering was a waste of natural resources, and these two practices, viewed in the light of the last four years, do not seem to have been wise ones. Since the unions insist, however, we must by law restore these two customs in all pre-war engineering trades, and no one can dispute this, disastrous as the results may be. But need we restore pre-war customs in post-war trades and tie up new industries in the fetters of old ones? It does not seem as if the pledges need bear so wide and so ruinous an interpretation, or that because women were not allowed to build ships before the war it must be illegal for them to build aeroplanes to-day.

The effect of this Bill upon the employment of women will be little short of disastrous. It is not, however, generally noticed that the effect upon the employment of ex-Service men will be almost equally unfortunate. If the Bill passes as it now stands, no ex-soldier who was not an engineer before the war may work in any of these trades, and any employer who finds work for him must pay a fine of £25 a day for so doing. Is this, too, a part of the bargain, and if so, must this also extend to new industries as well as old ones? I hope that the House of Commons will consider these difficulties, and will answer them before the Bill comes out of Committee.

Obediently yours,
MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

Glasgow Herald.
12 . 6 . 19.

Rival Women's Leagues

There are opposing views among women with regard to the Restoration of Pre-War Practices Bill, which will come up for consideration when the House reassembles, and the organisations that represent industrial women workers are not united in their attitude towards the measure. As long ago as December last the Women's Industrial League, of which Lady Rhondda is the president, addressed a memorial to the Prime Minister, whose reply was hailed by that body as "constituting a new industrial charter for women." Mr Lloyd George expressed general agreement with the memorial, which affirmed the principle of equal pay for equal output; and claimed that in the last resort women were not bound, as the Government was, by the agreement made with the trade unions in 1915. Accordingly the League is keeping a watchful eye on the Restoration of Pre-War Practices Bill; and while it is not claiming that women should occupy the place in industry vacated by men who have now been demobilised from the forces, it is anxious that there should be adequate safeguards for the women in new industries started since the war, which women themselves have largely helped to create. On the other hand, the Women's Trade Union League, while putting forward the claim to be the really representative body of working women, advocates the view that the question is one of honourable interpretation of the undertaking, and the women should not fight or seek to interfere with the measure in such a way as would abrogate the spirit and intention of the agreement. With a cold charity the League criticises Lady Rhondda's organisation as a sinister body, which is inviting women to blackleg men.

Times

10/6/19

INDUSTRIAL FUTURE OF WOMEN.

MRS. FAWCETT ON THE PRE-WAR TRADE PRACTICES BILL.

Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D., delivered an address in connexion with the Barnett House Conferences at Oxford on Saturday afternoon at Oriel College on the subject of "Industrial Freedom of Women."

The PROVOST of ORIEL, who presided, said that in the matter of the employment of women they had maintained the reputation of the college for progress. They hoped that in October term they would have a married tutor and his wife living in rooms in college. They recognized the sphere of women's work and influence and hoped to extend it.

Mrs. FAWCETT pointed out that one of the most generally recognized changes brought about by the war had been that in the industrial status of women. It seemed to her nothing less than a revolution—a passage from serfdom to freedom. It would be the task of all fair-minded men and women to see that women did not lose the freedom they had gained.

The Government Bill for the restitution of trade union pre-war practices had passed its second reading. The exclusion of women from the skilled trades seemed to be the chief practice which it was intended to restore. In the debate on the second reading Mr. Clynes and other distinguished Labour leaders spoke strongly in defence of hundreds of thousands of men and women and of their right to use their labour freely to its best advantage. Unless some modifications of the Bill as it stood were made in Committee women would be in a worse position than before the war.

The Bill not merely restored the men the places which were temporarily occupied by women during the war—no woman complained of that—but would displace women altogether from engineering jobs in which many thousands of them were employed before the war. She hoped a very strong effort would be made in Committee to exempt from the operation of the Bill those trades and occupations which did not really exist in this country before the war.

Observer

They know that their work has been of value, they know that their skill could be developed, and yet they see themselves turned away from their means of livelihood and unable to safeguard or protect their position. Nothing seems to lie ahead of them but a return in overwhelming numbers to the pre-war sweated women's trades, and the suffering that this must cause will only be equalled by the loss of productive power to the nation itself. It is impossible to expect that women workers, if they are in effect shut out in this thoughtless way from their necessary freedom to work for their own livings, will remain contented and useful citizens. Nothing is more certain than that the jealous exclusion of women from all skilled and well-paid occupations will sow the seeds of future industrial trouble; and if we add to the bitterness of class feeling the further bitterness of sex war, we shall indeed have wasted a great opportunity.

Something must speedily be done to safeguard the position of wage-earning women of this country, and surely it is the duty of the House of Commons to examine this Bill with a view to its effect upon them, and to try once more to persuade the Trade Union movement to protect and strengthen its own weakest member. To pretend that women workers do not exist and need not be considered may be a tempting short cut, but it is based upon a fallacy.

Observer.

22/6/19

FUTURE OF WOMEN WORKERS.

EFFECTS OF THE PRE-WAR PRACTICES BILL.

(By Mrs. Oliver Strachey.)

Everyone is agreed that the solemn pledges of the Government given in March, 1915, must be redeemed, and everyone must rejoice that an agreement between the unions and the employers concerned should at last have been reached in the Restoration of Pre-War Practices Bill. Unless the unions are satisfied of the good faith of the Government, Whitley Councils, Courts of Arbitration, and all the hope of a gradual and peaceful adjustment will be jeopardised, and the concurrence of the Trade Union movement in the settlement of this question is therefore of primary importance.

The Bill as it stands, however, presents many extraordinary features. On the face of it, and if it were to be literally applied, it would mean the ruin of the engineering and shipbuilding industries of this country. It would mean the limitation of output, the destruction of machinery, the extermination of the semi-skilled men and the women workers and the refusal to absorb discharged soldiers into the main industries of the country: it would mean that the lessons of the war would be unlearnt and the hands of the clock set back, and that our foreign competitors would be allowed at least a year's start in the struggle for the markets of the world. But the Bill is not to be literally applied. On all hands it is admitted that it is merely a basis for further negotiations and a guarantee in the hands of the skilled men that their opinions as to the future of their industry shall be predominant. Again and again in the second reading debate on the Bill Labour men no less than representatives of the Government asserted that the Bill would be a dead letter as soon as passed, and the hope of the industry, therefore, lies in the kind of agreement and negotiations that are made subsequent to the passing of the Bill. A procedure like this, which is altogether new in history of our Parliamentary law, needs careful consideration in the interests of the whole community.

THE FIVE CLASSES.

There are five classes of persons directly interested in the settlement of these questions: the skilled men whose practices are under consideration, the employers who lose or gain according as their industry is ill or well administered, the discharged soldiers whose entry into this field of labour is so urgently necessary, the semi-skilled men whose exclusion is one of the chief matters of dispute, and the women whose mechanical abilities have been one of the great discoveries of the war. How will these classes stand when the negotiations begin? Obviously the interests of the skilled men in these future bargainings will be safe; obviously also the employers with their resources of capital and organisation can be trusted to look after their own concerns; the discharged soldiers, with the whole weight of public opinion behind them and with the gratitude that skilled and semi-skilled men, employers, and women alike feel for their services, cannot by any possibility be neglected; the semi-skilled men with their powerful organisations and their immense numbers can also do something to protect their own interests.

POSITION OF WOMEN.

But the weak, disorganised, and helpless factor in the situation is the women workers. Who, in these future bargainings, is to protect them, and what hope can they have that their interests will be so much as considered? They are not admitted to the skilled unions. In the semi-skilled unions, though admitted, they are not articulate, and the great bulk of them are at present unemployed and despairing.

Westminster Gazette.

702/124

WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT.

EFFECT OF TRADE UNION RESTRICTIONS FEARED.

(Special to the "Westminster Gazette.")

The organisers of women's work in the past are very much afraid that the passing of the Bill restoring pre-war trade union conditions may cut the ground beneath the feet of the women who came into industry during the war. Miss Helen Ward, of the London Society for Women's Service, made the following statement to a representative of the "Westminster Gazette."

Returning Soldiers.

"We have no desire to do anything to hinder the restoration of demobilised soldiers to the employment they relinquished on joining the Army. But we feel that the nation ought not to be blinded by a temporary phase of unemployment. There is need for increased production which will in the long run absorb all this fluid labour, and the present unemployment is not due to women having taken soldiers' jobs. Enormous numbers of them have in fact been turned out.

Labour Party and Women's Work.

"The Labour Party has introduced the Women's Emancipation Bill, and it is therefore illogical to oppose the entry of women into any industry where she can hold her own. We have no wish to see women's labour used to bring down wages, but quite agree that it should be paid for on the same scale as that of men. The women are many of them the wives and daughters of soldiers who have been killed or disabled, and in any case it is the policy of the Labour Party to eliminate the leisured class. In future most women will have to and all ought to work. We feel, therefore, that it is artificial and reactionary to close the door upon women's entry to industry by legislative action.

The Pledges.

"We admit, of course, that the Government must fulfil its pledges to the trade unions, and we welcome the principle of the Bill: but we do regret that the Labour Party itself should exact the return of this particular pre-war custom, and we feel no confidence in the vague hope of subsequent conferences and compromises. No doubt they will take place and the Bill will not be literally carried out: but the part of it that affects women looks likely to stand unaltered for the reason that women are not well organised industrially. We greatly fear that their interests are not safe in the hands of their trade competitors, and so, though we admit that soldiers and sailors come first, we want Parliament to insist on the open door. Especially do we feel this in regard to new trades. After all, the pre-war practices could only have reference to pre-war trades, and the fact that the Labour Party so strenuously resists an amendment to the effect that industries which have grown up in his country during the war shall be excluded from the scope of the Bill seems to us to be extraordinary and ominous."

Aberdeen Journal

27/6/19

WOMEN WORKEI

COMMITTEE'S IMPORTANT SUGGESTIONS

The report of the Women's Employment Committee, under the chairmanship of Major Hills, M.P., makes recommendations that homework should not be encouraged in any trade. The general scheme of supervision by the local health authority should be retained, but the powers require strengthening in the direction of prohibiting homework under conditions harmful to the consumer as well as to the worker. It is desirable that Trade Board officers should have legal right of access to the lists of out-workers kept by local authorities.

Free entrance to the clerical posts in local government service should be accorded to women. All clerical posts open to men should be open to women, with a view to securing a proper standard of education. It should be required that no woman be appointed who had not passed such school examination as might be prescribed.

The relaxation of the Factory Acts allowed during war should cease at its termination, and excessive overtime, long spells of night work, and Sunday work should be forbidden. We recommend the possibility of a 44-hours working week and an annual fortnight's holiday on full pay for the consideration of the Government.

Welfare work must continue after the war, when there should be a single Government authority. The Industrial Fatigue Research Board will take the place of the Health of Munitions Workers' Committee for conducting research and investigation.

Trade unions should play an important part in preventing unemployment. Unions comprising both men and women are stronger for bargaining purposes than those consisting of women only, but there is work for both classes of unions to do.

The employment of married women outside their homes is not to be encouraged.

We recommend that some system of mothers' pensions on the lines of that now successfully in operation in the United States, which would enable widows and deserted wives, including the wives of men serving long terms of imprisonment, to remain at home and care for their children, should be established.

Railway

F02/126

4/7/19

WAR CABINET COMMITTEE ON WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

Women Workers on the Railways.

We extract the following from the Report of the War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry. The Committee, it will be remembered, was appointed in September, 1918:—

In transport (excluding municipal tramways) the proportion of females to the total number of workpeople increased from 2 per cent. in July, 1914, to 11 per cent. in July, 1918, or by 81,000, of whom about four-fifths directly replaced men. In all railways the general clerical staff increased in number from 2,431 to 25,161, the general wages staff from 9,135 to 36,984, the general workshop staff from 857 to 6,305. The following table, extracted from a Board of Trade return, compares the number of females employed in various railway occupations in July, 1914, and July, 1918:—

Occupation.	July, 1914.	July, 1918.
Booking clerks	152	3,612
Telegraph and telephone operators and other clerks	2,800	20,995
Ticket collectors	—	1,972
Carriage cleaners	214	4,603
Engine cleaners	—	3,065
Porters and checkers	3	9,980
Workshop labourers	43	2,547
Other labourers	420	580
Cooks, waitresses, and attendants	1,239	3,641
Signal and points women, gate keepers, guards and conductors	437	1,292
Munitions machinists and mechanics..	44	1,082
Painters and cleaners (including charwomen) ..	698	1,177
	12,423	65,887

One big company estimated the proportion of women goods porters at about 80 per cent. of the staff. Generally speaking, more women were employed than the number of men they replaced, and the women did the lighter parts of the work. Thus, in a mixed gang of men and women goods porters, less goods were shifted and extra work thrown on the male checker or caller-off; the work was too laborious for women, and they could only manage weights up to 3 or 4 cwt. Among carriage cleaners the staff of women was nearly three-quarters as much again as the staff of men. At small railway-stations it was necessary to employ two women porters instead of one man. Women ticket collectors did not assist with parcels, luggage, &c., and were not so expeditious in examining tickets. There were many women gate keepers, but the men were opposed to the women doing this work, or to their employment in signalling or shunting. In regard to manual work, it was generally said by the companies that the women were not equal to the men. They were not physically fitted for the heavier duties, could not cope with emergencies, and, through lack of training, could not take on work other than their own particular job. The women regarded their position as temporary, and few showed any desire for training. There was further a tendency, where both sexes were employed together, for the men's output to be reduced to the women's level.

In tramways, the number of women rose during the same period from 1,300 to nearly 22,000, in the omnibus service from 300 to 4,500. The new posts to which they were promoted included those of conductors, drivers, cleaners, armature winders, &c., in the shops; road repairers, and a few inspectors and time-keepers. At the end of 1918 the women conductors were said to be 90 per cent. of the workers. From the point of view of the companies and local authorities, the experiment was not, however, a complete success. The following objections were raised against women conductors by the Tramways and Light Railways Association, and the Municipal Tramways Association and the London General Omnibus Company expressed similar views:—

(1) Unreliability in reporting for work.

(2) Physical inability to collect fares in rush hours.

(3) Higher relative cost, owing to the larger staff required, loss of traffic, loss of fares, absence during illness, &c.

(4) Greater number of complaints from the public.

The women were slack in collecting fares, had more "shorts," were less efficient than the men in making up bills of reports, and less courteous to passengers.

Evening Express 5/7/19

Labour Charter for Women.

The report of the Women's Employment Committee, just issued, is a veritable labour charter for women. Among the recommendations are free entrance to clerical posts in Local Government service, a large extension of trade boards, a fortnight's holiday on full pay, settlement of hours by substantial majorities of those concerned, a new Shop Hours Act to limit excessive spells of work, Government experiments to see whether a shorter working day is economically possible, continuance of welfare work, and women superintendents, encouragement of trade unions comprising men and women, training at State cost, non-employment of married women outside their own homes, pensions for mothers, care that the home worker should not be deprived of work altogether, protection to shop workers as to workers in factories, and power to the factory department to deal with offences under the Truck Act in shops as in factories, supervision of local authorities as to working hours and sanitary conditions, and to bring about closer co-ordination between the local authorities and the factory department it is suggested that a grant in aid should be paid to the former upon conditions prescribed by the Government.

Westminster Gazette

10/7/19

Women and the League of Nations.

The Women's Industrial League, which organised a deputation to Mr. Barnes yesterday, is not to be confounded with the Council—an investigating body entirely—or with the other organisation over which Miss Mary MacArthur presides, the Women's Trade Union League. Each has a different mission, although the two Leagues might seem to overlap somewhat. The Industrial League, which was founded by Lady Rhondda, has a programme of a very comprehensive character, including some things that do not come quite within the scope of the Trade Union League. The deputation put before Mr. Barnes, for instance, a suggestion for the provision of a special department of the League of Nations to deal with particular social questions affecting women, such as the provision of crêches, widows' pensions, and housing. It would be primarily a women's department, controlled by a committee, with a secretary attached to the League of Nations. The idea is that this department would form a link between the problems of the women's home and those of women's labour outside the home.

The Nation

9. 8. 19

THE CHILDREN'S FAMINE IN EUROPE.

SIR,—The Government has invoked the help of the British people in relieving the distress from famine in Europe and Asia Minor. Lord Robert Cecil has expressed the hope that the relief agencies appealing to the public under the Government's offer to double all voluntary gifts (up to £200,000) raised in the United Kingdom "will receive response that will bring to some millions of children . . . a message of practical sympathy." "There is no doubt whatever," said Lord Robert in the Commons on the 21st ulto., "that in large parts of Central Europe, including some parts of Germany, the children, the babies, are actually dying from want of food and want of milk. I do not believe that can be questioned."

Other distinguished men appeal to us. Lord Curzon sends out "an urgent call to the people of the British Empire to play their part in the great task of reconciliation and mercy." General Smuts asks us all "to exert ourselves to the utmost in the great work of saving the wreckage of life and industry." Sir William Goode, British Director of Relief Missions in Paris, writes to tell us that twelve and a-half millions are being spent by our Government in Europe, and this sum will all be used up or allocated before the harvest. Still there will be urgent need, he says, for medical comforts and for supplementary food, particularly for the children.

Will you be so good as to allow us space to remind your readers that the Save the Children Fund (Hon. Sec., Mrs. Buxton, 329, High Holborn, W.C. 1) has set itself the task of carrying this message to the nation? This is a central Relief Fund to be administered through the various excellent relief agencies which are at work in different parts of the famine area. The Fund does not confine itself within the limitations of the Government grant (Germany and part of Russia are excluded from benefit), but sends help where help is most needed irrespective of nationality. Donations, however, may be earmarked for any particular country. "What you have already done," writes Mr. C. K. Butler, Head of the British Mission to Vienna, "has been and will be of incalculable benefit to the suffering."

This great work is the first life-saving scheme of international scope, and it may prove to be the greatest mission that compassionate men have ever embarked upon. It can only succeed if people of all classes, parties, and beliefs will unite and ally their efforts with those of the Government.—Yours, &c.,

(*Signed*) HENRY BENTINCK,
BUCKMASTER,
MARY R. MACARTHUR,
PAMELA MCKENNA.

Times

10/7/19

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR.

WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION AT WASHINGTON.

A deputation of industrial, commercial, and professional women, led by Lady Rhondda, organized by the Women's Industrial League, and representing 11 different unions and associations, waited on Mr. G. N. Barnes, at the War Cabinet office, Whitehall-gardens, yesterday, on the question of representation of women at the International Labour Conference at Washington in October.

Mr. J. R. CLYNES, M.P., in introducing the deputation, said the economic machinery of the League of Nations could not function for the ends for which it was established unless it had due regard to the child-life of the community, and to the industrial and economic position of women. He submitted that as women were being driven to be their own wage-earners and frequently to be breadwinners for others, something should be done in connexion with the machinery of the League to admit women to their proper participation.

LADY RHONDDA said it was a considered opinion that, while organized men could protect themselves, unorganized women must be protected by a paternal Government. Women's evidence was required on such points as: (1) working before and after childbirth; (2) during the night; (3) in unhealthy conditions; and (4) except within certain hours. Other speakers held that trade unionists failed to grasp the women's point of view.

Mr. BARNES said the conference was not so wide in its application as the deputation seemed to imagine. Double standards of morality, and equal rights for women and men in regard to franchise, however important, and the question of an international standard of education were, at present at all events, outside the scope of the organization, except that they were going to discuss at Washington the question of the protection of children from profit-making industry up to the age of 14 years. It was not quite so bad as that the Washington Conference was going to deny women the opportunity to sit and advise, but they had been faced with the difficulty of the demand that women should be not only advisers, but direct representatives and delegates of women. The difficulty had reference to the size of the conference and the States, and the various voluntary organizations might resent the imposition upon them of a condition to send women. Women would probably be given a position as delegates in matters of direct concern to women.

The governing body consisted of 24 persons, which was too many for an executive authority, but even on that scale it was only possible to get one representative from each of the seven countries of chief industrial importance. Great Britain only had one representative from the State, and there were only six representatives of employers and six of workmen altogether. The same difficulty applied in other matters, but women's representations had been considered.

As a result they inserted pretty well all the things that had been submitted to them by the women. The Labour Commission passed a resolution, which was in the existing document, that not only all posts of a clerical character, but any position of delegate or anything else on the governing body and as delegates and advisers to the Conference should be open to women exactly on the same terms as to men. Therefore women's exclusion from the Labour organization was due to the fact that the organization of women was a long way behind that of men. Special provision was made that women should be selected from the various countries to sit on the International Labour Office, which body would be the eyes and the ears of the whole thing.

There were two women on the Organization Committee now at work arranging for the conference at Washington on October 1. Where matters such as maternity came up sensible men would vacate their seats and give them up to women advisers. Each delegate was entitled to take two advisers on each topic down on the agenda, and the State delegation, therefore, was entitled to take two women advisers on night work, two on poisonous processes, two on maternity, and probably two on considerations affecting children.

Mr. Barnes added that he had mentioned the question of selection to Mr. Bonar Law, who was very sympathetic, and agreed with him that if they could meet the women in any way they should do so. The industrial system of our country had simply ground the women down, and he was glad to know they were now exerting themselves so that conditions would be better.

24/1/19

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WOMAN'S REWARD FOR WAR-WORK.

Admission To Trades Unions The Coveted Prize—A "Mean And Bigoted Bill"—Sexes Side By Side.

Pre War Practices Bill

By Miss Florence Underwood, Secretary Women's Freedom League, in an interview.

LEADING lights of the Labour party are never weary of proclaiming their firm belief that the world can only be saved by embracing the beautiful ideal of democratic rule.

To my mind there can be one, and only one, interpretation of that ideal: absolute equality as between man and man, woman and woman, and—this is the vital point—man and woman.

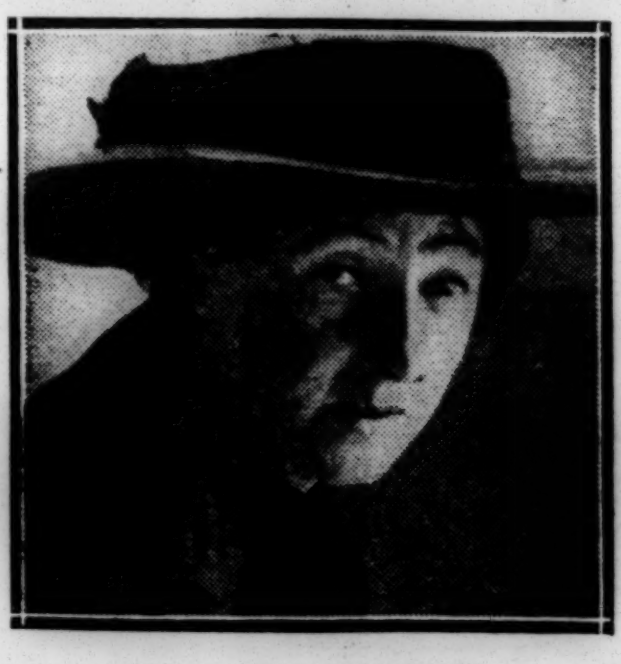
For a country to be truly democratic, this equality must hold good, irrespective of the class, position, or wealth of the individual.

I take it that this is also the construction that Labour party officials imagine they put upon democratic rule and institutions.

But why imagine?

Because at this very minute they are supporting what, in my opinion, is the meanest and most bigoted Bill that ever disgraced the British, or any other, Parliament.

I refer, of course, to the Bill now before the House of Commons which is destined to restore the pre-war trades union customs and privileges.



MISS FLORENCE UNDERWOOD.

This is its avowed and laudable object, laudable only so long as one does not dip below the surface, for in practice this Bill is intended to legalise the old injustices to women, under which they were debarred from competing in industry on anything like equal terms with men.

They were not allowed to become members of very many trades unions, and as non-unionist and unionist will not work side by side, they were shut out from all the more highly-paid industries.

But the war came, and the supply of male labour, owing to military calls upon it, ran short. Certain trades union rules were relaxed, the Government issued its appeal to women to fill the gaps in the labour market, and every one remembers the noble response made by the women of Britain to that appeal.

But what is to be their reward now?

Scarcely has the fighting ceased, before the Government brings in this Bill to turn women out of most of the adequately-paid trades and sections of trades in which women had obtained a footing during the war.

That, in effect, is what the Bill means, in spite of the fact that women, as such, are not mentioned.

The very people who are enthusiastically supporting this Bill are also pledged to support our cause—equal rights as between men and women. To such glaring inconsistencies, then, do politics lead men.

But this attempt to slam and bolt the door of industry against women will have little or no influence upon the political positions and aspirations of these so-called "leaders," for the majority of the women that it affects are between the ages of 18 and 30, and are, therefore, without the vote.

Nevertheless, we intend to oppose this Bill with all our force, for it is more important than ever that women should be offered every facility to enable them to earn their own living, and thus support, or help to support, a family often consisting of several children and a father disabled in the war.

This Bill threatens the very existence of many thousand such families in which the wage-earning capacity of the man has been, through the war, very considerably reduced or even perhaps taken away altogether.

For this reason the Bill in its present form will receive uncompromising opposition from us, and not until an amendment admitting women to all trade unions on equal terms with men has been carried will it meet with our support.

Daily Chronicle

27/7/19

Daily Telegraph 27.7.19

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702/129

Women in Industry.

The report of the Women's Employment Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction on "the opportunities for the employment of women, and the conditions of such employment in clerical, commercial, agricultural and industrial occupations after the war," which was issued yesterday, was drawn up before the Government's proposals for the restoration of trade union conditions had been formulated. It is quite clear that all the women who have gone into industry since the beginning of the war as substitutes or as dilutees will have to withdraw to make room for the return of the men; it is not even yet quite so clear that they will have to retire from the industries which were begun during the war and in which they were the original workers. The limitation imposed by this uncertainty gives many of the reflections of the Committee rather the abstract character of what are called pious opinions.

It will, in our opinion, be a retrograde step if women are thrust back into the narrow grooves of industry to which they were confined before 1914. They found during the war a larger life for themselves, and they made a most valuable contribution to the national output. The Committee refrain from making recommendations on this important question of policy, which is indeed one for Parliament, and they restrict themselves almost wholly to the regulations which should be applied to the industries in which women may be permitted to engage. But their confidence in the principle of equality is sufficiently indicated by their recommendation that all clerical posts open to men in the Local Government service should be equally open to women. It is in the light of this principle that an admittedly difficult question should be discussed.

Details about hours, wages and supervision by State inspectors will fall into their proper place when it has been recognised that the woman worker is to have her full opportunity. Parliament can give a lead, but the future of women in industry really depends upon what degree of statesmanship the trade unionism of men is capable of applying to a problem in which the interests of the one sex are different, though but superficially and temporarily, from those of the other.

CIVIL SERVICE POSTS.

200 VACANCIES FOR WOMEN.

Our Civil Service Correspondent writes:

The Waacs, the Wrens, the Wrafs, the temporary woman clerk, the typist, the writing assistant, are being offered by the Civil Service Commissioners 200 vacancies as Woman Clerk in the Permanent Civil Service, to be competed for amongst themselves. All those thousands of women who had hitherto pulled together as one man in the service of the State are now to be pitted against one another in the most pitiless and ruthless of all struggles—a Civil Service Competitive examination—a supreme illustration of the theory of the survival of the fittest.

It is now possible to give the regulations in full for this examination—the first of its kind ever held. It commences on Oct. 16 next, and will be held in London, Birmingham, Bristol, Cardiff, Leeds, Manchester, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Nottingham, Plymouth, Southampton, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Glasgow, Dublin, Belfast, and Cork. The limits of age are 18 and 30, and candidates must be of the prescribed age on the first day of July, 1919.

No candidate will be eligible who has not rendered six months' approved service prior to July 1, 1919, in one or more of his Majesty's Civil Departments in an established post, as typist, shorthand-typist, writing assistant, clerical assistant or sorting assistant, or as temporary woman clerk or typist, or as an enrolled member of the clerical sections of the Q.M.A.A.C., W.R.N.S., or W.R.A.F., or in a temporary clerical post in the War Department establishments

Candidates will be required to satisfy the Civil Service Commissioners:

(a) That they are unmarried or widows;

(b) That they are duly qualified in respect of health and character.

No person will be eligible who is not a natural-born British subject and the daughter of a father who is a natural-born British subject.

The examination will be in the following subjects, viz.:

1. English composition (including writing and spelling).
2. Précis writing.
3. Arithmetic.
4. General knowledge.

Candidates who fail to obtain such an aggregate number of marks as may indicate in the judgment of the Civil Service Commissioners a competent amount of general proficiency will not be regarded as qualified. It is important to note that candidates who are unsuccessful for women clerkships, but are adjudged on the result of their examination to be qualified for the situation of writing assistant, may be offered permanent posts of the latter grade.

It will rest with the Civil Service Commissioners to determine the Departments to which the successful candidates shall be assigned. In making the assignments the Commissioners will be guided by the requirements of the public service, and will consult, as far as possible, the wishes of Departments for the assignment of particular candidates who have served under them. Subject to these conditions, the wishes of candidates will, where possible, be respected.

Persons who have entered upon or completed a course of education or training for the occupation of teacher, on account of which grants are payable from the Exchequer, will not be qualified to receive appointments until the consent of the Board of Education in England, the Committee of Council on Education for Scotland, or the Commissioners of National Education, Ireland, as the case may be, given in conformity with rules sanctioned by the Lords of the Treasury, has been notified to the Civil Service Commissioners.

A fee of 15s will be required from every candidate attending the examination.

Appointments will be offered to not fewer than 200 of the candidates highest on the list, provided they obtain the necessary aggregate of marks and are duly qualified in other respects.

No person will be admitted to examination from whom the Secretary of the Civil Service Commission, Burlington-gardens, has not received, on or before August 28, an application, in the candidate's own handwriting, on a prescribed form, which may be obtained from the secretary in a few days.

As was pointed out recently, the employment of woman clerk, at one time restricted to the Post Office, where the great majority are still engaged, has now been extended to the following departments:

The Office of the PUBLIC TRUSTEE, London (and in the Branch Office at Manchester).

The GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE, London.

The MINISTRY OF LABOUR, EMPLOYMENT DEPARTMENT.

The BOARD OF EDUCATION, London.

The NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE COMMISSION, England.

The NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE COMMISSION, Scotland.

SALARIES.

The general scale of salary is £65, by increments of £5 annually to a maximum of £120. To this is added as a temporary increase a war bonus of 15s a week. In the General Register Office, England, and the Public Trustee Office, Manchester, the maximum is £110, while in the Health Insurance Commission, Scotland, it is as low as £100. In the Ministry of Labour the war bonus is £40 per annum, plus 20 per cent. of the ordinary annual salary. The hours of duty are seven daily, but in the Employment Exchanges the hours are eight daily. Promotion to vacancies in higher classes depends on merit. In this department there has been fixed provisionally a proportion of two posts, on the scale of £125, increasing by £5 per annum to £170, for each five posts on the scale £65 to £120, and there will be opportunities for promotion to other senior posts.

In the Ministry of Labour syllabus of the examination, it is interesting to note, in regard to English composition, that irrelevance is considered the greatest of all sins, while next in the order of offences come incoherence, obscurity, needless repetition, and diffuseness. We wonder whether these "grave defects" are peculiar to women candidates, or whether the Civil Service Commissioners had slyly more in their mind the sex of the candidates than the characteristics of a bad composition. On the other hand, we are told, logical and orderly development of the subject, lucidity and just proportion, will be looked upon as cardinal merits. These are supposed to be qualities which are the special property of the opposite sex. Are the Commissioners bent on destroying the charm of our women folk and compelling them to conform to a mere masculine standard before they are considered fit for employment in the Civil Service?

Spelling is another subject on which a warning is issued. A spelling recognised by any standard English dictionary is accepted as correct, but "recognition by an American dictionary is no guarantee of acceptance." The Commissioners are not lacking in courage. Wars have been fought for lesser slights.

GENERAL KNOWLEDGE.

In arithmetic it will be a relief to the candidates to know that a knowledge of recurring decimals is not required. Men have their *pons asinorum* in Euclid. Are recurring decimals in arithmetic woman's?

In regard to general knowledge, the following questions, four only of which are to be attempted, will show what is expected from the candidates:

1. State briefly what you know of any four of the following: Garibaldi, Gordon of Khartoum, Dreyfus, Galileo, Havelock, Captain Cook, Livingstone, Elizabeth Fry, Flora Macdonald, Pasteur, Abraham Lincoln, Florence Nightingale.
2. Discuss the importance of the extension of the franchise to women.
3. In what respects do you consider that the education of girls should differ from that of boys?
4. What is a trade union and what are its purposes?
5. Mention some of the terms of the armistice granted to Germany on Nov. 11, 1918.
6. Give some account of any one of the following characters: Jennie Deans, Maggie Tulliver, Becky Sharp, Jane Eyre, Viola, Hilda Lessways.
7. Why is it necessary to ventilate the places where people live and work? Describe some method by which ventilation is provided.
8. If Shakespeare were alive to-day what changes would he notice in the food and dress of the people?
9. Compare London, Edinburgh, and Dublin as regards position and commercial importance.

This special examination is much simpler than that ordinarily set for the situation of woman clerk. In the latter case the subjects are:

(1) English composition (including writing and spelling); (2) arithmetic; (3) geography; (4) Latin, or French, or German; (5) précis writing; (6) English history; (7) mathematics; (8) one of the languages, Latin, French, German, which is not offered as Subject 4.

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NEW LABOUR CHARTER FOR WOMEN.

GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE'S REPORT ON EMPLOYMENT AFTER THE WAR.

EQUALITY WITH MEN: A 44-HOUR WEEK.

Every aspect of women's work is considered and dealt with in the report of the Women's Employment Committee, which was issued as a Blue Book yesterday.

Appointed in August 1916, the Committee has had to consider and advise, in the light of the experience gained during the war, upon the opportunities for the employment of women, and the conditions of such employment, in clerical, commercial, agricultural and industrial occupations after the war.

It is advocated that free entrance to the clerical posts in Local Government Service should be accorded to women, and that all clerical posts should be opened to men and women alike.

A large extension of Trade Boards is thought to be necessary, and better organisation is recommended in order to secure adequate wages.

A 44-hour working week is put forward for the consideration of the Government, with an annual fortnight's holiday on full pay.

Trades should be allowed within statutory limits to settle their own hours, subject to Government sanction, a substantial majority to rule.

A new Shop Hours Act is required to limit the existing excessively long hours and excessively long spells.

Government experiments are suggested, to see whether a working day much shorter than at present is not economically possible.

WOMEN SUPERINTENDENTS.

As to welfare work, this must continue after the war, when there should be a single Government authority. It should be the employer's duty to study conditions as he now studies cost of production, and the workers should strive for good conditions as they have striven for good wages.

Compulsory action by the State should be used for the purpose of making universal that which experiment has proved to be right. Women superintendents should be appointed where women are employed in substantial numbers.

On the subject of trade unionism, the Committee recommend that organisation should be encouraged in every way. Unions comprising both men and women are stronger for bargaining purposes than those consisting of women only.

TRAINING AT STATE COST.

In a lengthy section on training it is recommended that training must be closely associated to trade methods and requirements.

Apprenticeship, learnership, technical classes, instructional, national, or local factory courses, or combinations of these, should all be utilised.

The cost both of training and maintenance should be made a national charge, and one department only should be made responsible for its administration.

The Committee are strongly opposed to the employment of married women outside their homes. They point out, however, that a free and efficient medical and midwifery service, both before and after confinement, is urgently needed.

They also ask that the Registrar-General's report should give statistics of infant mortality of children up to 5 years old, classified according to the mother's occupation instead of only according to the father's as at present.

PENSIONS FOR MOTHERS.

The system of mothers' pensions, now successfully in operation in the United States, is put forward as a recommendation. Such a system would enable widows and deserted wives, including the wives of men serving long terms of imprisonment, to remain at home and care for their children.

It might also be extended to the wives of men who, by reason of disability, would otherwise be obliged to transfer the support of their families to their wives.

The competition existing between home workers and factory workers is dwelt upon, and it is urged that the regulation of wages by law must proceed with care lest the home worker should be deprived of work altogether.

For this reason the regulation should be effected by means of Trade Boards that can take all the facts bearing upon the relative position of home workers and factory workers into consideration. Home work should not be encouraged in any trade unless it is clear that the circumstances are such that the maintenance of adequate wages is possible.

PROTECTION IN SHOPS.

The Committee consider that there is no reason why less protection should be afforded to workers in shops than to those in factories. They express the opinion that the Factory Department should have the same power to deal with offences against the Truck Act in shops as they have at present in factories and workshops, so long as the system of fines continues, and recommend that provisions to this effect should be inserted in the Truck Act.

Without proposing to take away from the local authorities powers regarding hours of work and sanitary conditions in shops, the Committee think that these powers should be carried on under the supervision and with the advice of the department concerned.

To bring about closer co-ordination between the local authorities and the Factory Department it is suggested that a grant-in-aid should be paid to the local authorities upon any conditions which the Government might see to attach to the grant.

DEMOBILISED WOMEN.

PLACES AT AIR MINISTRY TAKEN BY EX-SOLDIERS.

Consternation reigns among the temporary lady clerks employed in Government departments, as a result of the "comb out" which is already taking place under the powers conferred upon Sir Auckland Geddes by the War Cabinet.

At the Air Ministry large numbers of lady clerks and typists have received notice, the "Daily Chronicle" understands. Moreover, the whole of the female messenger staff, whose chocolate uniforms have become so familiar to visitors, are to be dispensed with. They are to be replaced by wounded and demobilised soldiers, many of whom are already being initiated into their duties. It is understood that their pay will be £2 10s. per week—a considerable increase on the wages of the girl messengers who have "carried on" during the war. Most of the men will, of course, be also in receipt of pensions for disablement.

The higher grade women—many of whom are in receipt of comparatively large salaries and are married—will probably be the next to go. A return has been called for, with a view to their substitution by male clerks, preferably demobilised soldiers.

The "Daily Chronicle" also learns, on good authority, that the question of the demobilisation or disbandment of the W.R.A.F. is under consideration. If the force is disbanded some of the women will probably be employed by the R.A.F.

Yorkshire Observer 9. 8. 19.

"SAVE THE CHILDREN."

Sir,—The Government has invoked the help of the British people in relieving the distress from famine in Europe and Asia Minor. Lord Robert Cecil has expressed the hope that the relief agencies appealing to the public under the Government's offer to double all voluntary gifts (up to £200,000) raised in the United Kingdom "will receive response that will bring to some millions of children . . . a message of practical sympathy." "There is no doubt whatever," said Lord Robert in the Commons on July 21, "that in large parts of Central Europe, including some parts of Germany, the children, the babies, are actually dying from want of food and want of milk. I do not believe that can be questioned."

Other distinguished men appeal to us. Lord Curzon sends out "an urgent call to the people of the British Empire to play their part in the great task of reconciliation and mercy." General Smuts asks us all "to exert ourselves to the utmost in the great work of saving the wreckage of life and industry." Sir William Goodes (British Director of Relief Mission) in Paris writes to tell us that twelve and a half millions are being spent by our Government in Europe, and this sum will all be used up or allocated before the harvest. Still there will be urgent need, he says, for medical comforts and for supplementary food, particularly for the children.

Will you be so good as to allow us space to remind your readers that the Save the Children Fund (hon. sec., Mrs. Buxton, 39, High Holborn, W.C.1.) has set itself the task of carrying this message to the nation? This is a central Relief Fund to be administered through the various excellent relief agencies which are at work in different parts of the famine areas. The fund does not confine itself within the limitations of the Government grant (Germany and part of Russia are excluded from benefit) but sends help where help is most needed irrespective of nationality. Donations, however, may be earmarked for any particular country. "What you have already done," writes Mr. C. K. Butler (Head of the British Mission to Vienna) "has been and will be of incalculable benefit to the suffering."

This great work is the first life-saving scheme of international scope, and it may prove to be the greatest mission that compassionate men have ever embarked upon. It can only succeed if people of all classes, parties, and beliefs will unite and ally their efforts with those of the Government.

HENRY BENTINCK.
BUCKMASTER.
MARY R. MACARTHUR.
PAMELA McKENNA.

Report of Women's Employment Committee.

The Women's Employment Committee was appointed in August, 1916. Originally a sub-committee of the Reconstruction Committee of that date, it was continued as a Committee by Dr. Addison, M.P., when he became Minister of Reconstruction in 1917. The chairman, Sir John Simon, K.C., M.P., resigned in 1917, whereupon Major Hills, M.P., was appointed in his place.

The terms of reference were as follows:—"To consider and advise, in the light of the experience gained during the war, upon the opportunities for the employment of women, and the conditions of such employment, in clerical, commercial, agricultural, and industrial occupations after the war."

The Committee's report has now been published as a small blue book [Cd. 9239] from which we reproduce in part the Summary of their recommendations.

As to Remuneration.—Organisation is of chief importance in securing adequate wages: more general and better organisation is therefore recommended. In addition, sufficient training for industry and, in the case of organised workers, a large extension of Trade Boards are thought to be necessary. The Committee's suggestions on the regulation of wages by law have already been presented in a Memorandum in March, 1917.

As to Hours.—The relaxation of the Factory Acts allowed during war should cease at its termination and excessive overtime, long spells, night work, and Sunday work should be forbidden. There is a prima-facie case for a reduction in legal maximum hours, in overtime, and in the length of the shift, and for the abolition of work before breakfast, and the Government should immediately institute inquiries with a view to amending the Factory Acts. The Committee recommends the possibility of a 44-hour working week and an annual fortnight's holiday on full pay for the consideration of the Government. Trades should be allowed, within statutory limits, to settle their own hours, subject to Government sanction, a substantial majority having power to bind the minority. Further information is urgently needed as to hours worked in offices, and this should be inquired into. A new Shops Act is required to limit the existing excessively long hours and excessively long spells. Government factories should make experiments to see whether a working day much shorter than at present is not economically possible, and private employers should be urged to follow suit.

As to Welfare or Conditions.—Welfare work must continue after the war, when there should be a single Government authority. The Industrial Fatigue Research Board will take the place of the Health of Munition Workers Committee for conducting research and investigation. It should be the employer's duty to study conditions as he now studies cost of production; and workers should strive for good conditions as they have striven for good wages. The workers should operate through Whitley Councils and Works Committees, on which organised women must be fully represented. Factory inspectors should be encouraged to call conference of employers and employed. Compulsory action by the State should be used for the purpose of making universal that which experiment has proved to be right. It is hoped that the work of the factory inspector will become more and more merged in that of the expert adviser. It requires reorganisation and should be scientifically developed with special reference to health and safety in the factory, and investigation of questions of industrial hygiene, fatigue, disease, and mortality. All factories employing women in substantial numbers should have a woman superintendent, who should have managerial status with strictly defined duties, such duties not extending beyond the walls of the factory except in abnormal cases. There should be women members on all boards and committees dealing with the interests of women, whether in industry, commerce, or clerical work.

As to Trade Unionism.—Organisation should be encouraged in every way. Trade Unions should play an important part in preventing unemployment. Unions comprising both men and women are stronger for bargaining purposes than those consisting of women only, but there is work for both classes of unions to do.

As to Training.—Much of the training given for munition making is immediately apt for peace requirements and could be adapted to these requirements without difficulty. The special attention of the Ministry of Reconstruction is called to the advisability of so adapting the training scheme of the Ministry of Munitions. Trade training courses must be planned with a close watch on supply of labour to prevent overstocking. Training must be closely associated to trade methods and requirements. Only individuals able to benefit by training and afterwards to follow the trade in which they have been trained should be admitted to the classes. Methods of training should vary from trade to trade, and the greatest elasticity consistent with efficiency should be encouraged. Apprenticeship, learnership, technical classes, instructional, national, or local factory courses, or combinations of these should all be utilised. Maintenance for women during training must be provided, and should extend to the Health Service touched on in the Report as well as to industrial and other technical training. The cost both of training and maintenance should be a national charge, and one department only be made responsible for its administration. The Ministry of Labour should at an early date appoint a suitably composed Committee to deal with the problem of providing training for women both during resettlement and afterwards; such a Committee to contain strong representation of industrial experience, including organised labour, both men and women and employers. The Government departments chiefly concerned should also be represented. This Committee should be charged with the work of surveying the field, investigating existing facilities and advising as to the extent and directions in which these should be amplified, of formulating schemes and advising as to necessary executive machinery, central and local.

As to Employment of Married Women.—The employment of married women outside their homes is not to be encouraged. More information is required as to the numbers and distribution of employed married women. An expert Committee of Inquiry should be set up. The Registrar-General's Report should give statistics of infant mortality of children up to five years old, classified according to the mother's occupation, instead of only according to the father's, as at present, and death certificates of such children should contain this information. Hospital records should give the occupation of their married women in-patients. Factory crèches in normal times are not approved of.

As to Mothers' Pensions.—The Committee recommend that some system of mothers' pensions should be established, on the lines of that now successfully in operation in the United States, which would enable widows and deserted wives, including the wives of men serving long terms of imprisonment, to remain at home and care for their children. Such a system might with benefit be extended to the wives of men who by reason of disability would otherwise be obliged to transfer the support of their families to their wives.

As to Suitability.—The restrictions on dangerous and unsuitable trades imposed by the Factory Acts and relaxed during the war should be re-imposed immediately on peace. The determination whether trades are suitable or unsuitable must be left to the Government department concerned, whose powers should be enlarged as outlined in the Report. Joint Industrial Councils and Trades Union Committees should greatly help in this. An immediate inquiry should be held into conditions in offices.

Further recommendations deal with Local Government service, homework and shops.

In an Appendix tables are printed showing female membership of Trade Unions in the United Kingdom. In a note we are told that in many unions which admit both male and female members the exact numbers of each sex are not known. In these cases the figures given are based on estimates supplied by the unions. We reproduce a portion of the summary table:—

Female Membership of Trade Unions in the United Kingdom, 1914-1917.

	Female membership at end of			
	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.
Mining and quarrying	140	2,300	2,917	5,562
Metal, engineering, &c. trades ...	1,041	2,485	4,453	7,745
Totals	1,181	4,785	7,370	13,327

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WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT COMMITTEE: REPORT.

The Report of the Women's Employment Committee has now been published.* This Committee was appointed in August, 1916, under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon, K.C., M.P., who was succeeded in 1917 by Major Hills, M.P., with the following terms of reference: "To consider and advise, in the light of the experience gained during the war, upon the opportunities for the employment of women, and the conditions for such employment, in clerical, commercial, agricultural and industrial occupations after the war."

The opening paragraphs of the Report deal with conditions limiting its scope, and are followed by a section of "General Observations on Employment of Women," which is treated under the heads of "Opportunity and Suitability," "Women and the Race" and "Women and Men as Workers: How they Differ." An estimate of the numbers of women in employment in July, 1914, and July, 1918, is then given, and this is followed by a section on "Opportunities for Employment after the War," a section which is mainly occupied with the capacity of women for new work of various grades and descriptions. "Conditions of Employment" are then dealt with at some length, the word "conditions" being used so as to cover all topics which, though they may not be conditions in the strict sense, yet have to be considered if women's employment is to be surveyed as a whole. These topics are grouped under the heads of: (*a*) Remuneration; (*b*) Hours; (*c*) Welfare; (*d*) Trade Unionism; (*e*) Training; (*f*) Employment of Married Women; (*g*) Suitability of Employment; (*h*) Home Work.

It is not possible here to do more than thus indicate the field covered by the Report, but the following Summary of the Committee's Recommendations is reproduced in full:

RECOMMENDATIONS.

As to Local Government Service.

Free entrance to the clerical posts in Local Government Service should be accorded to women. All clerical posts open to men should be open to women. With a view to securing a proper standard of education it should be required that no woman be appointed who had not passed such school or special examination as might be prescribed.

As to Remuneration.

Organisation is of chief importance in securing adequate wages: more general and better organisation is therefore recommended. In addition, sufficient training for industry and, in the case of unorganised workers, a large extension of Trade Boards are thought to be necessary. The Committee's suggestions on the regulation of wages by law have already been presented—see Appendix V. of the Report.

As to Hours.

The relaxation of the Factory Acts allowed during war should cease at its termination, and excessive overtime, long spells, night work and Sunday work should be forbidden. There is a prima facie case for a reduction in legal maximum hours, in overtime, and in the length of the shift, and for the abolition of work before breakfast, and the Government should immediately institute enquiries with a view to amending the Factory Acts. We recommend the possibility of a 44-hours working week and an annual fortnight's holiday on full pay for the consideration of the Government. Trades should be allowed, within statutory limits, to settle their own hours, subject to Government sanction, a substantial majority having power to bind the minority. Further information is urgently needed as to hours worked in offices, and this should be enquired into. A new Shops Act is required to limit the existing excessively long hours and excessively long spells. Government factories should make experiments to see whether a working day much shorter than at present is not economically possible, and private employers should be urged to follow suit.

As to Welfare or Conditions.

Welfare work must continue after the war, when there should be a single Government authority. The Industrial Fatigue Research Board will take the place of the Health of Munition Workers Committee for conducting research and investigation. It should be the employer's duty to study conditions as he now studies cost of production; and workers should strive for good conditions as they have striven for good wages. The workers should operate through Whitley Councils and Works Committees, on which organised women must be fully represented. Factory inspectors should be encouraged to call conferences of employers and employed. Compulsory action by the State should be used for the purpose of making universal that which experiment has proved to be right.

It is hoped that the work of the factory inspector will become more and more merged in that of the expert adviser. It requires re-organisation and should be scientifically developed with special reference to health and safety in the factory, and investigation of questions of industrial hygiene, fatigue, disease and mortality. All factories employing women in substantial numbers should have a woman superintendent, who should have managerial status with strictly defined duties, such duties not extending beyond the walls of the factory except in abnormal cases. There should be women members on all Boards and Committees dealing with the interests of women, whether in industry, commerce or clerical work.

As to Trade Unionism.

Organisation should be encouraged in every way. Trade Unions should play an important part in preventing unemployment. Unions comprising both men and women are stronger for bargaining purposes than those consisting of women only, but there is work for both classes of unions to do.

As to Training.

Much of the training given for munition making is immediately apt for peace requirements and could be adapted to these requirements without difficulty. The special attention of the Ministry of Reconstruction is called to the advisability of so adapting the training scheme of the Ministry of Munitions. Trade training courses must be planned with a close watch on supply of labour to prevent overstocking. Training must be closely associated to trade methods and requirements. Only individuals able to benefit by training and afterwards to follow the trade in which they have been trained should be admitted to the classes. Methods of training should vary from trade to trade, and the greatest elasticity consistent with efficiency should be encouraged. Apprenticeship, learnership, technical classes, instructional, national, or local factory courses, or combinations of these should all be utilised. Maintenance for women during training must be provided, and should extend to the Health Service as well as to industrial and other technical training. The cost both of training and maintenance should be a national charge, and one department only be made responsible for its administration. The Ministry of Labour should at an early date appoint a suitably composed Committee to deal with the problem of providing training for women both during resettlement and afterwards; such a Committee to contain strong representation of industrial experience, including organised labour, both men and women, and employers. The Government Departments chiefly concerned should also be represented. This Committee should be charged with the work of surveying the field, investigating existing facilities and advising as to the extent and directions in which these should be amplified, of formulating schemes and advising as to necessary executive machinery, central and local.

As to Employment of Married Women.

The employment of married women outside their homes is not to be encouraged. A free and efficient medical and midwifery service, both before and after confinement, is urgently needed. More information is required as to the numbers and distribution of employed married women. An expert Committee of Enquiry should be set up. The Registrar-General's Report should give statistics of infant mortality of children up to five years old, classified according to the mother's occupation, instead of only according to the father's, as at present, and death certificates of such children should contain this information. Hospital records should give the occupation of their married women in-patients. Factory crèches in normal times are not approved of.

As to Mothers' Pensions.

We recommend that some system of Mothers' Pensions, on the lines of that now successfully in operation in the United States, which would enable widows and deserted wives, including the wives of men serving long terms of imprisonment, to remain at home and care for their children, should be established. Such a system might with benefit be extended to the wives of men who by reason of disability would otherwise be obliged to transfer the support of their families to their wives.

As to Suitability.

The restrictions on dangerous and unsuitable trades imposed by the Factory Acts and relaxed during the war should be re-imposed immediately on peace. The determination whether trades are suitable or unsuitable must be left to the Government Department concerned, whose powers should be enlarged. Joint Industrial Councils and Trades Union Committees should greatly help in this. An immediate enquiry should be held into conditions in offices.

As to Homework.

Homeworkers and factory workers are often in competition and modern industrial developments tend to depress the level of remuneration of the former. The regulation of wages by law must proceed with care lest the homeworker should be deprived of work altogether. For this reason the regulation should be effected by means of Trade Boards that can take all the facts bearing upon the relative position of homeworkers and factory workers into consideration. Homework should not be encouraged in any trade unless it is clear that the circumstances are such that the maintenance of adequate wages is possible.

The general scheme of supervision by Local Health Authorities should be retained, but their powers require strengthening in the direction of prohibiting homework under conditions harmful to the consumer as well as to the worker. It is desirable that Trade Board Officers should have legal right of access to the lists of outworkers kept by Local Authorities. Licensing of homeworkers is not recommended.

P.T.O

* Cd. 9239, price 6d. net.

As to Shops.

We consider that there is no reason why less protection should be afforded to workers in shops than to those in factories, and we recommend that the provisions of the Factory Acts with regard to hours, with the amendments we have suggested, should be applied to shops.

A further point arises with regard to fines and to sanitary conditions. At present no Government authority has power to improve the conditions with regard to fines. Further, the law with regard to the enforcement of the provisions of Section 22 of the Public Health Acts Amendment Act, 1890, is far from clear.

We think that the Factory Department should have the same power to deal with offences against the Truck Act in shops as they have at present in the factories and workshops so long as the system of fines continues, and we recommend that provisions to this effect should be inserted in the Truck Act.

With regard to the administration of the law with regard to hours of work and sanitary conditions we think that closer co-ordination should be ensured between the local authorities and the Factory Department. Without proposing to take from the local authorities powers which have already been confided to them by Parliament, we think that these powers should be carried on under the supervision and with the advice of the Department concerned. We suggest that this object could be satisfactorily attained with the minimum of friction if a grant-in-aid were paid to the local authorities dependent upon any conditions which the Government might see fit to attach to the grant.

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY ABROAD.

FRANCE.

Mining Industry.

The issue of the *Journal Officiel* for 25th June contains the text of a law passed on the preceding day amending the existing legislation concerning the length of the working day in the French mining industry.

The law of 31st December, 1913, provided that workers in coal mines employed underground in the actual getting of coal should not normally be employed for more than eight hours per day. The present Act makes this legal maximum applicable to underground and surface workers—whether manual or other—employed in and about coal mines of any description or in and about other mines, open works and quarries, as well as in prospecting work.

For underground workers the working hours are to be calculated, for each shift, and for each grade of worker, from the scheduled time at which the first workers enter the shaft in descending until the scheduled time at which workers reach the surface in ascending.

In the case of mines where entry is by adits the working hours must be calculated from the arrival at the adit or entry up to the return to the same point.

The law is not to invalidate agreements or customs equivalent to agreements, under which, in certain mines, a normal working day of less than eight hours has been fixed.

In the case of operations of a continuous nature the conditions of labour will be laid down by public administrative regulation, but the actual time of attendance of each worker must not exceed forty-eight hours in a week, and the number of workers affected must not exceed 5 per cent. of the total number employed in the undertaking,

The length of the working day may be increased beyond eight hours in case of war or pressing necessity.

In no case may the earnings of any class of workers, as the result of the application of the present law, be less than those recorded at the date of its promulgation.

ITALY.

State Railways.

A decree establishing a normal working day of eight hours for State railway workers in Italy is published in the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* of the 16th June. The text of the new measure is as follows:—

1. An eight-hour day and a weekly day of rest must be granted to persons employed in the service of the State railways, with certain exceptions to be determined by the Minister for Railways and Maritime Transport, due regard being paid to the varying conditions of service in the different grades and classes of employees.

2. In the case of grades or classes excluded from the operation of the eight-hour day rule, a reduction in the hours now fixed for working time and shifts must be introduced.

3. The method of application of the aforesaid provisions and the times at which they shall come into force shall be fixed by the Minister for Railways and Maritime Transport with due regard to the technical difficulties involved in the enforcement, and for the necessity of maintaining the continuity and regularity of the service.

The provisions of the present decree shall take effect as from 15th June, 1919.

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WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

TWO GOVERNMENT REPORTS.

(FROM AN ENGINEERING CORRESPONDENT.)

The employment of women during the war on processes that had always been sacrosanct to men was not effected without grave difficulties, and it is common knowledge that in the engineering trades it was often neglected not because the women were not available or could not do the work but because the men would not allow them, and no authority would enforce the law that did. Yet in spite of these and other impediments it appears, from the recent report of the War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry, that of some 700 000 women and girls directly replacing males in industry proper and Government establishments in January, 1918, about one-half were employed in the metal trades; and to these must probably be added at least the 170,000 engaged in those trades before the war.

It is not surprising therefore that the matter has attracted the attention of the Government, and that in August 1916, the Women's Employment Committee was appointed with a reference which, without including the complex problems of demobilization, asked for advice, "in the light of the experience gained during the war, upon the opportunities for the employment of women, and the conditions of such employment . . . after the war." Its scope was therefore far wider than that of the War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry appointed in September 1918, under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice Atkin, to whom all that was referred was "to investigate and report upon the relation which should be maintained between the wages of women and men," and to inquire into alleged breaches of Government pledges. Both Committees lose authority in having little or no membership representing those who are practically engaged in manufacturing; though the later Committee has what engineers will appreciate as the advantage of including Mr. B. H. Morgan, who in addition to his personal experience brings an intimate acquaintance with all controlled industry acquired while he was a prominent officer of the Ministries of Munitions and of National Service.

WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT COMMITTEE.

The Report of the Women's Employment Committee points out that there is much work which women could do, but which, through its undesirable physical and other conditions, is not suitable for them. It instances foundry work as an example, and suggests that women's employment in such occupations should be prohibited—a suggestion that will hardly be borne out by the experience of many foundrymen, who on the contrary have found women keep healthy as well as prove extremely useful in this work. At the other end of the scale are occupations that are clearly suitable, and between them is a wide field of employment which, with more or less mechanical assistance, could be made so. In the Committee's view the scope of women's usefulness in industry will become even wider than it is at present given not only technical improvement and proper workshop organization but also efficient Government supervision. It may perhaps be questioned whether engineers, either employers or employed, will be as keen as the Committee on their last condition. The Committee, without any information as to the probable volume of trade and general state of employment after the war, has assumed as a working hypothesis that trade will be favourable, and doubtless many of the conclusions would have to be revised if unhappily it were not.

In the meantime, with the aid of memoranda by the Home Office and by Mr. Morgan, the Committee indicates the classes of trade it regards as unsuitable, and on the other hand it shows from the experience of the war that in suitable occupations women have done distinguished work in every grade of industry, from full managers, as they have been, in shell, cartridge and filling factories—the list might have been longer—shop supervisors and forewomen, and scientific works, through process work in all grades of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled operations, to labourers' work of all kinds within their strength.

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK.

The remuneration of women is an aspect of their employment in which their interests and those of men often seemed to be identical without really being so. Women naturally wanted to get all they could, particularly since in the opinion of all parties, as typified in almost all the evidence on the point given before the War Cabinet Committee, "the old level of wages for women was unduly and unnecessarily low"; and this not only in the notoriously sweated trades, for the same Committee found that "the difference between the average of female earnings in such trades and those in several thoroughly well-organized trades was almost negligible." Accordingly, when men pressed for women to receive the same time rate as men, women were often tempted to welcome and adopt the demand. It was obvious, however, that such a claim could be to the advantage of women only if their average output and the cost of their employment was no greater than that of men; and accordingly, as was stated for their own men by the National Transport Workers' Federation before the War Cabinet Committee, men insisted on equal pay for women, not in order to procure them due remuneration in their employment, but in order to reduce or prevent their employment by making it uneconomical. The disingenuous excuse for the demand has also been put forward, as for instance in Mrs. Sidney Webb's Minority Report to the War Cabinet, that the Civil Service, Judges, and Cabinet Ministers are paid according to the job to which they are appointed, and not according to the amount of work they do—an argument that ignores the fact that industrial work is done under economical competition, which does not touch the services cited.

Not all the women workers, however, were caught by this bait; in the statesmanlike memorial, for example, presented to the Prime Minister by Lady Rhondda on behalf of the Women's Industrial League, the danger to women of equal time rates was expressly pointed out, and what was claimed was equal pay for equal net output. The Women's Employment Committee—Mr. Morgan, Mr. R. H. Glanfield, and Miss Collet dissenting—concludes that equal time rates for the jobs on which women are employed is the only satisfactory settlement, and that anything less would "tend to undermine the whole basis of collective bargaining and react injuriously on the standard of life built up by organized effort." In this view it differs not only from the Women's Industrial League, but also from the War Cabinet Committee, which concluded in favour of equal pay for equal net output.

The Committee recommends that organization should be encouraged in every way, and is of opinion that, while there may be work both for mixed unions and for unions of women alone, the advantages of mixed unions are the greater. It looks to trade unions to play an important part in preventing unemployment, and it would like to see advantage taken of the extension of unemployed insurance in order to strengthen trade union organizations. Its view, which it considers has been reinforced by war-time experience, is that "complete and efficient trade unionism is essential, not only for the well-being of the workers engaged in industry, but in the interests of the State." It bases this view on the necessity to healthy industrial development of the coherent and intelligent expression of the corporate opinions of those engaged in industry on all questions that affect them and their trade. An essential part of its programme appears to be to prevent employers from dealing directly with their workmen, as the report deprecates the formation of works committees in imperfectly organized trades on the ground that it would enable employers to do this, and thus to deprive employees of the "advantage of collective bargaining." It will be seen, therefore, that as in Mrs. Webb's Minority Report to the Cabinet, the term "collective bargaining" is limited to bargains made with the whole trade. Much of the argument habitually used in favour of it is based on the disparity of strength between an employer and an individual workman; but the conclusion is here applied to arrangements made by an employer with the whole body of his workmen or of his workmen in particular trades, and mutual accommodation between those actually engaged in the works is made subject to the approval of the entire trades concerned and of any extraneous opinion that may have captured their trade unions. No suggestion or recommendation is made on the difficult question of how women can be represented efficiently by a mixed union, while men retain opposite interests to women; but Mr. Morgan and Mr. Glanfield dissent from the recommendations of mixed unions.

Recommendations are also made for increased scientific strength in the Home Office factory inspectorate, and for extended training on Ministry of Munitions lines.

SUCCESS AND ITS REWARD.

In a paper on women's work in engineering and shipbuilding during the war, given before the North-East Coast Institution of Engineers and Shipbuilders, Lady Parsons emphasized some of the more skilled work that women learned to do, because she finds a strong tendency among engineers to consider that women are capable of doing only repetition work on fool-proof machines.

The success achieved by women was due to the sensible training given them. They had the advantage of receiving a short intensive training in the technical schools set up by the Ministry of Munitions and in private firms, and they had the great privilege of being taught their work by skilled men who ungrudgingly gave their experience. Boys and men are now benefiting from the methods that proved so successful with women; and they must not forget that women prepared the way for this sort of intensive training, and that their entry into the works also brought about the improved conditions in the works.

SKILLED WORK.

Quite a large number of girls were able to set and grind their own tools, and a small proportion could set up their jobs from drawings. They could mill all the parts of the breech mechanism of howitzers, screwing the internal thread for the breech block, milling the interrupted screw and screwing the cone that fits into the breech block, and mill firing pins and all the parts of gun sights, in each case setting up their own work. In a firm repairing guns, two girls dealt with guns varying from the 13in. naval gun, weighing 50 tons, to the 6lb. tank gun. They could design repairs to guns and mechanism and calculate the factor of safety of a damaged gun by logarithm and slide rule. They were designing suitable repairs, making the working drawings and carrying out the work and, if necessary, making the special tools to do it. Others were hand lapping bores of guns, clearing the rifling grooves, and making casts of the bores of guns in gutta percha. The girls who did this work were taught in one day to work a 12½in. lathe. This included setting up the work, dividing on change wheels, and cutting an internal screw thread.

In a still surviving factory staffed by women, they are employed on all the parts of the engine of a motor tractor. They are cutting out the crankshafts from the solid forging, using the drilling and slotting machines, making all the tools, jigs, and fixtures required for the work of the factory, setting up their work, and designing some of the tools. This factory is generously continued by the employers, in order to give the women, who worked so well during the war, the opportunity to continue their training in the hope of employment as soon a trade conditions are more settled.

The women acetylene welders established a good reputation early in the war, and they have been steadily working on jobs interchangeable with men. In a firm specializing on lathes women are machining all the parts of a 6½in. and an 8in. lathe; they are doing the bench work, and assembling and fitting. Other girls have been successfully employed in designing and making machine tools. Another in one of the technical workshops could make every article that came into the shop from beginning to end, and she could mill gauges true to 0·00003in.

In metallurgy some useful experiments were made in the causes for failure of metal and alloys and the methods of producing reliable metals. In an experiment tank, models of the hulls of ships and seaplanes were tested with a view to improving their form. In electro-technics tests were made of Admiralty instruments, ammeters, and volt-meters, resistance boxes and standards, the practical part of a research on the heating of buried cables, and the preparation of plans for the installation of a new generating set.

TRADE UNION ATTITUDE.

About 1½ million women received a certain amount of training in schools at a cost to the country of over £30,000,000. All these prospective wealth-producers are scrapped; the country is much the poorer. The engineering industry is again barred to women by an agreement between the Treasury and the trade unions. Though 90 per cent. of the workers on munitions were women, no woman sat on the conferences that preceded the agreement of February, 1916, between the Treasury and the unions, and consequently the women's point of view was never raised. The Labour Party, while demanding full political equality for women and the right to sit in the House of Lords and to practice at the Bar and as solicitors, will not grant women industrial equality by permitting them to work on the same jobs as men, to have adequate representation on committees, and to enter the higher ranks of those industries in which the war has shown they are perfectly fitted to work.

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"LABOUR PROBLEMS AFTER THE WAR"

I.--INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS :

Demobilisation.
Restitution of Trade Union Practices.
Displacement of Substitutes.
Transference of Women.
Position of Semi-Skilled Labour
Boy Labour.
Workshop Control.
General Use and Administration of Labour Exchanges.
Extension of Unemployment Insurance.
Schemes for Absorbing Unemployed.
Re-Establishment of Factory and Workshop Acts.
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II.--FINANCE :

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Taxation of War Profits.
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III.--NATIONAL PRODUCTION :

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Coal Nationalisation.
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Armament Production.
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New Trades.

IV.--PROBLEMS OF DISTRIBUTION :

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Canal Development.
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Co-operation.

V.--PROBLEMS OF EXCHANGE :

Tariffs for Trade Purposes.
Imperial Preference.
National Banking
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VI.--PROBLEMS OF GOVERNMENT :

Electoral Reform.

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VI.--PROBLEMS OF GOVERNMENT :

Electoral Reform.
Adult Suffrage.
Women's Position.
Shorter Qualification.
Payment of Returning Officers' Fees.
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VII.--NATIONAL HEALTH :

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Training of Disabled.
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Moratotium Arrangements, &c.
Dimensions of Army (Pay in Peace Time, Democratisation, &c.)
Military Service Act.
Military Training.

IX.--EDUCATION.

Irish Independent

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EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN.

FATE OF THE GLOVE INDUSTRY.

To the Editor "Irish Independent."

Sir—A report having appeared in the Press under the heading, "L.G.B. criticised by Lady Fingall," I think it well to correct the erroneous impression which might be produced by such a heading. So far from desiring to criticise the L.G.B., my committee desire to place on record their appreciation of the Board's invariable courtesy and assistance in their work.

The Central Committee on Women's Employment for Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, of which I have the honour to be president, was formed in Nov., 1914, by the then Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Birrell), as a Cabinet Advisory Committee, for the purpose of formulating schemes for the employment of women who had been thrown out of work by the war; and the memorandum of its appointment embodied the principle that special schemes of employment should be educational and socially beneficial. It was soon found, however, that it was necessary to act in an executive as well as an advisory capacity, with the object of relieving unemployment upon as economic a basis as possible.

WAR OFFICE CONTRACTS.

Our committee has successfully carried out War Office contracts, and up to the present time 218,000 army shirts have been cut out and manufactured in the workrooms organised by the committee. Since our formation we have handled a turn-over of more than £100,000 on a capital of less than £4,500, part of which has already been refunded, while we are in a position to repay the remainder when required to do so.

Women have been trained in shirt-cutting, shirt-making on power-machines, and as shirt-inspectors; while a glove-knitting industry, both machine and hand, has been successfully started and worked for the past two and a-half years in Dublin. This machine glove-knitting industry alone employs between 60 and 70 girls, who have manufactured 130,450 pairs of gloves, the average wage of the girls being 19s. a week, while the experts earn up to 35s.

COMMITTEE'S DILEMMA.

The committee are now faced with the immediate prospect of having to close down the machine-knitting industry, the contracts for army gloves necessarily ceasing. In these circumstances they view with grave anxiety the future of these workers, whom they have trained to be efficient, self-supporting wage-earners, and they regard with dismay the probable demoralising results likely to ensue in consequence of skilled workers being compelled to accept the Government out-of-work donation. My appeal, therefore, would be for some public-spirited business man to come forward and take over this industry.

In view of the fact that many hundreds of girls and women have been trained under the auspices of this committee, we feel that our experience in dealing with the problem of unemployment and our success in initiating and carrying out schemes for industrial training entitles us to representation on the Committee of Reconstruction about to be appointed.

The committee is a representative one, and consists of the following names:—Vice-President, Miss E. Buchanan; Lady Arnott, Mrs. P. J. Brady, Mrs. Michael Cox, Miss Gleeson, Mrs. Noel Guinness, Mrs. Macken, Mrs. H. MacDermot, Miss Mellone, Mrs. Michael Murphy, Mrs. Owen Lewis, Miss Edith O'Reilly, Lady Russell, Mrs. Gaisford St. Lawrence.

E. M. FINGALL (President).

121 Lr. Baggot street, Dublin, Jan. 20, 1919.

Sunday Times
8. 12. 18

THE WOMEN'S LEAD.

Old legends die hard, and in no other country are they uprooted with such great difficulty as in Great Britain. No clearer proof has ever been given of this than is set forth in Lady RHONDDA'S recent correspondence with the PRIME MINISTER. Here we have clear evidence that Labour, which claims to be the only section of the community which can knock off the chains which have fettered national action throughout the centuries, only proposes to do so in order that it may substitute other and stronger chains of its own forging.

Advocating liberty for all, it is placing every conceivable obstacle in the path of the women who rendered victory possible. Jealous of the old privileges on which it so often insisted in its own and the national despite, it exacted a bargain over the introduction of female labour in the national factories, to which the Government had perforce to yield in the more immediately pressing national necessities. Now that the falsity of the majority of the provisos on which it based its terms has been demonstrated by the stern reality of accomplished fact, despite the handicaps to success which it was able to impose, Organised Labour not only clamours for its pound of flesh, but actually insinuates that the terms of the bargain shall be extended to include new spheres in which women have demonstrated their capability, spheres, even, which were never contemplated by either party when the bargain was made.

The reason for this is not far to seek. The Women's Industrial League, of which Lady RHONDDA has accepted the Provisional Presidency, have placed "equal pay for equal output" in the forefront of their programme, whereas the whole trend of Trade Union policy has been towards a dead level of pay for restricted output. The trade unions fear, apparently, that the wider employment of female labour will result in the development of competitive individual output, beneficial to the community and even to the individual workers themselves, but subversive of every trade union tradition. Whether this be the case or not, the memorial suggests that women, initiated to the problems of labour, are approaching them with open minds and a vivid interest, which is a happy augury for the influence they may shortly exercise in the political sphere. Mr. LLOYD GEORGE has assured the Women's Industrial League of his "full sympathy with their claims." He and we may possibly discover that our full support, as well as our sympathy, will go far to remove those vested prejudices which are so much fuller of menace to the progress of healthy national reconstruction than any of the vested interests which Labour professes to regard with such dread.

Christian Commonwealth

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Women and Reconstruction.

The part women should play in reconstruction has so far been little more than a pious aspiration. It is well that the Ministry of Reconstruction are beginning to make some effort to seek their co-operation before all plans are completely settled. At this late date they have set up a Women's Advisory Committee which seems to have a general roving commission to consider and advise the appointment of committees to report upon any matters which they deem to concern women in any degree. Lady Emmott is the chairman, but there are a number of experienced Labour women among the members: Miss Susan Lawrence, Dr. Marion Phillips, Miss Harris (of the Women's Co-operative Guild) and Mrs. Pember Reeves. I see that they are making a special inquiry into the conditions of domestic service, and for the first time in history, so far as I am aware, they are actually looking at it from the point of view of women who cannot afford servants as well as those who can. One of the committees is dealing with the subject of home help for any woman who needs it, and the implication is that it is well for the nation that the woman in the home should not be continuously overworked but be able to have assistance in her domestic duties. This is a new and very human point of view, and if plans to provide the help are not only made but carried out, the Labour Party's intention of shortening the hours of work for all workers will be on the road to accomplishment.

Blackburn Times
9. 8. 19.

INDUSTRIAL VALUE OF WOMEN.

It is impossible directly to answer the question whether the services of the average woman in industry is worth two-thirds of the services of the average man, but it is interesting to note that the proportion of about one-half which operated in 1914, and which had grown up naturally without outside interference, persisted over a very long period and in many countries. Speculation on the reason for this 50 per cent. wage is, however,, bound to be of a somewhat academic nature and need not detain us here. What is more important is to consider if the present 66 per cent. represents a fair proportion under modern conditions. In other words, is the average woman in industry now overpaid or underpaid as compared with the average man. In view of the work which women have done during the war it is a somewhat ungracious task to consider the deficiencies of women as compared with men from an industrial point of view, but no ultimate advantage can come either to industry or to the women themselves by failing to take note of the facts of the situation. In connection with the preparation of a report, recently issued, a large amount of data was collected, and a large number of employers were examined bearing on the question of the efficiency of their female employees from an industrial point of view, and throughout it was found that women were worse time-keepers than men. For instance, a large firm reporting through the Engineering and National Employers' Federation stated that women's lost time was 7.1 per cent. as compared with 3.4 per cent. for men. The Tramways and Light Railways Association, and other bodies concerned with the same class of service, stated that one of the defects of the women was "unreliability in reporting for work." In the case of the Post Office the difference between male and female wages was justified among other reasons by the women's additional sick leave. Other quotations could be made, but it is unnecessary to multiply instances.

There are, of course, physiological reasons for expecting that women would be worse time-keepers than men, and unquestionably in many cases domestic ties affecting women only, or mainly, also work in the same direction. In a sense these things may be "unfair" from a woman's point of view, but they exist, and from an economic point of view must be allowed for. The effect of this inferior time-keeping is to decrease the value of women in industry, or relatively to increase the cost of employing them, which is the same thing.

A further matter relatively increasing the cost of female labour from the employers' point of view, is that it involves increased expenditure on supervision and welfare, while in men's factories the introduction of women involves the provision of separate cloakroom and other accommodation, with attendant charges. This latter item may be of importance in the engineering trades, from many branches of which women were in the past entirely absent. Apart from questions of time-keeping, or extraneous charges, the matter of the employment of women is closely bond up with their relative industrial ability as compared with men. This naturally varies with the industry concerned and the type of work. In some of the textile trades women are practically equal to men, although in weaving—peculiarly a woman's trade—the women usually make less maney than the men because they cannot keep so many looms running.

Daily Chronicle
10. 12. 18

702a/3

702 A

PREMIER'S PROMISE TO WOMEN WORKERS.

NO RESTRICTIONS AGAINST THEM IN ANY OF THE NEW MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES.

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL OUTPUT.

A striking memorial on the position of women in the various manufacturing industries has been presented to Mr. Lloyd George by Lady Rhondda, on behalf of the Women's Industrial League. Even in new industries they complain of attempts at exclusion, and they ask for the removal of all restrictions.

The "equal pay for equal work" stipulation, they state, has often been wrongly interpreted as meaning that a woman should receive the same money for a day's work as a man, even though her output was less. When women ask for "equal pay for equal work" they mean "equal pay for equal output."

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S REPLY TO THE MEMORIAL.

The Premier replied on the same day the memorial was received. He wrote:—

Dear Lady Rhondda,

You refer to the Treasury agreement made in 1915 which enabled women to enter almost every department of industry, and so assist the nation in its dire extremity. It is my intention, if I am returned to power, to carry out that agreement in such a way that the unions shall have no cause for complaint, but when the terms of that agreement have been fully satisfied, women will find ample scope for their activities in industry when the pursuits of peace are fully resumed.

The Government has never agreed that new industries come under the Treasury agreement. If the restrictive clauses of that agreement are seriously believed to be of any benefit to trade unions or any other class in the community, then to bring new industries under them would be to endow those classes whom such restrictions benefit with the fruit of the sacrifices of the war, a form of profiteering which nobody that claims respect and deserves responsibility would willingly touch.

These new industries are already extensive, and many will arise in the near future to ensure that our country is more self-supporting than it has ever been in the past, and it will be my care to see that in all these industries no discriminations shall be made against the employment of women in any suitable occupation.

In this way and in those industrial occupations in which women were engaged before the war opportunities of every sort will be opened up for every class of women worker, and I believe that the real working representatives of organised labour may be trusted when the time comes to see the necessity of utilising, in the interests of production, and to the best advantage, every class of worker available.

The memorial refers not without substance to the opposition that women have had to meet. It is not credible that the trade union leaders who were parties to the agreement went back on it; but leaders cannot always control their followers, and followers sometimes try to become leaders by repudiating the prudent bargains that their leaders have made.

In regard to the payment of women workers, I am a supporter of the princciple of equal pay for equal output. To permit women to be the catspaw for reducing the level of wages is unthinkable. It is not desired by enlightened employers, to whom good production and uniform wages are desirable; cutting of wages, with its consequent instability, is not at any time either in their interest or in that of the nation.

It is scarcely fair to say that women are not being consulted on important questions of reconstruction. More in this direction might be done and shall be done, but they are already represented on the Women's Employment Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction, the report of which body will shortly be issued, and will help us to visualise more clearly the possibilities of profitable employment of women in every branch of industry.

I am in full sympathy with the claims you make for more effective representation on committees, in view not only of the sacrifices that women have made in the last four years, but of the capacity they have shown in industry and in dealing with the country's affairs.

Your memorial raises the question of training and educational facilities, and to this I can unhesitatingly reply that steps shall be taken to ensure for women the opportunities that they seek in our schools and universities to fit them for the trades and professions in which they can suitably engage.—Yours sincerely,

(Signed) D. LLOYD GEORGE.

Dec. 6, 1918.

Daily Chronicle
6. 1. 19

WOMEN'S POST-WAR JOBS.

MACHINES THAT WILL HELP THEM WITH HEAVY WORK.

In spite of the fact that the armistice has thrown many women out of work, the view is strongly held in several quarters that women's work is going to play a big part in the industrial life of the future.

"In the old days," said a woman worker to a "Daily Chronicle" representative, "our sphere of usefulness, outside our own homes, was almost entirely confined to the schoolroom, the typewriter, and other people's kitchen and nurseries. The war has changed all that. Women have shown that there are few things they cannot do, from filling up forms and doing heavy work in a factory, down to dock labouring. Women will be able to take a share in the work of the future without laying themselves open to the charge of keeping the men out of jobs."

Many employers are hoping still to have the co-operation of women workers, and efforts are being made to adapt industry more and more to women's physical powers. The whole trend of modern invention is in the direction of producing labour-saving machinery which cuts out the need for brawn and muscle as well as speeds up production.

Many new machines are being designed with a special view to the capabilities of women. One of them practically does away with the need for lifting. If a heavy article needs moving from one place to another it is simply lowered on to the platform of the machine which is then wheeled away, and by means of a mechanical contrivance, the platform is automatically raised to any height required.

Star
29. 1. 19.

LOANS FOR WOMEN.

To meet the difficulties attending adequate training for the employment of women, the Central Bureau inaugurated a loan fund.

Under the provisions of this fund a woman who desires to be trained for any particular occupation can obtain a loan for the purpose.

Lady Londonderry presided yesterday at a meeting of that fund, and Miss Agnes Hitchcock, Chairman of the Loan Fund Committee, said that practically all the loans advanced had been repaid.

Times 10.5.19

702a

WOMAN'S INDUSTRIAL CHARTER.

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK.

IMPORTANT OFFICIAL REPORT.

(By Our Labour Correspondent.)

The report of the War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry is published to-day (Cd.135, 1s. 6d. net). It is a fairly substantial volume of 350 pages, packed with historical, statistical, and documentary information on the industrial employment of women and girls, with special reference to the relation between the wages of women and men.

The Committee, after a careful consideration of the question of "equal pay for equal work," recommend:—

That, on systems of payment by results, equal payment should be made to women as to men for an equal amount of the same or similar work done.

That the relative value of the work done by women and men on time on the same or similar jobs should be agreed between employers and trade unions acting through the recognized channels of negotiation.

That where the employer maintains that a woman's work produces less than a man's the burden of proof should rest on the employer.

That the employment of women in commercial and clerical occupations especially requires regulation in accordance with the principle of "equal pay for equal work."

That the Government should support the application of the principle to industry by applying it with the least possible delay to their own establishments.

Other recommendations with regard to the future employment of women include the following:—

That employers and trade unions should make possible the introduction of women in occupations shown by war experience to be suitable by agreements which would protect the interests of the men workers along the lines of the recommendations already indicated.

That the Factory and Workshops Acts should be reformed and extended in various specified directions (including the reduction of working hours) for the protection of the health of women workers.

That the present factory medical inspectorate should be strengthened by the appointment of women medical inspectors and a considerable increase in the number of lay women inspectors.

That a local factory medical staff should be established whose duties should be co-ordinated with those of the existing local medical authorities.

MINIMUM WAGES.

The Committee also make the following further recommendations on minimum wages for women and girls:—

That, in order to secure and maintain physical health and efficiency, no normal woman should be employed for less than a reasonable subsistence wage.

That this wage should be sufficient to provide a single woman over 18 in a typical district where the cost of housing is low with an adequate dietary, lodging (to include fuel and light) in a respectable house, clothing sufficient for warmth, cleanliness, and decent appearance, money for fares, insurance, and trade union subscriptions, and a reasonable sum for holidays, amusements, &c.

That there should be additions to this wage for women working in the larger towns and in London to cover the cost of living there.

That the wage should be adjusted periodically to meet variation in the cost of living.

That the basic subsistence wage should be fixed, and the variations determined, by a specially constituted authority.

That the subsistence wage should apply to employment in all occupations (other than domestic service) for which a minimum wage has not been established by an Industrial Council or Trade Board.

That a scale of wages should be established for girls 2s. a week less than the women's subsistence wage for each year under 18.

On the question of mothers' pensions and maternity allowances, the Committee recommend:—

That the Government should give consideration to the question of adopting a scheme of mothers' pensions for widows and for deserted wives with children, and for the wives with children of men physically or mentally disabled, such pensions to be granted only after investigation where there is need and subject to supervision, and otherwise to be administered on the lines followed for pensions granted to the widows of men deceased in war.

That the Department or Departments of Government concerned should draw up for the consideration of the Government a scheme by which the entire direct costs involved by the lying-in of women under thoroughly satisfactory conditions should be provided by the State.

A further recommendation may be quoted:—

That the Government should continue to give the strongest possible support to proposals for the international regulation of labour conditions, which should lessen the danger of the foreign trade of this country being injured as a result of the employment of underpaid labour abroad.

COMPOSITION OF THE COMMITTEE.

The Committee which is responsible for this "Woman's Industrial Charter" was set up by the War Cabinet in September, 1918 when the question of "equal pay for equal work" had been raised in an acute form by the strike of the London omnibus workers to enforce the claim of the women conductors to the same war-wage advance as the men had received. In view of the important issues of the maintenance of the war output, and of the future welfare of women workers and the progress of industry Mr. (now Lord) Justice Atkin was appointed Chairman of a Committee of Inquiry composed of Miss Janet Campbell, M.D., Sir Lynden Macassey, Sir William Mackenzie, Sir Matthew Nathan, and Mrs. Sidney Webb. The main Report, embodying the above recommendations, is signed by the Chairman and all the members except Mrs. Sidney Webb.

Sir William Mackenzie, in a note appended to the Report, dissents from the recommendations in favour of a subsistence wage for women and mothers' pensions. He contends that the minimum wage should be fixed trade by trade, instead of having one national minimum for all trades, and that the proper procedure is to extend and develop the existing machinery of Whitley Councils and trade boards for determining wages. As to mothers' pensions, he agrees that widows and wives with children in necessitous circumstances should be maintained at the public expense, but he suggests that the subject is somewhat removed from the scope of the Committees inquiry.

MRS. WEBB'S MINORITY REPORT.

Mrs. Sidney Webb's minority report, which occupies 80 pages of the volume, is a characteristic argument for "the opening of all posts and vocations to any individuals who are qualified for the work, irrespective of sex, creed, or race; and the insistence, as minima, on the same qualifications, the same conditions of employment, and the same occupational rates for all those accepted by the private or public employers as fit to be engaged in any particular pursuit." The popular formula of "equal pay for equal work," says Mrs. Webb, is ambiguous and easily evaded. What is needed is a system of occupational or standard rates enforceable on a whole grade or vocation, and "there is no more reason for such occupational or standard rates being made to differ according to the workers' sex than according to their race, creed, height, or weight." There should be a "national minimum" prescribed by law and devoid of sex inequality.

About 35 pages of the Report consist of a memorandum by Miss Janet Campbell on the health of women in industry. The inherent physiological differences between the man and the woman which handicap the woman in competition with the man are briefly discussed. The general conditions under which women have been employed before and during the war are reviewed and some of the effects of these conditions on the health of the woman worker and on the function of maternity are analysed.

It is impossible within any reasonable space to do justice to the Report as a compendium of facts and inferences on many aspects of the industrial life of women. It collates a body of useful information about women's employment and women's wages before and during the war in all the chief occupations where women are found, and brings together some illuminating views on the relative efficiency of the man and woman worker. Though it contains statistics in abundance, the Report is full of human interest and is a valuable contribution to the study of one of the most important problems of modern industry.

Newcastle Journal. 18. 6. 19. Scotsman Edinburgh 10. 5. 19 702a/5 A 702.

The Employment of Women.

702.

II.

By John Murray, M.P.

There are at this moment, or there were very recently, towards 18,000 unemployed women on the "live register" of the Employment Exchanges on Tyneside. Some of the 18,000 may be women, whose duties and opportunities properly lie in their own homes. But many women who would cannot live at home in idleness. And many who might will not, because they desire to be independent. The need and the ambition alike deserve respect; and the two classes of women together run into many thousands.

Consider what an eye-opening excursion into industry these thousands have made. They are now familiar with the advantages of standard rates and conditions, of training and specific status. They have become critical of the current distinctions between men's and women's work. It was part of their handicap in the past to be classed as incurably unskilled and not worth training. This prejudice, neutralised temporarily during the war, is now hardening against them again. Is it surprising if they prefer industry to domestic service and fight for a better foothold in the one and better conditions in the other?

In the latter a deadlock exists between half-industrialised maids and mistresses who do not readily think of themselves as employers or of their maids as having industrial rights. Both sides, roughly speaking, are unorganised. Low cash wages are offered, partly because the cost of keep is high.

Rigid Conditions.

The National Federation of Women Workers demands a relatively high minimum rate, and very rigid conditions of time off. Now, women's work, they say, is never done. Except in very large houses, or in hotels, domestic service is not really very susceptible of "industrialisation." The only chance for a rigid rule is to include very little. It is elasticity and goodwill that are needed.

The parties appear to be poles apart; at any rate a good many shillings and times off a week separate them. There is no machinery for bringing them together. Why should not the husbands mediate? They are more used to employing than their wives, and their own comfort is at stake. A concordat on domestic service would react at once, and very favourably, on the female labour market. If the husbands did no more than organise their wives, compromise would be easier. And if training facilities were set up, the improved status of domestic service would be to the advantage of both sides in future.

Two Needs.

In industry the needs are two, new work for women and a better sharing of existing work between the sexes. The first must come slowly and piecemeal. Government could help, perhaps, towards the cost of training the labour, but, if it did, it would no doubt impose very strict conditions. The second is for the future. Too many male breadwinners are now out of work to permit of demarcations being carried out. But presently more room will have to be found for women, not by "infiltration" into any or every sort of work on the principle of "equal pay for equal work," but by demarcation of spheres in the necessary detail. Just as before the war, women are pressing now for more pay and a wider entrée. The war has destroyed a million men and thrown hosts of women on their own resources. There is work being done by women that men ought to do, and conversely. Demarcation will rectify this, "infiltration" never. Fair demarcation rests on the principle of the division of labour, assigning similar work to uniform groups, not mixing ages and sexes. The division of labour, fairly carried out, ensures productivity and harmony. In most communities and in industries fresh demarcations of work by the sexes are needed.

Industrial economics are being treated by Commissions of Inquiry with little regard to the practices prevailing before the war, and it is not surprising to find that the War Cabinet's Committee on the future industrial position of women should have issued a report, published to-day, which makes a considerable breach with the past. Women have long demanded that their remuneration should be determined in accordance with the principle of "equal pay for equal work." This was one of the questions referred to the Committee for examination, and the finding is strongly in favour of acceptance of the claim. But it is interesting to note that the Committee, with better logic than some advocates of the principle show, define it as meaning payment in proportion to efficiency of work. That is not always the way the principle is treated. Often it is converted into the simple dogma of the same rate of pay for men and women doing the same kind of work, irrespective of quality, amount, or efficiency of output. The Committee's test is stricter, if more difficult of application. When the work is factory labour and payment is by piece-rates, it may be relatively easy to adopt the general rule of equal pay in proportion to efficiency of output. But time rates of pay introduce a more difficult calculation. The relative value of work done by women and by men in such circumstances must, the Committee think, be a matter of adjustment between employers and Trade Unions acting through the usual channels. The problem assumes a still more complex appearance when we approach the professions and clerical and business occupations. Who, for example, is to assess the relative value of the work done by men and by women in the teaching profession? The Committee's logical development of the doctrine of "equal pay for equal work" must fail here; if the principle is accepted at all, it looks as if it must be on the basis of the same pay for the same kind of work, without regard to exact measurements of the efficiency ratio. Indeed, excellent as the Committee's definition is in theory, it seems just one of those principles which cannot be adequately realised in practice. Except in a few simple cases efficiency rates cannot be measured either qualitatively or quantitatively. It is so now between man and man, and it will be so between men and women, in spite of the Committee's attempt to give scientific exactness to the principle of "equal pay." As a corollary to the equality which they seek to establish, the Committee recommend that the separate grades and separate examinations for women clerks in the Civil Service should be abolished, but that Government Departments should retain within their own discretion the proportion of women to be employed in any branch or grade. Here women may see the reverse side of the medal. If they are to be paid the same rates as men for the same kind of work, they must expect to meet far keener rivalry than they have hitherto had to contend with. The relative cheapness of their labour in the past has assisted them in competition with male labour. With that advantage removed, they will have a harder fight to keep their place in the industrial market.

Only indirectly do the Committee refer to the disparity in financial responsibilities between men and women, which used to be regarded as a decisive argument for differential rates of pay. But although the reference is oblique it is important, since the conclusion is in favour of the payment to married men of children's allowances. The adoption of this recommendation would mean an enormous breach with economic tradition, and by its nature would help the propaganda of those Socialist advocates who urge that the children of the nation should be a charge upon the public funds. The recommendation of the Committee is valuable only in so far as it recognises that the doctrine of equal pay is in certain circumstances unfair, and may be unworkable; it is an admission that the theory may not square with the very basis of our civilisation—family life, and the responsibility of the father for the support of the family. In other respects also the report makes recommendations which are revolutionary in character. The theory of a minimum wage has been already supported by the joint Committee of the Industrial Conference, and has been provisionally approved by the Government. But the present Committee, in advancing the same claim, treat it in a different way. It is understood that the Government's intention is not to have a universal minimum, but a minimum graduated according to the capacity of individual industries. The Committee's minimum is to be a subsistence minimum, apparently regardless of the financial circumstances of individual industries. According to their definition, it should be sufficient "to provide a single "woman over 18 years of age in a typical "district where the cost of living is low with "an adequate dietary, with lodging to include "fuel and light in a respectable house not "more than half-an-hour's journey, including "tram and train, from the place of work, with "clothing sufficient for warmth, cleanliness, "and decent appearance, with money for "fares, insurance, and Trade Union subscrip-"tions, and with a reasonable sum for holi-"days, amusements, &c." All this is set out as if it were a sum in arithmetic, and all that was necessary to do to arrive at the subsistence minimum was to add up the items. But first of all they have to be valued, and probably no two individuals would give the same valuation to each item. What a prudent person finds adequate a spendthrift regards as little more than beggary. There are many serious difficulties in estimating a subsistence wage in terms of personal expenditure which varies with the individual. Among other recommendations of the Committee are a proposal for State pensions to widows, deserted wives, and the wives of men physically or mentally disabled where they have children dependent upon them and are in need, and a further suggestion that the State should undertake the entire direct costs "involved by the lying-in of "women under thoroughly satisfactory condi-"tions." These proposals, like the scheme of wage allowances in respect of children, are thoroughly Socialistic in their tendency, and indicate with alarming clearness the drift of advanced opinion towards the substitution of State for private responsibility in family life.

Times 3.6.19

PRE-WAR TRADE PRACTICES.

The Bill agreed to between the Government, employers, and trade unions for the restoration of pre-war "trade practices" was submitted for second reading by SIR R. HORNE, Minister of Labour. Sir Robert said that the House must not be under the apprehension that the passing of the measure would involve any reversion to customs which limited production. The need of increased output was recognized by both employers and employed.

MR. CLYNES also spoke strongly on that point. He urged the vital need, in the interest of the community, of increasing the volume and value of production by the joint energies of [illegible]ers and employed. Working men would suffer doubly from any deliberate diminution of output—in diminished earnings and a [illegible] in the purchasing power of those earnings. "Dearness," said he, "is inseparable from scarcity."

WOMEN WORKERS.

The position of women workers under the Bill was raised by MAJOR WOOD. Hs said that of the 790,000 women employed in establishments affected by the Bill in July, 1918, only 450,000 were directly replacing men; and he argued, therefore, that the Bill would put a bar upon 340,000 women who were not in competition with men. In reply, SIR R. HORNE stated that the Bill did not exclude any woman from any position which she filled before the war, nor did it stereotype anything for all time.

MR. SEDDON recognized that the Bill carried out the pledges given by the Government to restore trade union customs after the war, but hoped it would be a dead letter before very long. Other members were also of opinion that the Bill was not quite fair to women, having regard to the services they rendered during the war, and insisted that amendments must be made to secure their position in industry.

The Bill was read a second time.

The Lords' amendment to the Ministry of Health Bill reducing the number of Parliamentary Under-Secretaries from two to one was agreed to on the motion of MR. BONAR LAW.

The Government War Obligations Bill was read a second time.

The House was counted out shortly after 8 o'clock.

702a/6

Electrical Review 30.5.19

The Westinghouse Mass Meeting.—At the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, on the evening of May 19th, between 3,000 and 4,000 Westinghouse workers of all grades foregathered on common ground with the management and directors, first and foremost to discuss problems of mutual interest and create and absorb a better feeling of confidence, and secondly, to enjoy a musical programme of Westinghouse talent throughout. The meeting was an unqualified success. Capt. H. S. Hilton, managing director of the company, presided, and in his opening remarks pointed out that such a function was the first of its kind in the country. The meeting was an outcome of a suggestion by the Works Committee, and there had been a most gratifying response. It was hoped that it would become an annual function.

Mr. J. Annan Bryce, chairman of the company, spoke of the setting-up of works committees as a sign of the recognition of that human relationship between employers and employed which was going to be the only source of happiness for the country. The experience of the company showed that there was a real desire on the part of the workers to co-operate through the Committee in endeavouring to remove grievances, in assisting in necessary disciplinary measures, in settling holidays and the arrangement of holiday work, and in finding out how men's individual capacities could be best employed. Mr. Bryce put increased production per man as the only means of overcoming the difficulties British industry had now to face—heavy taxation and a handicapped export trade. He described as a fallacy the old idea that there was only a certain amount of work to go round, and that if a man did more he would deprive others of work. The real effect, he said, was that the more a man did the more work there was for other people, the cheaper the article he produced became, and the greater was the demand for it. The argument that because an article was sold cheaper the employer would want to pay less wages was equally wrong, for if the employer could sell more he could afford to pay more. The worker was entitled to higher wages and to shorter hours, and to opportunity for recreation and enjoyment. If he would produce more, and would welcome the adoption of every kind of improved method of machine production, it would be possible not only to pay him more, but to raise his standard of life.

Mr. S. Ratcliffe, chairman of the Works Committee, urged the need for frequent meetings between the workers and the management, where the problems of the industry could be discussed. Those at the head of the Labour movement had considerable difficulty in asking for the loyalty of their members in securing increased production, because that had so often meant just before the war that factories had been choked with goods, and men had been unemployed because they had made too many goods. If that fear could be overcome, and the worker could be sure that his interests were safeguarded, they would get the increased production which was so necessary for the repair of the waste of war.

Mr. W. Rostron, chairman of the Staff Committee, held that in studying the profit and loss account the human element should be taken into consideration as well as the material. Miss Wilson, Women's Welfare Superintendent, voiced the women's point of view. She remarked upon the necessity of every job being "manned" by the proper person: if strength was required, by the man; if it was work which could be done more efficiently by women, then women should do it. Mr. Mensforth, general works manager, remarked that it was an excellent thing to eliminate the differences and get together first the points of agreement.

Capt. Hilton announced that the original allotment of £100,000 worth of shares to be taken up by workers of the company had been over-subscribed. After a musical programme of 10 items had been gone through very satisfactorily, Col. Cradock, director of the company, moved a vote of thanks to the artistes, and the meeting closed.

7/6/19

We have before us the Report of the Committee on Women in Industry. The report itself deals mainly with the evidence collected as it has affected the rise in wages during the progress of the War. The primary cause of the rise in wages has, of course, been the calling up from productive to destructive employment of the major portion of the able-bodied men in the belligerent countries. But there can be no reasonable doubt that the extravagance of the Ministry of Munitions in its haste to supply shells and other requisites for carrying on the War did contribute, and contribute powerfully, to the difficulties in which we now find ourselves. The question, however, of the employment of women in industry, looked at from its broad national aspect has a far wider range than its effect upon the rate of wages. If the object aimed at by society were that everybody, to use common language, should have as much money as possible, it would be desirable that everybody capable of working should work to their utmost capacity and that families should be kept down well within the means of economic subsistence within a given standard.

It is evident, however, with our present economic development, that such a policy would so materially reduce the population that it would be impossible not merely to defend the British Empire, but even to defend England itself. Consequently, the primary policy must be to maintain the race as distinct from getting as much work as possible out of every member of the community. It follows, therefore, that that race will survive which maintains itself in such a state of efficiency that it is able to defend itself from aggression, and to maintain its economic equilibrium. If that be admitted, it is evident that the business of the vast majority of women in the generations to come, as in the generations that are past, will be domestic, or in the home, as we commonly express it, rather than working at high pressure in munition factories or, for that matter, in any other branch of industry.

At the moment it will not be desirable to press that argument too far, because there is an excess of marriageable women over men in these islands estimated at between 2½ and 3 millions. Consequently, it follows that a large proportion of the women of the country will be dependent upon their own exertions for their maintenance, as the killed alone in the late War amounted to very nearly 700,000; and, in addition, there are something like a million of men who have been discharged from the Army in a state of health and physical well-being below the standard which they enjoyed when they were first called to the Colours. Many of these men, no doubt, are young; and it is to be hoped that after a period in civil life their health will be more or less restored. But it is evident both to our common sense and to our knowledge and observation amongst our friends and acquaintances that there is a very large proportion of men who are hardly likely ever to be in a position to maintain a wife and family. Consequently, openings for female labour will be required during the present generation upon a somewhat abnormal scale. At the same time, it is desirable to bear in mind the importance of the national policy of restoring to civil employment the men recently with the Colours, and giving facilities to those whose health and inclinations admit of it to marry and settle down to domestic life.

New Statesman

June 28th 1919

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

To the Editor of THE NEW STATESMAN.

SIR,—In your interesting article on the Restoration of Pre-War Practices Bill last week you pointed out that the Bill is not likely to be put into practice, but that it is in the nature of a guarantee to Labour, that the subsequent negotiations undertaken in each individual trade will result in a position at least no worse for the workmen concerned than would be obtained under the enforcing of the Act. You assumed that the position of women would be safeguarded in these negotiations and that they would have nothing to complain of in the future. I do not know upon what your assumption was based and I should like to call your attention to one or two reasons why the opposite seems probable.

In the subsequent negotiations the only manner in which the interests of women will be represented will be through the power of the semi-skilled Unions, and in the semi-skilled Unions women are not by any means the first to be considered. Trade Union organisation among women is, as you know, a difficult business, and industrial women have not as yet reached the position in which their interests find adequate voice either in separate Unions or in mixed Unions with men. Moreover, the predominant factors in the bargainings that will follow the passing of the Act must be the skilled men's Unions, and from these women are still rigidly excluded, so that their position when the bargaining comes will be that one party to the bargain will have nothing to say to them and the other party will have their interests last on the list of things which it must protect. If industrial women feel safe in this position it is surely only another instance of the trusting and "feminine" characteristics which have given women the worst of all bargains during the centuries.

The Government is, of course, bound to fulfil its pledges to the skilled men. But surely also the Government is bound to look after the women workers of this country, the more because they are not yet sufficiently highly organised to look after themselves. It may be impossible at this present juncture to introduce safeguards about the position of women into the Pre-War Practices Bill, but it is surely not impossible to hope that in the near future another Bill opening all trades as well as all professions to women may be placed upon the Statute Book. Until this is done it will be a legitimate grievance that professional women have freedom of occupation and industrial women have not, and it will be an inevitable source of weakness to this country that the skill and ability of its women workers is not allowed free play, and that they are crowded back ruthlessly and remorselessly into pre-war sweated trades.—Yours, etc.,

RAY STRACHEY.

London Society for Women's Service,
58 Victoria Street, S.W.
June 6th.

Freeman's Journal 17. 6. '19 - 702a/8

702. A

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

Interest that rarely attaches to a Blue Book is found in that which deals with the comparative efficiency of men and women in what before the war was regarded as men's work. Inquiries were addressed by the Committee on Women in Industry to ninety tramway companies, who employ in all 14,584 women, of whom 11,670 were conductors. The general effect is that there were far more complaints of rudeness against women than against men; they were less punctual, lost time, and trams ran much worse than before; they were "more severe on their uniforms," and the bill for repairs increased considerably, "owing to the women neglecting to attend to the trolleys at points and curves." The shortage of cash increased 50 per cent. with women, besides money lost through their not looking for excess fares. The query "Do women carry out their duties as efficiently as men?" was answered "yes" by nine companies, and "no" by 73. "Do the collect fares as efficiently?" met with the answer "no" from 21 managers, and from 60 "yes." Seventy-two companies reported greater shortage in cash, and ten none. Thirty-four companies found women as courteous as men, and forty-seven less courteous. Punctuality was bad on 68 lines, and good on 15. Employment of women entailed greater expense to eleven companies, but twelve said "no." One typical manager said. "While I willingly acknowledge the great help they gave—and we could not have carried on without them—I regret I cannot find one point in which they were superior to men." But then this manager was a man, yet he is awfully non-committal—"not superior to men."

In clerical work, however, women hold their place whether in business establishments, on railways, or the Government service. The deficencies that there are generally are traceable to insufficient training in a number of women clerks, and as they progress this deficiency disappears. Women, however, make bad superintendents over a section of clerks, and the women clerks do their work much more efficiently when under the supervision of man. Women clerks with equal training do the same work as men and just as efficiently, but owing to many of them not having sufficient preliminary training and when not under male supervision "it takes three women to do the work of two men." This ratio is reduced, however, as further practise improves their training. The Post Office Department is opposed to equal pay for women. The Secretary of the Post Office, Mr. Murray, gave evidence that if the women clerks at present employed were given the equivalent of the men's scale it would cost over a million a year. His experience was that where men and women discharge similar or identical duties (1) the women's work is not equal to the men's; (2) her sick leave is greater, (3) her service as a rule is shorter. The railway managers find that women are bad ticket collectors, as they take longer to examine the tickets, and again the view was expressed, as in clerical work, that in manual work on the railways it takes "three women to do two men's work." The similarity of expression is curious.

Yet women are described as excellent at manual work in industrial and business houses. They have shown themselves fit for heavy employment. They have shown unexpected powers at lifting heavy weights. They are not unduly liable to heart strain or other strain. They stand high temperature in factories and bad weather, and in occupations that require long standing just as well as men. But women have shown themselves more deft than man in the lighter jobs. They are quicker at the work and do things more handily and much more daintily than men. Some of the managers say that this may be due to the fact that men generally get more of the heavier work of lifting loads than women, and that the majority of the women on the lighter jobs have developed greater alertness than the men, who have been employed at the heavier work, and consequently "go about their tasks in a more lumbering way than women do." Many heads of industrial firms and a number of doctors—medical men as well as medical women—agree in summing up the position in this way: "Women should be left free in their competition with men. Employers would probably select men for the heavier jobs and women for the lighter ones, on which they appear to be more deft than men.

THE PROBLEM OF A MINIMUM WAGE BASIS.

Some account of the valuable report on "Women in Industry," by the War Cabinet Committee, has already appeared in the "Manchester Guardian." It is proposed here to devote some space to the examination of its bearing on an immediate question of practical politics. Proposals for a national minimum wage have been before the public for some years, and have been held up largely owing to the difficulty of deciding on a minimum basis for women. There are in this Blue-book two reports—that of the majority and that of Mrs. Sidney Webb—both referring to this question.

Mrs. Webb holds that there should be a "legal minimum of weekly wages for the whole kingdom, based on the price of full subsistence, below which no adult worker free from specific disqualification should be permitted to be employed. These legal minimum conditions of employment and unemployment should be identical for men and women." We naturally ask on reading this whether full subsistence means that of the individual worker or of a family. The answer is not given quite directly, but in the next paragraph we are told that wages must not be proportionate to family obligations, and that the "question of public provision for maternity and childhood urgently requires investigation by a separate committee or commission." The direct effect of this recommendation is to hang up the whole question of the minimum wage—at least so far as it affects men—pending the report of yet another Commission, which may mean for an indefinite time. The indirect effect or real meaning appears to be that the national minimum should be based on the needs of the individual worker, and not on those of a family. Wife and children, it would seem, are to be maintained by the State, so that men, not being called upon to support them, may have a claim to higher wages than women.

Whatever the rights or wrongs of the endowment of motherhood, it evidently stirs the deepest sources of controversy. It opens up the whole question of the relation of the State to marriage, parenthood, and the conduct of family life. It is not likely to be settled in a short time, and it will divide opinion on quite different lines from those on which ordinary economic differences run. The practical effect, therefore, of Mrs. Webb's proposal would be that the national minimum wage, if fixed at all, would be fixed at an amount deemed necessary for the support of a woman. There is probably no regular occupation in which men do not already earn as much as this, and the effect would be to establish a minimum by which men would not benefit in the least. This is not to say that the proposal is altogether useless. The majority also propose that there should be a national minimum for women based on the cost of adequate maintenance for a single woman. But their proposal is not encumbered with any requirement as to the minimum for men. They do not object to men getting more, provided that no woman gets less.

The Sex Factor.

Mrs. Webb would probably reply that neither would she object to the individual man getting more, but that she declines to prescribe that he shall have more. Her contention is that sex is wholly irrelevant to payment. In addition to the national minimum, she advocates occupational or standard rates for all persons of like industrial grade, and lays down that "there is no more reason for such rates being made to differ according to the workers' sex than according to their race, creed, height, or weight." In that she ignores evidence which elsewhere she herself admits—viz, the "unfortunate tendency of girls" to regard their employment as a temporary phase, to be given up on marriage This is a purely sex factor which undoubtedly influences the employer in deciding whether a girl or a youth is of the more value to him; and there are other differences which are essentially differences of sex.

Since these differences exist, the dilemma that faces any authority which has to prescribe minimum rates is this: If it takes rates which employers are willing to pay to men and says that no women are to be employed for less, it will probably cut a good many women out of employment. If it takes rates which will leave employers willing to employ women it will do nothing for the man.

To this Mrs. Webb's reply appears to be that the elimination of the less efficient worker is a positive gain to industry. If (for the sake of argument) two men can do the work of three women there is "sheer national loss in bribing the employer by permitting him to pay lower wages" so long as more efficient workers are available. But what is to happen when the more efficient workers are absorbed? There is still a fringe of the less efficient available. On what precise principle are they to be debarred from earning what they can? The mere fact that someone else can do the work better is no reason if that someone else is already employed. What does seem reasonable is that the less skilled should not be allowed to undercut the more skilled. Now if two persons of grade A can do as much as three of grade B this is as much as to say that a B is only worth two-thirds of an A. If, then, A is paid a shilling an hour and B eightpence the result is indifferent to his employer. There is no question of bribing him to employ B, but only of making it indifferent to him which he will choose. If B must receive at least ninepence an hour the advantage is on the side of A, although A's wage is materially higher. But in this case the effect will be that when the employer has exhausted the A grade he will come to the B's, and perhaps at ninepence he will still find work which it pays him to get done at that rate, though it would not pay him if we compelled him to give a shilling for it.

The Difference of Efficiency.

It does not in the least follow that this tends to industrial inefficiency. On the contrary, since willing workers are willingly employed, it presumably adds to the total output. Nor does the less skilled labour undercut the more skilled, because, though its wage is less, it costs the employer more per unit of product. Undercutting arises not from any inequality of payment, but only from an undue inequality, an inequality so great as to over-balance the difference of efficiency.

It follows that any authority that fixes minimum time rates is within its rights in considering either sex or age, or any other differentia which is found normally to affect efficiency. It should by no means allow such differences as will enable the less efficient class to undercut the more efficient. But it does not follow that it is bound to insist on a uniformity which might cut the less efficient out of employment altogether. There is evidence in this report that that is a not unknown method among men of getting rid of women's competition, but it is itself a kind of undercutting—only an undercutting of the weak by the strong. It is possible to be too much enamoured of efficiency. The State cannot bind itself to a single uniform minimum rate, but must give itself freedom to take the productivity of workers of different categories into account, whether the differences be due to sex, age, or any other circumstances.

Leicester Daily Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 27, 1919.

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Leicester Post 27. 6. '19 -

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

For better or for worse, women in increased degree have as the result of the war, entered on industrial occupations, and a variety of problems arising out of that development were discussed at yesterday's Conference of Women Workers in Leicester. First and foremost among these is the right women claim to stay in industry, which they see endangered by actual discharges and by the Pre-War Practices Bill. This Bill, which has been a source of grave anxiety to the Government, is one to redeem pledges made to the Trade Unions when they consented, under stress of war's necessity, to waive customs and conditions established by years of collective effort. The unions frankly admit that some of those conditions and practices are undesirable or, at least, unsuited to the new times on which we have entered, but they demand that what shall be surrendered or modified must be a matter of after consideration and of voluntary concession after those pledges have been redeemed to the full by the Bill's actual passage into law.

Incidental to the position which the Unions thus take up arises much of the compulsory unemployment of women, which is regarded as a hardship by them. Thus with regard to new processes and actual new industries, they claim the right to remain in them, while averring all the time that they do not wish to trespass on the men's reserve in the heavy skilled trades, nor to do a single soldier out of his job on his return to civil life. Their contention seems a sound one, and it should not be beyond the wit of man—and woman—to find a reasonable and just solution to the problem, thorny though it is, and the report of the Women's Employment Committee, published this morning, should contribute materially to that end. Women's training courses for crafts, with the cost defrayed from national funds, are recommended, and an important proposal is that all branches of the Civil Service and all grades should be thrown open to women equally with men.

Arising out of the increased employment of women in industry, other problems of national concern arise, affecting the future of the home and of the race. Those who are the strongest advocates of the endowment of motherhood, which was the subject of a paper at yesterday's Conference, recognise that while the end in view is a very admirable one, the remedy suggested is at best but a palliative, with attendant dangers and evils. We want to foster, not weaken, the sense of family independence. It is only right, and it is certainly just, that parents should have substantial relief from taxation according to the number of dependent children; but a general endowment of motherhood may actually accentuate the uneconomic conditions which have brought this proposal to the fore. The industrial ideal should be such a remuneration of the adult male worker that he can maintain his family in comfort, and certainly without any necessity for the wife to go out to work.

To pay the mother to stay at home may operate to perpetuate a low-wage system. We are not against mothers' pensions in certain cases—the widow with a young family, for example, where it is obvious that State provision offers the only way to keep the mother in the home for the care of her children, quite free from the taint of pauperism—but a general scheme for the endowment of motherhood ought not to be embarked on without the matter being surveyed in all its bearings, to ascertain first whether it is necessary, and, if necessary, to erect safeguards against abuses and dangers inherent to it. There is room for much more to be done in the direction of child welfare work, and means should be devised for district nursing organisations to be assisted and extended, so that skilled nursing assistance may be available for every working-class home in time of illness.

Daily News - 30. 6. 19

MISS ELEANOR RATHBONE

(President, National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship.)

ON

WHAT WOMEN HAVE YET TO FIGHT FOR.

The outlook of the women's movement, like that of the rest of society, is one of hope and expectation, but also of grave anxiety. Politically, the advance made during the war has been almost bewilderingly rapid. Great Britain led the way, but it has been outstripped by countries hitherto regarded as the most backward in Europe so far as women were concerned. The women of Germany and Austria have not only achieved equal franchise rights but a substantial representation in the legislative chamber. Within the last few weeks victories have followed in Holland, Sweden, France, and America. It is true that the women of the United States have still to wait for complete success, but this has become a foregone conclusion.

Economically, the prospect is less cheerful. There seems reason to fear that the long and embittered struggle for political rights to which so many women have given their lives may have to be repeated on the field of industry before they can establish their right not only to a livelihood but to the equality of opportunity which is their goal. In Great Britain the efforts of the Government to carry out Mr. Lloyd George's famous pledge to the trade unions, that "pre-war practices should be restored after the war," seems likely to issue in this: that whereas before the war women were shut out from nearly all the more skilled and better paid trades by trade union action, custom, and prejudice, in the future they are to be shut out by legislative enactment. This to be done at a moment when increased productivity is among the greatest of national needs! It is impossible for women to be content with such a solution, and it is not to the interest of the community that they should be so content.

Socially, not much has yet been accomplished by the vote, but much is confidently expected. The position of the married woman calls for amendment, with respect both to her rights over her children and her right to maintenance for them and for herself. Mothers, who have listened to many sermons from pulpit and Press on the importance of "mothercraft" to the nation, are turning on their mentors with the reminder that bricks cannot be made without straw, and that the craftsman is worthy of his hire.

The changed attitude of those in authority towards women since their enfranchisement has more than justified their persistency in asking for it. But to an increasing extent the minds of women are turning from their own special problems and needs towards those of the community as a whole in which they are realising their citizenship.

ELEANOR F. RATHBONE.

WOMEN'S WORK.

Important Recommendations by Government Committee. Large Extension of Trade Boards.

Every aspect of women's work is considered and dealt with in the report of the Women's Employment Committee, which was issued as a Blue Book yesterday.

Appointed in August, 1916, the committee has had to consider and advise, in the light of the experience gained during the war, upon the opportunities for the employment of women, and the conditions of such employment, in clerical, commercial, agricultural, and industrial occupations after the war. It is advocated that free entrance to the clerical posts in local government service should be accorded to women, and that all clerical posts should be opened to men and women alike. A large extension of Trade Boards is thought to be necessary, and better organisation is recommended in order to secure adequate wages.

A 44-hours' working week is put forward for the consideration of the Government with an annual fortnight's holiday on full pay. Trades should be allowed within statutory limits to settle their own hours, subject to Government sanction, a substantial majority to rule. A new Shop Hours' Act is required to limit the existing excessively long hours and excessively long spells. Government experiments are suggested to see whether a working day much shorter than at present is not economically possible.

As to welfare work, this must continue after the war, when there should be a single Government Authority. It should be the employers' duty to study conditions as he now studies cost of production; and the workers should strive for good conditions as they have striven for good wages. Compulsory action by the State should be used for the purpose of making universal that which experiment has proved to be right. Women superintendents should be appointed where women are employed in substantial numbers.

On the subject of trade unionism, the committee recommend that organisation should be encouraged in every way. Unions comprising both men and women were stronger for bargaining purposes than those consisting of women only.

In a lengthy section on training it is recommended that training must be closely associated to trade methods and requirements. Appenticeship, learnership, technical classes, instructional, national, or local factory courses, or combinations of those, should all be utilised. The cost both of training and maintenance should be made a national charge, and one department only should be made responsible for its administration.

The Outlook
July 12. 1919.

WOMEN AND THE TRADE PRACTICES BILL.

THE Bill for the Restoration of Pre-War Trade Practices is open to very serious objection. It raises almost as many difficulties as it solves, or settles, and much of what it proposes to do is wrong. In any case, many points will have to be settled by negotiation between employers and workmen after the Bill becomes an Act; but it ought not to go through Parliament without considerable amendment. The whole problem needs to be approached in a broad-minded spirit. Both employers and workmen should take the big view. On the one hand we cannot go back to pre-war wages; on the other hand, we ought not to attempt to go back to pre-war restrictions. Conditions have been changed since the "pledges" were given. It was one thing to promise full restoration, but the task of effecting full restoration now is a very different matter. Let it be frankly admitted that complete restoration is neither possible nor desirable. What was good in the old system let us have restored. What was bad, let it go. We cannot have full restoration; but we can have something better if we try. Let us aim at two things—the health of the workers and the efficiency of industry. Many of the old rules and customs were good for neither. Long hours occupied in dawdling labour by workmen, the resultant wear of machinery and waste of materials, were demoralising for the workers and detrimental to industry. Not only were some of the old conditions bad in principle and practice, but we have been obliged during the war to adopt many new and novel appliances, machines, methods, and even some fresh industries, whilst we have trained some extra grades of labour. All this has served us well in the war, and, if retained with suitable modifications, will serve us equally well in the peace. Without intensified production we can no more satisfy our peace-time wants than we were able to supply the necessary munitions without intensified production during the war. It would be neither right nor reasonable to attempt to restore all the pre-war customs after what we have done and seen in the war period, and in view of the urgent need for large-scale output to make good the arrears and damages due to the war. The old practices will not fit the new conditions created, nor the better conditions we are all aiming at. The policy of setting a highly skilled mechanic to watch one simple repetition machine when a youth or woman could comfortably watch three such machines will never supply the nation with an abundance of good things—it is just the policy of scarcity and starvation. Unfortunately, many of our workmen hug economic fallacies, and the task of spreading the truth is not easy. But it must be tackled if we are to escape commercial ruin.

One of the greatest difficulties raised by the Trade Practices Bill is in connection with the employment of women. If the measure goes through in its present form, and if workmen insist upon certain rights or privileges authorised, the results will be unfair to the women and detrimental to the nation. The Bill has been drafted to a very large extent to please the Socialist elements in the trade union world. It seems that the main pre-war practice which it is intended to restore is the exclusion of women from those occupations closed to them before the war. What was forced by trade union pressure is now to be legalised by the State. That is bad enough as its stands; but it is worse to find that the Socialist wire pullers have set their minds on excluding women even from certain occupations which were open to them before the war. More unfair still, the intention is revealed to push the women out of the fresh industries, or new branches of industry, which have been created and developed by the women, and even this is authorised by the new measure.

We are assured that this is an "agreed" Bill. It is agreed in the sense that its provisions have been dictated by a particularly narrow-minded clique of trade unionists and accepted by the employers concerned on the principle of "peace at any price." The hundreds of thousands of women involved have had no part or lot or say in the matter. The Bill puts the women at the mercy of the men. The trade unions are given power to exclude women from every branch of industry which can possibly be described as engineering. Representative women trade unionists and workers in women's interests have endeavoured to secure justice, but without the slightest success. The Socialists have openly declared that no consideration of justice for the women must be allowed to stand in the way of the "campaign against capitalism." The women are to be kept out with a view to hastening the overthrow of the capitalist system. The fact that the women came forward to help the nation in its hour of trial, and that many of these women might now be useful in the production of many things so urgently needed by all classes counts for nothing in their eyes. The fact that the casualties of war have reduced the number of available husbands and condemned many women to lonely and independent lives is ignored by them. The women are to starve, industries are to be short of labour, and the nation is to go short of commodities, in order that the wild young Socialists may fight capitalism. It is to be hoped that the majority of trade union workmen will adopt the broad view and refuse to take the unfair advantages permitted by this latest measure. The question of employing women in unsuitable industries, or occupations, does not arise; the point is that women should be given a fair chance to earn wages under good conditions, in light and simple trades, and that the community should have the benefit of the increased production that would result therefrom.

The question of trade prospects is important in this matter of fixing up the conditions that are to govern our industries. Let us get it firmly set in our minds that the world is so short of goods—particularly manufactured and engineering goods—that there is as much trade offering as we can possibly cope with even if we employ every furnace, factory, man and woman we have got; let us realise that if only we get settled down to work, producing enough coal and iron and other materials, the problem will not be what shall we do with the unemployed but where shall we find enough workers; then we shall be in the right frame of mind for making good industrial agreements regarding hours, wages, woman labour and so forth. There is a tremendous and long-sustained trade boom in immediate prospect if only labour and capital will co-operate intelligently. On the one hand, employers must recognise that business and prices are going to be so good that they can afford to pay very high wages conditional upon obtaining anything like high-scale production. On the other hand workmen must realise that we cannot get enough trade to provide ample employment and high wages, we cannot have an abundance of commodities for our own consumption, we cannot have prosperity in any shape or form unless our instruments of production—our mines and factories—are made to produce in abundance and with reasonable economy. The recognition of these fundamental truths is the biggest of all big needs today in the British industrial world.

F. T. Good.

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WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

A Review of Cause and Effect.

In the guise of a review of the Report of the War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry, the *Quarterly Review* for July has an important article on this subject by Sir Lynden Macassey, who was a member of that committee, and who has been engaged from the beginning of the war in organising women's labour.

The need of increasing production is now an accepted fact, but the "latent and unutilised capacities for production possessed by women" are unrecognised as yet. The article explains the problem from the economic point of view, and is divided into the three parts—before the war, during the war, and for the future.

Before the War.

"One may accurately summarise the pre-war position of women in industry by saying that it was pre-eminently characterised by a demarcation of work which handicapped severely women's potentialities, and by conditions of work which seriously impaired their physical and mental well-being." Such demarcation is economically sound so far as it excluded women from work beyond the compass of their strength, but only a comparatively small amount of it can be so explained. For the rest, it was due to the success of the men and their trades unions in claiming all the best and most highly remunerated classes of work, and to the prejudice of many employers to women workers. The conditions of work are described as "dehumanising." Wages were pittances, owing to the supply of women at such rates being ample. Many worked merely for pocket-money, others as a supplement to the family wage; they were unorganised, and had no power of collective bargaining. As a result woman labour was regarded as "cheap" or of the "blackleg" type. Environment was inferior to that of the men, owing to want of trades-union pressure and to shortage of factory inspectors.

During the War.

"At the end of the war, as compared with pre-war days, women had literally leapt, as agents of production, and by inherent economic powers and aptitude, into a position of eminence in the industrial work previously undreamt of even by themselves." Many had replaced men, and the "character of the work in 'women' trades was fundamentally altered." In skilled and jobbing work they were less efficient, but then the whole war period was less than the normal time of apprenticeship, and in comparison with youths put on at the same time they learnt as quickly or quicker. On work involving severe physical effort they did less in a given time than men. In "excess-production" work they proved equal, often superior, to men. "They seemed temperamentally immune to the deadening effect of monotonous work, to which men, on the other hand, are peculiarly susceptible." On the other hand, in work which needed a "combination of quick intelligence and manual dexterity within a limited ambit, women were invariably superior to men."

The statistical information upon which these general conclusions have been based is not disclosed in detail; possibly the summing up of the evidence is based substantially upon the opinions of those best qualified to testify as to conditions prevailing within specific industries. An estimate of the quality of the women worker when compared with the man worker may theoretically be improved when we reflect that the war woman worker was often drawn from scratch material, whereas the "indispensable" male worker, a trained person, was very largely in his place throughout the war.

The Future.

Sir Lynden lays down three master principles which should regulate women's future station in industry. The paragraph is worth quoting in full:

"First, women should always be entitled to such employment as is fully commensurate with their economic attributes and industrial qualifications. This concedes what is commonly called 'equality of opportunity,' repudiates the sex-prejudice by which women workers have been so unjustly handicapped, and, at the same time, discountenances the extravagant claims of certain sections of women that all kinds of artificial grades should be introduced into industry merely to assist the entrance of women. Secondly, the work at which, and the conditions under which, they are employed must be compatible physiologically and psychologically with their sex peculiarities. It cannot and must not be overlooked that women are 'the mothers of the race.' Thirdly, women must not be allowed to undercut and displace men. This is a practical danger which, if it became habitual, would be fatal to industrial concord. Without any doubt, as things are to-day, a woman of efficiency equal to a man, if obtainable—as she is in many cases—can always be secured, especially in unorganised trades, for substantially less remuneration than the man. It is imperative that this should not take place."

The Lesson.

We make no excuse for giving this short *epitome* of an economic paper. Physiological principles will more and more govern the handling of economic problems in the future. It is to the medical profession that the Government, the employer, and the Labour leader will turn for advice on these principles. We must therefore study to a greater degree than we have done in the past each economic problem as it comes to the fore. Perhaps at the same time we should remember that we must continue to study physiology long after the time that it has been customary to do so, in order that the advice we give may be based upon modern and up-to-date knowledge.

The Challenge. Oct 31 '19

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THE FIGHT THE FAMINE COUNCIL: ITS WORK.

FIGHT the Famine! Save the Children! These are fine rallying cries and they have been ringing in our ears for nearly a year. Are we weary of them? Do they express a passing emotion already burning out?

To those who really know, the crusade seems but hardly begun—for there is another reinforcing cry which has arisen in the last three months,—the League of Nations in peril! The threefold call is but one—a challenge to choose this day life or death for the human race. But what, it is asked again and again, can we do? How fight the famine, save the children, make secure the League of Nations? It is so easy to hold aloof, to say others wiser than ourselves are dealing with the matter and we must not "harass" them by interferences; it is easy to say the thing is inevitable, let us eat and drink even if to-morrow we, or others—especially others—die; it is easiest of all to abuse the government.

Nevertheless we, the ordinary men and women, remain responsible. We cannot really get away from it. Just as the gladiator's life in ancient times depended on the upturned thumbs of the crowd, so does the future of the world depend, not upon governments nor upon destiny, but upon the will of the people.

To come to concrete things. Some are confused when they learn that "Save the Children," "Fight the Famine," are not only rallying cries, but are the names of organisations, and being confused provides as good a reason for inaction as those set out above, so it is well to explain. There are, apart from the old-established relief societies, of the Friends and others, two organisations, with, so to speak, one adjunct—closely allied in purpose and in personnel, but distinct. The "adjunct" is the Fight the Famine Information Bureau (Hon. Sec. Mrs. C. B. Buxton), the two main bodies are the Fight the Famine Council and its daughter, the Save the Children Fund. The Fight the Famine Council was founded early this year; its office is 329, High Holborn, W.C., its chairman Lord Parmoor, its treasurer Mr. Noel Buxton; its secretary Miss Sheepshanks: its purpose to enlighten and organise public opinion and to bring legitimate political pressure in regard to the economic instability in Europe. Among its council it numbers Canon Barnes, Lord Henry Bentinck, Dr. John Clifford, Mr. J. R. Clynes, Lady Courtney of Penwith, Principal Garvie, Mr. Arthur Henderson, Mr. J. A. Hobson, Mr. George Lansbury, Miss Emily Leaf, Miss Mary MacArthur, Mr. H. W. Massingham, Professor Gilbert and Lady Mary Murray, Lady Parmoor, the Bishop of Peterborough, Miss Maude Royden and other representatives of various schools of thought. The Save the Children Fund was founded a little later. Its Hon. Sec. is Miss Eglantine Jebb, its chairman Lord Weardale, one of its patrons Lord Robert Cecil, its offices 7, St. James Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W. (removed from Holborn). It is distinct from the Fight the Famine Council because it refrains from political action, and from entering upon the questions of the causes and permanent remedy for the condition in Europe, and devotes itself to the task of raising and dispensing funds for the immediate relief, by voluntary means, of the children.

The special purpose of this article is to show that the work of the Fight the Famine Council as well as of the Save the Children Fund is necessary to combat the monster that threatens, and to win from the readers of THE CHALLENGE their generous support, both moral and material, for the less immediately and visibly effective, because more complicated, task of the Fight the Famine Council. The duty of giving immediate relief in kind is plain; if the duty of, as Sir William Goode, head of the British Relief Commission, put it a few days ago, helping the nations to help themselves, is not also plain, it must be made so.

The last years have taught us that persuasion by economic pressure is as hideous a thing to millions of human beings to-day, as was persuasion in the torture chamber in old time to an individual. The Fight the Famine Council seeks, apart from party politics as such, apart from private interests, apart from the advantage of a strong nation because it is strong, to help to solve, by every effort of brain and heart, the economic problem of paralysed Europe. The stake is not only war or peace between nations, but war or peace within nations. Only by the re-establishment of economic stability on a basis of co-operation can the human dignity of the nations be restored. The children die for want of food and clothing and fuel, but the grown-up people die a worse death, not only physical but mental and moral, because they lack, not only physical sustenance, but the means to express themselves by the exercise of their natural faculties.

It is obvious that grave financial and economic problems are involved, such as the ordinary man and woman are only too apt to think are the concern of the expert alone. But because we are a self-governing nation, we cannot, even if we would, refuse responsibility because our talents are few. What our governors do in our name, we do.

The Fight the Famine Council bases its right and duty to exist upon this fact. But it does not ignore the sister fact that the highly complex theory and practice of economics and finance are not created and applied by the heart alone, without the laborious studies of the expert. For a twofold reason, therefore, it is organising an International Economic Conference to be held in London early in November, to be followed (on the evening of November 5th), by a great meeting at the Central Hall, Westminster, to which the general public are invited, and at which an effort will be made to see whether the heart and brain and will of men and women of good will, whether students or ordinary people, cannot fight with and prevail over the demon of chaos that stands in the path.

A. HELEN WARD.

Evening News 8. 11. '19.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT.

(By William Graham, M.P.)

The war has done much to hasten publi decisions regarding the position of women i industry. At the moment they are pro foundly interested in the important industria Bills which have just been presented to Parliament, and are now under discussion. Nothing more unfortunate could occur than that in dealing with such issues pre-war standards in thought and practice regarding women's work should prevail. Let us look briefly at some of the leading points which now confront men and women electors especially in the industrial areas.

Riches in Blue-Books.

The subject as a whole has been discussed in an exhaustive report by a War Cabinet Committee. Unfortunately, so powerful is the appeal of the illustrated periodical and other forms of the rapidly passing press that Blue-Books are hardly ever read; they are supposed to be for professors and students and the doubtful men called politicians. This report is really a very human document, for it brings home to women the great significance of the part they are playing in industry. There is a widespread impression, for example, that women should always receive lower remuneration than men. It would probably be difficult to cite a better example of the orthodox mischief which for so many years ruled this country. But the first recommendation of this Committee as to the principles which should now govern the relations between men's and women's wages is that women doing similar or the same work as men should receive equal pay for equal work, in the sense that pay should be in proportion to efficient output. It will be observed that this covers the principle that under systems of payment by results equal payment should be made to women as to men for an equal amount of work done. It would be impossible to exaggerate the importance of the application of this principle. It is obvious that while it would effect one of the silent and beneficent revolutions in industry which are always taking place in any progressive country, it would spread beyond industry, and touch the whole problem of responsibility for the obligations of the home. Up to a point the wages of men have often been determined by the view that they were primarily and legally responsible for the maintenance of the home, as, indeed, they are. But steps to sex equality in industry may be merely the prelude to that equality in the domestic sphere which has been the inspiration of much of the suffrage activity of recent years.

Men and Women as Producers.

It was further recommended that the relative value of work done by women and men on time on the same or similar jobs should be agreed between employers and Trade Unions. This could be done through the recognised channels of negotiation; it might be a trade board or an industrial council, an illustration of the very important work that these organisations may be called upon to perform. But let us suppose that an employer argues that a woman worker in his employment is not able to produce as much as a man. In that case the recommendation was that the burden of proof should rest on the employer. He would also have to produce evidence of the lower value of the woman's work. To that lower value, provided it is proved, it is suggested that the fixed sum to be deducted from the man's rate for the particular job throughout the whole of the industry should strictly correspond. No doubt, there would be many difficulties in determining the precise rate. Everyone is aware that when we begin to discuss value we embark upon a very restless and perilous ocean. The principle, however, is perfectly clear; women are not to be sweated because they are women; and women's work is not to be used to undermine the wage rates which men have won, and the maintenance of which is frankly recognised by the Government as absolutely necessary in view of the continued high cost of living.

When Women Were Sweated.

Now there were many spheres in which women in pre-war times were shamefully underpaid; in some of them, despite war conditions, the improvement to-day is not conspicuous. We all remember the painful facts which were revealed by the dressmakers' strike in Edinburgh two years ago, and the unanimity of public opinion in favour of the women and girls involved. Laundry workers in the past have been poorly paid for what is really an exhausting occupation. Women and girl clerks often received only a few shillings weekly. What really happened was that their parents or other wage-earners in their homes assisted them, and to that extent they were really subsidising their employers, who should have given them better conditions. No doubt many of the dressmakers and the laundry workers and the women clerks have improved their position; simple justice demanded that; but there is still much unnecessary wrong and suffering. To that also the Cabinet Committee directed its attention. It lays much stress on the view that the employment of women in commercial and clerical occupations especially requires regulation in accordance with the principle of equal pay for equal work. It further urges that this principle should be early and fully adopted for the manipulative branches of the Civil Service. Indeed, the Government were told very firmly that they should adopt the application of the principle with the least possible delay to their own establishments, that they should make it a condition of any Government contract involving the employment of men and women, and that the separate grades and separate examinations for women clerks in the Civil Service should be abolished, placing men and women on an equal footing in the competition for appointments.

Can Industry be Beautiful?

In addition to these recommendations, much attention was devoted to the conditions under which women and girls work in industrial establishments. The proposals involved amendment of the Factory and Workshops Acts to provide for suitable reduction in the hours of work, including arrangement of spells and pauses, overtime and night work; the provision of labour-saving devices to avoid unnecessary fatigue; an improved system of sanitation; the provision of canteens, rest-rooms, surgeries, especially where the industry is somewhat dangerous in character; and the general supervision of the health of the workers, individually and collectively. Much that is involved in these proposals has been the subject of acute investigation under what is known as scientific mangement, a sphere in which we have much to learn from the recent industrial history of the United States. Many of the progressive employers in this country have appreciated and even anticipated the value of these proposals. They have agreed with the best minds among the industrial workers that there is no reason why work should not be pleasant and agreeable, and that there cannot be the best in output or in anything else in industry where the task is a monotonous grind, from which even the elementary decencies are removed. All that is wanted is a little imagination and courage, and we can replace these hideous industrial areas, now covered with grime, ugly, repulsive, with every green thing vanished from the face of the earth, by the conditions which even now prevail at a Port Sunlight and elsewhere, where men and women know that industry, too, can be dignified and beautiful and in keeping with the highest aims and hopes of a generous people.

Northern Daily Telegraph.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1919.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

The Women's Industrial League has published a report of an inquiry conducted by the Information Department with regard to the employment of women in industry. The report is issued in grateful tribute "to the women who came forward in the country's greatest crisis, confiding their future interests as workers to the State without any guarantee." The report shows a great increase in the number of women workers in the establishments engaged on work directly and indirectly connected during the war with the manufacture of munitions. The numbers have fallen since the war ceased, but there is still 84 per cent. increase over pre-war figures. In a "foreword" to the report gratification is expressed of the wholehearted appreciation for the women's work expressed by some of the employers, "and it is especially pleasing to find that while numbers of these women were introduced on to work of an entirely new character, they were able by their concentration, adapability, and determination in a comparatively short space of time to prove themselves valuable producers, winning the respect of their instructors and the praise of a large majority of the employers. These facts are infinitely satisfactory in view of the great wall of prejudice built up during many years of opposition to the admission of women to work requiring mechanical skill."

Yet well as the women performed their work, many have now to stand aside. Thousands of women have been turned out of the industries, despite their acquired skill and utility, "even though we are told that the shortage of the necessities of life is unprecedented, and that the delay in developing the housing schemes throughout the country is largely due to the lack of trained labour." An earnest appeal is made for an honest endeavour to establish in industry a basis of true loyalty between women and men. Many of the firms which employed women during the war have stated their willingness to retain some of them; others regret that their dismissal has been rendered necessary in order to provide for the demobilised soldiers and owing to lack of trade and the uncertainty of the future. Several firms are ready to reinstate women if agreements with the trade unions can be made; some others hope, with the expansion of trade, to begin new branches of work involving light operations, on which they propose to employ women.

Analysing the employers' attitude to the retention of women in industry, the report states that "if the number of firms who have never employed women is deducted from the total number of returns, there remain 1,146 firms employing women during the war (over 80 per cent.), and 382 of these (33 per cent.) had employed them before the war. It is interesting to note that 67 firms of this last-mentioned group propose to increase their numbers, in consequence of the greater experience of women's work gained by them during the war. Of the 764 firms employing women for the first time during the war, 228 (30 per cent., or over 16 per cent. of the total returns) propose retaining them. These firms make their remarks without commenting on the present labour situation. A further 97 firms state that they would be willing to retain women if it were not for trade union opposition to such a policy. Thus 707 firms (over 60 per cent.) of those who have tested women's work express themselves ready to continue their employment, because it has proved to be so successful. Nor must it be assumed that the remaining 439 firms are necessarily unwilling to use women's labour. Some are in the throes of reconstruction and unable to give an opinion, or in the process of regaining their pre-war trade, while others would be willing if work suitable for women is at any time forthcoming."

The objects of the Women's Industrial League, it should be explained, are to secure for women equal opportunities for employment in all occupations; equal training and educational facilities; equal treatment in regard to pay and working conditions; adequate representation of women by women on all official committees and public bodies. All women over eighteen years of age who support the above objects are eligible for membership.

Morning Post 20.11.'19

WOMEN IN WHITEHALL.

Protest on Behalf of Seventy Thousand Dismissed.

A protest meeting against the dismissal of women from Government offices was held last night at Caxton Hall, Westminster. The chair was occupied by Miss Key Jones, General Organising Secretary of the Women's Industrial League.

Mrs. Archdale, hon. secretary, thought that there was a certain danger in pushing the discharged soldier into jobs for which he might not be fitted, and which, later on, he might not be able to hold. Every soldier was not necessarily a clerk. It would be a terrible danger to the health of women if they were forced back into the worse than sweated labour from which they had scarcely emerged before the war. Other speakers followed in the same strain, one of whom stated that between sixty and seventy thousand women had been dismissed. Eventually a resolution was unanimously carried protesting against the dismissal of women, and calling on the Government to recognise the services of such women as are necessarily dismissed by providing adequate employment donation and by establishing training schools in suitable occupations for them.

Morning Post 1.11.'19

WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL LEAGUE.

The Women's Industrial League, in a statement on the reconstruction work of the League, says the training schemes for women already in operation are restricted and inadequate; tailoring, dressmaking, upholstery, laundry, and cookery training cannot do more than touch the fringe of the question as to the future well-being of women thrown out of employment through the cessation of war work. The League demands a very much wider scheme of training.

Times. 19.11.'19

DISCHARGED WOMEN CLERKS.

A meeting arranged by the Women's Industrial League, protesting against the dismissal of women clerks from Government offices without any provision being made for them, will be held at the Caxton Hall to-night, with the support of the National Union of Clerks, the Women Clerks' and Secretaries' Association, and the Civil Service Union.

Common Cause 7.11.'19.

Turning Out the Women.

To read some newspapers to-day, and to hear some people talk, one would imagine that they wanted all women, no matter how experienced, to be turned out of professions and industries so long as one man remained unemployed. Sweeping assertions are made without instancing any particular cases of women actually taking the positions of demobilised soldiers. Educated women who have done excellent work in Government offices are termed "flappers," and are jeered at and boycotted. Many new departments have necessarily started during the war, and women should have their share of the clerical work needed. Women yield to none in acknowledging that ex-soldiers have the first claim to consideration, but there is plenty of work to be done, and there is also a woman's side to the question. Many of the women in Government offices were already earning their living before the war, and took up this work as a means of putting their experience at the disposal of the country. It is only fair that the services of these women should be retained as long as they are needed. Again, a large number who before the war were not obliged to work, are now forced by economic conditions into the labour market. It is extraordinary that at a time like the present the services of every experienced man and woman should not be considered of value to the country. A bank manager said, in answer to an enquiry a few days ago: "My women clerks are excellent. I shall keep them as long as I am allowed to." Is it not strange that an employer should not be "allowed" to employ the workers whom he considers the most efficient? *The Daily News* gave a leader to this problem last week, and summed it up by saying: "What is plain in the meanwhile is that it is not possible to 'turn the women out,' if turning them out is a synonym for starving them."

Common Cause 16.1.20.

The Women's Industrial League.

The Women's Industrial League, which has for its chief object the economic equality and independence of women, is very active in educating young women to appreciate the importance of organisation on these lines. It has a speaker's class, and its Monday lecture and discussion, which is open to the public, offers an opportunity to all wage-earning women to learn what equality is and what it is not. This week the speaker was Captain Sanders, the Secretary of the Fabian Society. In answer to a question the speaker advised women in employments which had no already established Trade Union for men and women together, to organise themselves rather than co-operate in a mixed Trade Union. His belief that women organising alone were less handicapped by inexperience than if they act in combination with men is interesting, and deserves a very full discussion.

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Times · Oct 1919

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Globe 18.11.19

702 A

PEACE LEVEL OF WAGES.

MANY DEMANDS BY LABOUR.

RISING COST OF LIVING.

(BY OUR LABOUR CORRESPONDENT.)

The announcement in the current issue of the *Labour Gazette* that the general level of retail prices of food and other items on October 1 was 120 per cent. above the pre-war level, as compared with 115 per cent. a month earlier, will not be overlooked by trade unionists. Though these figures are not accepted by the workers as more than index numbers, sufficient importance is attached to them when any proposal to demand higher wages is afoot.

Take, for example, the case of the ironfounders. When their application for an advance of 15s. a week was before the Interim Court of Arbitration last June, the cost of living figure stood at 105 per cent. The application was rejected. Since then, as the following table shows, the figure has increased until it now stands higher than it has been for eight months and nearly as high as it was just before the Armistice.

January	120	June	105
February	120	July	105-110
March	115	August	115
April	110	September	115
May	105	October	120

There is no sign of any downward movement. On the contrary, with increases in rents, rates and railway charges in prospect a further rise may be expected. In these circumstances the ironfounders have perhaps naturally taken the view that a guarantee against any reduction in present earnings before September 30, 1920, will not help them to meet their increasing household expenses, and they have therefore decided to persist in their strike, not against any threatened cutting of wages, but in support of a demand for higher wages. They struck nearly a month ago for an advance of 15s. a week.

Within a few days, under the national agreement to which they were parties, a wage application for at least that amount will come before the Arbitration Court from some 50 trade unions in the engineering and kindred trades; but the award will not be known for some weeks and will not become operative until December 1. The ironfounders, who are no longer parties to the agreement, have rejected by constitutional procedure of the ballot a settlement made by their leaders, and the strike which should have ended to-day is to continue. No doubt the leaders of the three unions concerned will lose no time in seeking a new settlement with the employers, and it is anticipated that negotiations for this purpose will be reopened early this week.

BONUS AND PERMANENT WAGES.

To-day the Minister of Labour is to have a further conference with representatives of the Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades, the A.S.E., and the National Federation of General Workers on the question of the method of dealing with wages, with particular reference to the conversion of war bonuses into permanent wages, the procedure for settling future demands for advances, and the renewal or discontinuance of the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act. There are here two distinct issues—"consolidation" and "stabilization." On September 19, as reported in *The Times* of the following day, Sir Robert Horne had a general consultation with the unions on the peace basis of wages, and arranged to meet them again after he had ascertained the views of the employers.

Last week the Minister had a conference with representatives of the Confederation of Employers' Organizations, but what the result was it is impossible to say. "Consolidation"—that is, the conversion of present wages, including war advances, into permanent rates of wages—is obviously a question for negotiation and settlement by employers and workers, without, if possible, any dictation by the Government. But "stabilization" is a question for the Government to decide. Already, in the case of the railwaymen, they have given a guarantee against any reduction in present wages until September 30, 1920. The offer of the Engineering Employers' Federation to give a similar guarantee to the ironfounders may be regarded as the first-fruits of the railway strike. It is difficult to see how the Government could now refuse, if there were any real demand for it, an extension of the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act from November 21, when it is due to expire, to the end of next September. This is a question which will have to be settled in the next week or two, for legislation would be needed to prolong the operation of the Act, and it is not certain that such legislation would be regarded in Parliament as non-contentious.

NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL.

To-morrow, Mr. Henderson, Mr. G. D. H. Cole, and other representatives of the workers' side of the Provisional Joint Committee of the Industrial Conference are to see the Minister of Labour in order to discuss the exclusion of agriculture from the 48-Hour Bill, and the threatened abandonment by Labour of the scheme for a National Industrial Council.

On Wednesday a special conference of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain will be held. It was originally called to consider the high cost of living, the question of the income-tax exemption level, and payment for week-end work. The South Wales miners have some rather drastic proposals to put forward in regard to wages. They also intend to suggest that the Government's refusal to raise the exemption level to £250 should be met by a general refusal to pay income-tax. There is material enough in these proposals for a lively conference, and perhaps some violent decisions.

THE NATIONALIZATION DEMAND.

But it is expected that these questions will be overshadowed by the question of the nationalization of mines. The Government have given a firm refusal to the demand for nationalization, and Mr. Frank Hodges has replied at a Labour meeting by a mysterious reference to the "strategic policy" of the miners, which "in the next three months may put your loyalty to the test." What that "policy" is only Mr. Hodges and his colleagues know.

On Thursday the negotiations between the N.U.R. and the Government on the standardization of railwaymen's wages will be continued. At last week's meeting in Downing-street, it is understood, Mr. J. H. Thomas put forward some general proposals as a basis for discussion. The Prime Minister and his fellow-Ministers undertook to consider them, and their reply will probably be given to Mr. Thomas this week.

The third party to the Triple Alliance—the Transport Workers' Federation—is not inactive. It has just obtained an arbitration award of a wage increase for tramway and omnibus workers and it has submitted to the employers new and rather considerable demands for dock and riverside workers.

Morning Post 13.11.'19.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

Attitude of Firms to Their Retention.

The question of the extent to which women may, with advantage to themselves and from the point of view of national production, be employed in industry is raised in a report issued by the Women's Industrial League founded under the presidency of Viscountess Rhondda as soon as hostilities ceased, and whose object it is "to secure equality of treatment and opportunity for employment of women." The report, which embodies information received from over 1,400 firms, covering a wide field in engineering and other trades, calls attention to the thousands of women who have been turned out of these industries despite the shortage of trained labour, and the necessity for increased production.

TRADE UNION OBSTACLE.

A circular letter with a *questionnaire* attached was addressed to 5,000 firms in England, Scotland, and Wales, and replies were received from 1,422. Firms who have employed women on the lighter processes have (says the report) expressed themselves, almost without exception, as being highly satisfied with their work; many state they are willing to retain some of the women, and others regret that the return of the demobilised soldiers, lack of trade, and the uncertainty of the future has meant their dismissal. Several firms promise to reinstate the women if agreements with the Trade Unions can be made.

At the end of May, 1919, it appears that 79,700 women were employed, as against 24,300 before the war. A third of the firms who employed women for the first time during the war have been able to retain them on some processes, and a further third would be willing to keep them on but for the opposition to such a policy. Of the firms which had employed women in pre-war days, 67 propose to increase their number.

Morning Post 29.11.'19.

Viscountess Rhondda, presiding at a public meeting last night, convened by the Women's Industrial League, said the attitude of the Ministry of Labour appeared to be that there were only three forms of work suitable to women—tailoring, laundry work, and domestic service. The Ministry, she added, must have been asleep during the war.

WORK OF THE WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL LEAGUE.

"We are out to see women's status raised, politically, industrially, and professionally," said Miss Key Jones, the able secretary of the Women's Industrial League. "Among other activities we have brought forward the question of women architects before the Ministry of Health in connection with their housing scheme, and we have secured the support of the Ministry in appointing women architects. Already several names have been brought forward."

Lady Rhondda's Interest.

The Women's Industrial League was formed barely 11 months ago, with Lady Rhondda as president, to safeguard the interests of industrial women. An interesting report on women in engineering and other trades shows that, though the number of women employed are, of course, lower since hostilities ceased, there still remains an 84 per cent. increase over pre-war figures.

The report has been compiled from information obtained from over 1,400 firms, covering a wide field in engineering and other trades. The question of civil workers in Government offices is not dealt with.

Ability the Only Test.

On the whole, judging by answers to a questionaire sent out by the League, women appear to have justified their entry into the realm of industry.

One employer writes that he is "dead against any attempt to exclude women from any profession or industry. The only test should be that of ability."

Furniture Making.

Among post-war industries for women where there are many light processes involved is furniture making, an industry in which women have made big strides during the war, even being employed as carpenters. Another industry which belongs essentially to women is the making of toys.

Ninety-seven firms say that they would willingly employ women on machines and others on work for which they have proved suitable were it not for the opposition of the trade unions.

Manchester Guardian 8.11.'19

A Report on Women's Industry.

It is only a year since the Women's Industrial League was formed, with Lady Rhondda as president, to safeguard the interests of industrial women. The idea was that the position of those women would inevitably be changed by the ending of the war. Now the League has published a report on women in engineering and other trades, founded on answers received from over 1,400 firms to inquiries which were sent to 5,000 firms.

The report shows that, though the numbers of women employed have so greatly decreased, there still remains an 84 per cent increase over pre-war figures. A foreword suggests that the reasons given by the firms for dispensing with the women's services and the difficulties said to prevent their reintroduction could in many cases be dispelled by a proper understanding of the position. Ninety-seven firms say they would willingly continue to employ women expert machinists and others on work for which they have proved very suitable were it not for the opposition of the trade unions. One employer writes that he is "dead against any attempt to exclude women from any profession or industry. The only test should be that of ability."

The many extracts from employers' letters, both for and against the continued employment of women, are of considerable value, and so is the table showing the increased number of processes on which women have been engaged.

Iron & Coal Trades Review Jan 23. 20.

Some 5,000 firms in Great Britain have been asked by the Women's Industrial League for a statement of their experience of women as industrial workers. Over 1,400 replies have been received, covering a wide field in engineering and other trades, and, upon the whole, they may be regarded as satisfactory by the League. The replies, as scheduled, show that 1,422 firms were employing 79,700 women at the end of May last, as compared with 43,200 before the war, and 245,300 during the war. Of 382 firms who employed women before the war, 67 propose to increase the number, in consequence of the larger experience of women's work gained by them; while of 764 who employed women for the first time during the war, 228 propose to retain them. A further 97 firms state that they would be willing to retain women but for trade union opposition. Taking all the figures, the estimate is that over 60 per cent. of those who have tested women's work are ready to continue employing them. In some districts women are employed in certain industrial processes without opposition from men, while in others they are debarred from sharing in those very processes.

Daily Telegraph - 13. 3. 20.

WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL LEAGUE.

Miss Julia Varley, who has done much for domestic w rkers in Birmingham, will address a meeting to be held by the Women's Industrial League in the Conference Hall, Central-buildings, Westminster, next Monday, at 8 p.m., on "The Organization of Domestic Workers."

Engineering 7. 3. 20

RESTORATION OF PRE-WAR PRACTICES IN WORKSHOPS.

An important judgment was given by Mr. Justice Roche on February 27, 1920, in an appeal by Messrs. Smith, Barker and Willson, machine tool makers, Halifax, against a judgment of the Halifax Munitions Tribunal in a prosecution against them on behalf of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers under the Restoration of Pre-War Practices Act. The facts, as they appear from the judgment of the Tribunal, were as follows :—

Prior to the war, females were not employed by the firm on machine work, but during the war the firm introduced female labour on fitting, turning, slotting and general machine work, and they still continued to employ a considerable number of women on that work. The object of the prosecution was to compel the firm to revert to male labour. The Union contended that as the firm had departed during, and in consequence of, the war from the pre-war practice of the establishment they were bound by the Restoration of Pre-War Practices Act to restore their pre-war practice and have the work done by male labour for the period of one year fixed by the Act. On the other hand, the firm contended that there was a general practice in the industry of employing women on the work in question and that although they had departed from their own pre-war practice they had not departed from the trade practice and were therefore not bound to revert to male labour. The Tribunal adopted the union's contention and, it is understood, refused to hear evidence of the general practice, and convicted the firm of a breach of the Act and imposed a modified fine. The firm appealed. The appeal raised the question of the construction of Section 1 (sub-section 1) of the Act, on which conflicting decisions had been given by the tribunals in different parts of the country. Read by themselves the words of the Act seem plain enough. They are as follows :—

"Where in any establishment to which this Act applies, any rule, practice or custom obtaining before the war in any industry or branch of an industry (hereinafter referred to as a trade practice) has during and in consequence of the present war been departed from, the owner of that establishment shall be under an obligation . . . to restore or permit the restoration of the trade practice so previously obtaining, and for one year after such restoration is effected, or if it has been effected before the date of the passing of this Act for one year after that date, to maintain and permit the continuance of the trade practice."

The unions, however, relied on the fact that paragraph 1 (which has been repealed by the Restoration of Pre-War Practices Act) of Schedule II of the Munitions of War Act, 1915, provided in effect that any departure during the war from the practices "ruling in the workshops, shipyards and other industries" prior to the war, should be only for the period of the war, and that in terms of paragraph 6 the owners of a controlled establishment were bound to keep a record of the nature of every departure from the conditions prevailing when the establishment became a controlled establishment.

Mr. Justice Roche pointed out that it did not follow that every departure from the conditions which prevailed in an establishment at the time when it became controlled was a departure from a trade practice; and he held that the words above quoted from the Restoration of Pre-War Practices Act deal with trade practices of general application. He added: "In this connection I observe that much stress is laid in the decision under review upon the consideration that unless its view be adopted the Act will be nugatory. I do not agree. Exceptions may exist in this as in other spheres where rules are ascertainable, and in my view neither universality nor absolute uniformity is necessary to establish the existence of a rule, custom or practice within the meaning of this Act. The good sense of tribunals can, I am sure, be trusted to administer the Act without any necessity to limit their purview to each particular establishment brought before them to the exclusion of more general consideration."

The conviction was therefore quashed and the case was remitted back to the Tribunal to be proceeded with in accordance with the above ruling. A judgment to the same effect was given a few days later, viz., on March 2, 1920, by the Scottish Munitions Appeals Judge, Lord Sands, in the Glasgow case of Prentice *v.* Wm. McPhail and Sons.

702a/16

Common Cause
2. 1. 20.

A Pre-War Practices Case in Glasgow.

An important decision has just been delivered in Glasgow on the question of restoration of pre-war practices as it affects the employment of women in brass-moulders' work. Three women had done light core work during the war in a factory which had customarily employed apprentices for that process, and the Brassmoulders' Union complained that they were retained in contravention of the Restoration of Pre-war Practices Act. The Sheriff upheld the complaint on the ground that the "practice" to be restored was the pre-war custom of the individual establishment, not of the trade or industry as a whole. Leave of appeal was granted, and the case is likely to be heard before the Appeal Judge in Edinburgh. If the Sheriff's decision stands the three women in question must be dismissed, but the right of women to work in establishments where they had been employed contrary to the usual trade custom before the war, would seem to be guaranteed. The balance of advantage will then on the whole be against women. But the exact wording of the Appeal Judge's verdict will be carefully watched for its bearing on the much larger question of establishments which have come into being since the outbreak of war. What is an "establishment" in this sense? Can the same firm employ women in some factories or some buildings of a factory and not in others, though the work is identical?

Morning Post
5. 2. 20.

TRAINING OF WOMEN.

A deputation comprising representatives of various women's organisations was received yesterday by Sir Robert Horne, the Minister of Labour. After a meeting lasting nearly three hours it was intimated that an official statement would probably be issued later. Mrs. Sanders, a member of the executive of the Women's Industrial League, introduced the deputation, which included Miss Key Jones, General Working Secretary of the Women's Industrial League; Miss Rennie, of Birmingham; Miss Reddell, representing the employees, and Miss Francis, representing the employers, of the Birmingham Scheme; and Miss Dorothy Evans, of the Association of Women Clerks and Secretaries.

The object of the conference was explained by Miss Key Jones, who said it was to secure for women a wider field of training in the industrial world. One of the main requisitions was that the maintenance grant should be made sufficient to maintain women and girls during the period of training. The deputation were by no means disappointed at the way in which their case was received.

Newcastle Journal
31. 1. 20

Women Out of Work.

Official figures give the number of unemployed women at 52,000, but, in the view of the Women's Industrial League, the true figure is nearly double, for the Employment Exchange returns do not include all working women, besides leaving out of account altogether a large number of the professional and clerical women who are still looking for something to do but have no use for the Employment Exchanges. Many women who had not earned their living before the war must now keep themselves, and sometimes dependants as well, in some cases because of deaths in action; in others because of diminished income. New and strong representations are being made to the Government to see that this large number of unemployed women are given opportunities for training, accompanied by an adequate maintenance grant, and that the doors of industry are not closed to them. It is contended that recently arranged rates tend to penalise women, and a case in point is that of Woolwich, where the Government is arranging to employ numbers of men but no women on peace-time employment.

Evening News.
29. 1. 20

A WAITRESSES' UNION?

An effort is to be made to organise London's waitresses and other women restaurant workers.

The matter has been taken up by the Women's Industrial League, who are holding a meeting next Monday at the Central Hall, Westminster.

An official of the League told The Evening News to-day that hundreds of waitresses in London are working under scandalous conditions.

The Machinery Market
6. 2. 20.

Some 5,000 firms in Great Britain have been asked by the Women's Industrial League for a statement of their experience of women as industrial workers. Over 1,400 replies have been received, covering a wide field in engineering and other trades, and, upon the whole, they may be regarded as satisfactory by the League. The replies, as scheduled, show that 1,422 firms were employing 79,700 women at the end of May last, as compared with 43,200 before the war and 245,300 during the war. Of 382 firms who employed women before the war, sixty-seven propose to increase the number, in consequence of the larger experience of women's work gained by them; while of 764 who employed women for the first time during the war, 228 propose to retain them. A further ninety-seven firms state that they would be willing to retain women but for trade union opposition. Taking all the figures, the estimate is that over 60 per cent. of those who have tested women's work are ready to continue employing them. In some districts women are employed in certain industrial processes without opposition from men, while in others they are debarred from sharing in those very processes.

Morning Post
23. 2. 20.

50,000 WOMEN WAR-WORKERS UNEMPLOYED.

The Women's Industrial League calls attention to the fact that while the solution of economic and financial problems is to be found in increased production, there are over 50,000 women war-workers now unemployed. They are anxious to increase the national wealth, but are not allowed. By the Pre-War Practices Act women have been turned out of works at Halifax and Glasgow, while at Bath, Rochdale, and several other places women have been dismissed at the instance of the Unions concerned. These women, the League protests, do not want to undercut or to take away other people's jobs, but only to help in industry so that their employment may mean greater employment for all.

Times Emergency Supplement
20. 2. 1920

The Apprenticeship of Girls.

Those who believe that women might be employed advantageously both to themselves and to the country in many of the lighter branches of the mechanical trades must realize that a proper training in handicraft is a necessity to all workers who aspire to be more than mere machine minders or unskilled employees. More than this, such training, if it is to be useful in a factory, must be acquired in a factory where manufacturing is carried out on a commercial basis. Hence, if women are ever to be fitted for the more responsible and better-paid factory positions, some method of training girls must be provided. Equal training and educational facilities for both sexes is one of the objects of the Women's Industrial League, but we do not know how the league proposes to bring it about. To put young girls into the shops as boys are drafted in is simply out of the question in the opinion of every one familiar with workshop conditions, even if the trade unions would permit them to get their training in this way. If girls are to be apprenticed, they must get their training in special women's factories. Done systematically, it takes only a fraction of the time occupied in the old-fashioned apprenticeship, and it is rather surprising that those who have so firm a faith in the justice and expediency of opening the doors of the lighter and more skilled mechanical trades to women should not have shown the courage of their convictions by promoting the establishment of such factories. It might be necessary at first to rely upon a skeletal male organization until such time as a supply of suitably trained women for the executive positions was forthcoming; but in view of the vast number of women who have acquired a certain mechanical knowledge during the war, it should not be difficult to staff such a factory almost wholly with women, as, indeed, was done in more than one factory during the war. Not until some such step is taken is it likely that women will be provided with facilities for the training that is essential if they are to enter upon the better-paid positions open in industrial life.

702a/17

TRADES UNION CONGRESS GENERAL COUNCIL

Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W.1

APPLICATION FOR ADMISSION

TO THE

Mary Macarthur Holiday Home for Working Women

"THE GABLES," ONGAR, ESSEX

(1) Name	
(2) Address	
(3) Name and Address of nearest relative (in case of illness or emergency)	
(4) What was your age last birthday?	
(5) Are you Married or Single or a Widow? ..	
(6) What is your usual occupation? .. .. (in case of member's wife carrying out household duties insert "Housewife")	
(7) (*a*) Union of which you are (or your husband is) a member	
(*b*) Branch of Union	
(8) What is the date on which you wish to come? (Before you make any definite arrangements please await notification as to whether there is a vacancy on this date)	
(9) How long do you wish to stay?	

Visitors are asked to commence their holidays on Fridays or Saturdays, if possible. This enables Matron to organise the Staff work, and also the excursions and amusements of the visitors more easily and satisfactorily.

Please note that return Railway Tickets to Ongar can be obtained for one-and-a-third single fare on presentation at the Booking Office of a Voucher. This Voucher will be sent to you later.

If admitted to the Home, I agree to co-operate loyally with the Committee and the Matron in the arrangements for the comfort and well-being of the Visitors. I understand that :

(1) The length of stay cannot be more than two weeks, unless special sanction is received.

(2) No Visitor is allowed to bring intoxicants into the Home.

(3) Visitors should give the *Matron* 48 hours' notice of time of arrival.

(4) If it is desired that luggage should be conveyed from the station to the Home a note to this effect should be given to the Matron when sending date and time of arrival.

Signed..... *Date*.....

MEDICAL CERTIFICATE

It will be necessary to obtain and forward to the Trades Union Congress a MEDICAL CERTIFICATE on the special form prescribed by the Committee of the Home. All applicants should note that "The Gables" is a Rest and Holiday Home and not a Convalescent Home. There is no resident Doctor or Nurse.

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Westminster Gazette
12.12.17

AFTER THE WAR.

CAMPAIGN FOR INDUSTRIAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

It may be regarded as a sign of the times that, at the first meeting last evening of the Industrial Reconstruction Council, the Ministry of Reconstruction was represented by a woman—Miss Mona Wilson.

Before she joined the Ministry of Reconstruction Miss Wilson was National Health Insurance Commissioner for England, and she is also secretary of the Women's Trade Union League and a member of the Trade Boards for the chain-making and paper-box industries. She is, too, a member of the Whitley Committee, and she strongly supported the establishment of the Council as a propagandist body. It was extremely important that Capital and Labour should understand what a very wide field was open to the Whitley Councils if set up in all industries, and how necessary they were as representative bodies with whom the Government could negotiate in all matters affecting labour, commerce, and industry.

Sir Wilfrid Stokes, K.B.E., president of the Reconstruction Council, was in the chair at last evening's meeting, and among the speakers was Mr. Ben Tillett, M.P., who emphasised the need for a propagandist body which would help to remove the distrust of labour and the contempt of capital. The need of the future was not only efficiency of labour, but efficiency of capital. He was glad to associate himself with a body which had for its object the education of all parties in the real position of industry.

Mr. Ernest J. P. Benn, of Benn Brothers, Limited, in presenting the report of the provisional committee, laid emphasis on the single purpose of the new Council. It was a propagandist body, and its battle-cry was "Self-Government for Industry." The only way by which the nation could work out its industrial salvation was to establish within each trade a self-governing body representative of all those engaged in that trade and charged with the duty of maintaining and developing it in the national interest. The membership of the Industrial Reconstruction Council was open to all sections of the community, of whatever shade of opinion, the only qualification being a genuine desire to promote the doctrine of Industrial Self-Government.

The Industrial Reconstruction Council will start immediately on a great campaign throughout the country, and in every trade, with the object of awakening, on the one hand, public interest in the vital problems of industry, and, on the other, encouraging the representatives of the trades themselves to meet together and take concerted action for the full development of their industries.

The draft constitution submitted by a provisional committee was approved and adopted.

Birmingham Post
11.12.17

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INDUSTRY AFTER THE WAR.

LABOUR SHORTAGE, NOT TRADE DEARTH.

Speaking at the Birmingham Rotary Club luncheon, yesterday, on the subject of "The Woman in Industry," Professor A. W. Kirkaldy, of Birmingham University, said he had no doubt the woman in industry had come to stay, and when the men understood what she did they would be quite willing for her to stay. People sometimes talked as though there would be a period of depression after the war. In his opinion the war would not have ended long before there would be great commercial activity. People talked of the time when the soldiers would be coming back from the front, and wondered what would become of the women then. They spoke without examining the position at all carefully. Before the war we had a labour force of about 8½ million people, of whom about 25% were women. We had taken about 2½ millions from that labour force of 6½ millions and put about 1½ million women into their places. That meant that we were about three-quarters of a million short of the labour force we originally had available. That was the extraordinary point. The country had been called upon to give an augmented output with three-quarters of a million workers short of the numbers engaged before the war. And we had done it. When that great organiser Lord Kitchener told them that he wanted an increased output he knew what he was talking about. The output had been given, and this country had performed the miracle that Lord Kitchener had asked it to perform.

The speaker went on to say he did not believe that the disbanding of our army would produce the dislocation so many feared. Of the 2½ millions of men taken from industry, a considerable number had been either killed or permanently injured. Then a considerable number would never return to their old avocations; having tasted of the outdoor life, they would never settle down in small houses in crowded towns again. Probably they could account for half a million in that way. So that the number to return to our industries was not so formidable, after all. Then again, the army would not be disbanded suddenly. Even when peace came, a million men would probably be kept under arms for a considerable time; they would be required to do what might be described as police work. The conviction he had was that it would not be trade that we should be short of after the war, but labour. He believed there would be an actual dearth of workers; there would be more work than workers.

The Best Equipped Nation in the World.

Then, after the war we should be the best equipped nation in the world. We had crowded the country with the finest machinery the world could produce, and that ought to be a great asset to us. We had the best machinery, the best labour, and the best organisers, for he was perfectly certain that the British employer was the best organiser in the world. He had proved himself so during the war; and if labour and capital would only come together there might be an era of great prosperity before us. But there must be no suspicion. Labour must not be kept in the dark. Manufacturers must say to the recognised leaders of labour: Here is this great mass of trade waiting to be done. We can do it, and we can afford to pay good wages if you will give us the output. But there must be no secrecy; all must be fair and aboveboard. There must be no cutting of the rate because men happen to be earning considerably more than they earned before the war. They were entitled to earn more; it would be to the employers' advantage to pay them good wages. There would be only two European nations ready to cope with the world-demand that would arise after the war. In railway material and rolling stock, in shipping, in houses and house requisites, in every direction there would be a world demand. Stocks had vanished. Only England and Germany could effectively supply those demands. Germany had deliberately crippled France and Belgium industrially, and even though we dictated peace terms to Germany in Berlin it was not likely that we should cripple her factories as she had crippled those of the nations whose territory she had ravaged. That was not our way. But we should have the chance of doing a huge trade; all that was needed was unity of effort, and a period of prosperity and happiness as a nation was before us. (Applause.)

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Times.
4.3.18.

BETTER WORKING-CLASS HOMES.

LESS LABOUR: MORE COMFORT.

A Women's Sub-Committee of the Advisory Council has been appointed by the Minister of Reconstruction to collect information and to give advice on house plans from the point of view of the housewife. It is felt that in the past in the preparation of plans for working-class houses sufficient consideration has not been given to the comfort and convenience of the women who are to live in the houses. It is hoped that no considerable scheme of house-building will be undertaken in the future without careful attention being given to the saving of labour for the wife and to the convenience and health of the family generally.

The members of the Committee are:—
Lady Emmott, chairman.
Mrs. E. Barton, of the Women's Cooperative Guild.
Mrs. Victor Branford, of the Housing Organization Society.
Miss A. Churton, of the Rural Housing and Sanitation Association.
Dr. Janet Lane Claypon, Dean of the Household and Social Science Department, King's College for Women.
Mrs. Sanderson Furniss, of the National Women's Labour League.
Mrs. G. S. Guy.
Mrs. C. S. Peel, of the Ministry of Food.
Secretaries:—Miss Leach and Miss Waley, of the Ministry of Reconstruction.

Although most of the members are connected with various departments and organizations they have been appointed in their individual capacity, not as representing any organization. The duties with which they have been entrusted are, briefly, to examine specimen houses and to advise on house plans received from the Architects' Committee. They will also report on such questions as internal fittings, position of doors and windows, size and number of rooms, gardens, communal arrangements, and the laying out of new districts in so far as it may affect the well-being of homes and the convenience of housewives.

Selected districts both in town and in country will be visited by the Committee, and they will get into touch with women whose experience and cooperation might be of value, and who might initiate discussions on housing questions in their own districts. The Committee have already begun their duties, and they have inspected houses on the Kennington estate of the Duchy of Cornwall.

THE WOMAN'S POINT OF VIEW.

The Women's Labour League is conducting a housing campaign. The opinions of working women on structural arrangements for convenience and comfort in a home have been invited by questions printed in a leaflet which has been distributed with architects' plans for a house to accommodate a family of five or six persons.

The Central London branch of the League held a conference of working women in Kingsway Hall on Saturday, at which many representatives of women's societies were present, and the chair was taken by Mrs. SANDERSON FURNISS, who said that replies to nearly 10,000 leaflets were coming from all parts of the country, and that these, with reports of conferences, would be embodied in a book as evidence to put before the authorities.

After discussion a resolution was passed requesting the Local Government Board, before sanctioning any plan of housing, to consider representations from working women on interior construction.

Times 10.10.18

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

POSITION AFTER WAR.

The general question of the position of women workers after the war has just been considered at an unofficial conference between leading trade union women and employers of labour, arranged by the National Alliance of Employers and Employed, Mr. FREDERICK HUTH JACKSON presiding.

The first question discussed was whether the one and three-quarter million women who, in addition to the three million in industry before the war, now compose the women's industrial army, could be retained in industry after the war. It was pointed out that there was to be first considered the pledge of the Government to the trades unions that the men should all go back to their old jobs, and that pre-war conditions should be reinstated in industry. There was also the extreme difficulty of the conversion of the factories from the production of war materials to the needs of peace, and there was the further problem of the obtaining of necessary raw material, so that there should be no break in the work. It was felt that the terms of peace would have an important bearing on the question. It was also anticipated that the rate of demobilization would be an important factor.

It was realized that the Government must fulfil its pledges to the trades unions, but this was seen in no way to apply to new industries, or to the extension of old industries that have led to the employment of an increased number of workers, as compared with pre-war figures. The general opinion was expressed that while there would be a temporary period of dislocation, during which the whole community would have to be patient, and work on a give-and-take basis, there was little doubt that there would ultimately be work for all, and the whole of the women at present in industry could be retained.

The possibility of a minimum wage was discussed, and the meeting was unanimous that such was advisable, and that it should be based on a reasonable standard of life, but would have to vary in different areas.

It was also agreed that during the period of demobilization it would be better to institute a system of part-time work, so that the whole of the workpeople should be employed for part of the day, or part of the week, rather than that some should be employed full-time and the rest turned out on the unemployment market. It was anticipated that this period would be only temporary, and ultimately all would be re-absorbed.

Dissatisfaction was expressed at the delay in the production of definite and coordinated plans by the Government, and the conference agreed to meet again, either to consider the Government's demobilization proposals, or, failing that, to formulate its own on the nearer approach of peace.

WORKING CAPACITY AND WAGES OF WOMEN.

MR. KELLAWAY'S REVIEW.

Mr. KELLAWAY, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Munitions, addressing the Women's Liberal Association at Bedford yesterday, said one of the unexpected sides of the war had been the limelight that had been turned upon women. In 1914 there were a quarter of a million women in the great industries that were peculiarly munition trades; over 100,000 were engaged on metal work and engineering, and 15,000 handling explosives or in the chemical trades. It was largely these women, who were there in the factories, who poured into the munition works. If it had not been for this factory-trained population, able to work long hours and handle machines and to impart their tradition to the newcomers, the task of replacing men by women might have been insuperable. Neither what had been done for women during the war nor what they had achieved for themselves would be realized until it was thoroughly understood that their average wage before the war was 10s. a week.

Into the women's trades the Ministry of Munitions had to bring two new women for every one who was there before the war. Over against them were the trades closed to women, where men doing work by no means always heavier or more difficult were paid two or three times, or four or five times, what any woman could hope to earn. Into these trades, too, the Ministry had been forced to pour nearly half a million women. And the men whom the women had replaced said that they should not come if they came as cheap labour, cutting the rate for the job. That was the double problem—to secure a living wage for the women without utterly ruining every women's trade in the country, and at the same time to put women on to men's work at rates that would fulfil the Government's pledges and secure the consent of the men. It had not been easy to do both these things at once.

In the munitions trades proper, the pre-war women's wages of 10s. or 11s. have risen to about 35s. for the same number of hours, and at the same time the whole factory life of women was being slowly changed. Their hours were being shortened, their health was watched over, and where possible decent cheap meals were provided. There were nearly 1,000 canteens now, and new ones were being opened every day. In the great munition centres hostels had been opened and recreations provided. New machinery and new processes had been invented that had altered the very basis of production. Work that was too heavy had been lightened and broken up until it could be done without injury to the workers.

FROM A STARVATION TO A LIVING WAGE.

In three years women in this country had been lifted from a starvation to a living wage. It was more than could have been hoped for in 50 years of peace. They had been called extravagant, careless of public money, and reckless in their ignorant interference with trade. The apparent increase of 25s. on 10s. was not all real. There was the falling value of money to consider. The wages of women had gone up a little, but prices had gone up more. They believed that the women were worth what they had been given.

On the other hand, it was stated that, while they were extravagant in paying from 30s. to 35s. to women in women's trade, they were tricksters and sweaters for not paying the whole of a man's wages to any woman who might be put on to his job. A War Cabinet Committee was now sitting to decide how much of a man's work a woman could do and what proportion of his pay she should receive. It would also decide whether the pledges which had been made had been kept. The women came into the shops untrained and dependent on the men there for their teaching, and these men did not welcome the idea of an ignorant and useless newcomer receiving the wages that the men had only reached after years of work and experience. In most cases the women could not do the same work as a man, where strength was required. Experience seemed to show that five women were worth roughly three men. Where knowledge and skill were required a woman would learn very well one particular job, but she would not spend time learning her work as a whole, so that she could not be of the same general use as a man who could turn his hand to anything. Then in many occupations women were on the whole slower than men, so that they were a more expensive form of labour. They also needed better and more expensive factory conditions. Finally, they were a far less permanent form of labour. Out of every 100 munition workers 60 left their jobs before the end of the first year, and 13 before the end of the first month. Only four out of every 10 completed their year.

These and many other facts about women's labour must be borne in mind when answering the apparently simple question, "Should women have equal pay for equal work?" The answer was, "Of course they must, if they do the same work as the men, of the same quality and of the same amount, with the same expense to the employer for supervision, and for what I may describe as overhead charges." There were certain conditions which should govern woman's position in industry after the war. Her labour must not be used to enable the employer to make larger profits than he would make if he employed men; it must be of a kind which she could perform without injury to her physical health. He believed there was a great future for women in industry. Their productions after the war would do much to repair the ravages that war had made. The need of production would be so supreme that there would be work not only for every soldier when he came back, but for many of the women who had taken their places. But the claims of the returned soldier must come first.

WOMEN'S CLAIM TO EQUALITY.

The National Union of Women Workers, meeting at Harrogate yesterday, decided to change its title to the National Council of Women of Great Britain and Ireland. Resolutions were passed pressing for the removal of all restrictions debarring women from becoming members of professional corporations and trade unions; urging the abolition of regulation 40 D; and calling for equal pay for equal work, and equal status in professions, business and industry for women. At a meeting of the Women's Patrols Committee it was stated that there was a definite prospect of the appointment of permanent women police.

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664 K

1918 October
Reconstruction Demobilisation

Daily Express 24/10/18

FROM KHAKI TO CIVIL LIFE.

GOVERNMENT READY FOR DEMOBILISATION PROBLEMS.

THE WOMAN WORKER?

"Daily Express" Lobby Correspondent.

The enormous problems of demobilisation—the placing of millions of soldiers and war workers, men and women, back in civil life—will not find the Government unprepared.

First, troops at the front have to be dealt with. Order of possible re-employment will be the determining factor in deciding the release of men from the front. Those in "key" trades—that is to say, trades on the starting of which other trades depend, will come first, and within these limits preference will be given to married men and to cases where singular hardship prevails. Obviously, therefore, a complete restarting of the railways is probably the first step towards proper demobilisation.

It is reasonable to assume that railwaymen will be demobilised first, as well as men for the transport trades generally. Miners, also, are engaged in a "key" enterprise in this sense, and the whole order of demobilisation is now ready, from the railwayman down to the travelling tinker.

To mention all these trades in their order would give rise to much unnecessary controversy. This will, no doubt, come in due time. With regard to the release of men whose case deserves special consideration, a certain discretionary power is to be given to the commanding officers, who may inquire into the private means of their men.

Another and important factor affecting trades generally will be whether the man has a job to go to. Dr. Addison declared some time ago that over a million soldiers had their old posts or new posts open to them on their return to civil life. The up-to-date estimate is that 60 per cent. come within this category. This is an enormous benefit to the departments in arranging demobilisation, but even these men cannot take precedence over the groups of pivotal men wanted more urgently in industry.

COLLECTING CAMPS.

These men will, according to the order of their demobilisation, be collected in what are called the collecting camps in France, and brought down to the coast in parties. Their transport to England presents special problems, but all these have been settled.

On reaching England the men will proceed to the distributing depots. At his depot the soldier about to be demobilised will hand in his kit and receive his allowance for civilian clothes or a suit. In addition he will probably receive his back pay or a certain proportion of it, enabling him to proceed to his home. He will have a month's furlough dating from that moment, which really means that he is drawing his Army money for a month while being entitled to take any job that presents itself.

From this stage of the demobilisation process the Minister of Labour assumes charge of the discharged men. For the task of distributing the labour he will have greatly reinforced means at his disposal and improved administrative machinery, he will have the help of local committees of the employers and the trade unions, all of whom have agreed to co-operate, and lastly he will have the aid of carefully assorted and tabulated lists of jobs open to the soldiers.

At the same time it is not humanly possible for any Minister to compile an exact list, to give any kind of assurance that there are enough jobs to go round, or to secure in return a guarantee that the men, without exception, will take the posts arranged for them. Those who are coming home to definitely arranged posts will, however, run into such large figures that the problem of what to do with the rest will be greatly simplified.

A CONUNDRUM.

The pre-war apprentice is a conundrum all to himself. He was eighteen when he joined; he comes back at twenty-two, a man, but still in his apprenticeship. That problem has been settled in part by the Government. The suggestion is that he shall be paid a minimum wage during the time that he is completing his apprenticeship—a wage considerably higher than he would have received as an apprentice. Obviously it is essential for the good of the community that he should complete that apprenticeship as thoroughly and as quickly as possible. There must also be, and indeed there are in being, elaborate schemes for the reorganisation of juvenile and adolescent labour.

Then there are women to be thought of, millions of them. The official calculation is that if every woman who gave up a job to take on war work—I refer to wage-earning posts—goes back to her old work there will still be 500,000 women without jobs on the old basis of employment. Emigration has stopped, and as emigration used to absorb a large number of women, that has added to the difficulties.

A great number of women workers will, no doubt, go back home to keep house for their menfolk, and others will emigrate. There will still be hundreds of thousands of women who want to continue earning their living even if they cannot always have war wages. For these no openings exist, but a Woman's Employment Committee has been set up by Dr. Addison at the Ministry of Reconstruction to advise on the problem. That committee has not reported, but it has been considering a number of schemes which promise to help tremendously in the settlement of the problem of unemployed women. One scheme will relate to the public services, another to the banks, another to clerical service generally, and so on.

RAW MATERIALS.

Much of the success of all these proposals—indeed the whole question of how far there will be jobs for discharged soldiers—depends on the supply of raw materials. Careful surveys which have been made by the Government as to the amount of material which will be available reveal a pretty good position. It is largely a matter of shipping to bring the supplies home. The Shipping Ministry has reported that the tonnage problem will not be so disheartening, for Britain, at any rate, as some have foreshadowed.

All the experts say that there will be plenty of work for the men. The private firms must get ready for peace as best they can, especially in the turning over of shops from war to peace work. How quickly this process can be done will depend largely on the foresight of the individual firms, some of which are having alternative parts made for their machines. Such preparations are well advanced in a large number of cases. Firms are overwhelmed with post-war orders both from home and abroad. There are hardly any commodities or articles of any kind of which the stocks are not terribly reduced. The firm which will get the full advantage is the one most ready to reorganise on peace lines.

New industries will spring up everywhere. Before the war we imported large quantities of foreign goods, particularly machinery. We shall not do that again on such a scale. A committee has been and is still sitting on engineering questions alone—twenty separate commissions, indeed, examining twenty different branches of engineering, and all trying to discover new manufactures for this country. In consequence of the experiments plans are already laid for a series of manufactures never previously attempted in this country.

E. J.

Women in Industry.

One of the chief problems that will have to be faced, after the war is the position to be occupied by women in industry. To some it appears that the problem will be a very acute one and that out of it a great deal of trouble is likely to arise. For our own part we are rather inclined to the opinion that this, like many other problems arising out of the change of conditions brought about by the war, will have a strong tendency to right itself automatically. The general question has been discussed at a conference between women and employers of labour, arranged by the National Alliance of Employers and Employed. The first question discussed was whether the one and three-quarter million women who, in addition to the three millions in industry before the war, now compose the women's industrial army, can be retained in industry after the war. It was first of all pointed out that there was first to be considered the pledge of the Government to the trade unions that the men should all go back to their old employment, and that pre-war conditions should be reinstated in industry. There was also the extreme difficulty of the conversion of the factories from the production of war material to the needs of peace, and there was the further problem of obtaining the necessary raw materials so that there should be no break in the work. It was realised by the conference that the Government must fulfil its pledges, but that these could not be held to apply to new industries or to extensions of old which have led to the employment of greater numbers of workers as compared with pre-war figures. Then the critical question of wages was discussed, and the conference was unanimously of opinion that a minimum wage should be fixed, based on a reasonable standard of life, which would have to vary in certain districts. It was also agreed that during the period of demobilisation it would be better that a system of part-time work should be instituted, so that the whole of the workpeople might be employed for a part of the day or part of the week rather than that some should be employed full time and the rest turned out on the unemployed market. The question of equal pay for equal work, although one of the most important of all, does not appear to have been touched.

We confess we are not quite able to discern where it all leads. It does not seem to help much to sit down and discuss academic questions and pass pious resolutions. As we have already remarked, the question at large is one that will in very great measure settle itself without undue interference. The women who are now engaged in war work may be divided into three categories. The first includes all those who are working now, not because of the necessity of earning money, but in response to the patriotic impulse. They do not want to continue, and will drop out of the problem with the closing down of the war effort. What proportion these bear to the whole we cannot say. Probably it is a relatively small one, but that is as it may be. Secondly, there are those who are not particularly fitted for industrial work, but who have been taken in because the national need was too great for any offer of help to be ignored. Most of these are frankly in it for the higher wages they can command in comparison with their former occupations and the greater freedom of movement they obtain, as, for example, the huge numbers of women who have passed from domestic duties to munition factories. A very large number of these will automatically drift back to their old occupations when things are finding their level and enormous wages are not to be obtained. The third category includes those who would have taken to industrial work in any case, or who find in it an alternative to early marriage and what they consider dependence. Most of these will undoubtedly stay, but they will not constitute a surpassingly difficult problem. Unfortunately we have lost outright something like a million of our best men, while another large proportion have been disabled past any possibility of resuming their old employment. In addition, there will be still a further number who, after the open-air life of campaigning, will not care to settle down to sedentary pursuits and will seek a new life in the Colonies. By the time, then, that we have accounted for these it begins to look as though industry will with ease be able to absorb all the women workers who will want to say in it, and it seems at least a little premature to waste time in the discussion of problems which are not likely to arise in an acute form. It would seem to us that the great problem that will have to be met is not so much the one of whether women can be kept in industrial life, as the precise position they will occupy in it, and this is one which the conference does not seem to have debated at any length.

Mr. Kellaway, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Munitions, dealt with this side of the question, which is really the only one that matters much, in the course of an address to the Women's Liberal Association at Bedford. After reviewing the changes in industry which had come about as a result of the war, he went on to say that it had been said the Government, while they were extravagant in paying from 30*s.* to 35*s.* to women in women's trades, were tricksters and sweaters for not paying the whole of a man's wages to any woman who might be put on to his job. A War Cabinet Committee was now sitting to decide how much of a man's work a woman could do, and what proportion of his pay she should receive. It would also decide whether the pledges which had been made had been kept. The women came into the shops untrained and dependent on the men there for their teaching, and these men did not welcome the idea of an ignorant and useless newcomer receiving the wages that the men had only reached after years of work and experience. In most cases the women could not do the same work as a man, where strength was required. Experience seemed to show that five women were worth roughly three men. Where knowledge and skill were required a woman would learn very well one particular job, but she would not spend time learning her work as a whole, so that she could not be of the same general use as a man who could turn his hand to anything. Then in many occupations women were on the whole slower than men, so that they were a more expensive form of labour. They also needed better and more expensive factory conditions. Finally, they were a far less permanent form of labour. Out of very one hundred munition workers sixty left their jobs before the end of the first year, and thirteen before the end of the first month. Only four out of every ten completed their year.

These and many other facts about women's labour must be borne in mind when answering the apparently simple question, "Should women have equal pay for equal work?" The answer was, "Of course they must, if they do the same work as the men, of the same quality and of the same amount, with the same expense to the employer for supervision, and for what I may describe as overhead charges." There were certain conditions which should govern woman's position in industry after the war. Her labour must not be used to enable the employer to make larger profits than he would make if he employed men; it must be of a kind which she could perform without injury to her physical health. He believed there was a great future for women in industry. Their productions after the war would do much to repair the ravages that war had made. The need of production would be so supreme that there would be work not only for every soldier when he came back, but for many of the women who had taken their places. But the claims of the returned soldier must come first.

There is very little that need be added to Mr. Kellaway's expression of opinion, which is that of every unprejudiced observer. It is here, in the decision of what is and what is not "equal work," that the real problem in connection with women's work in industry will arise, and not in the question of whether or not women will remain in industrial life or in what numbers.

October 1918

Iron & Steel Trade Review, 18.10.1918.

Women Workers after the War.

Demobilisation is in sight, as Viscount Grey might say, even if it is not yet within reach, and events have been moving so fast, and so splendidly for the Allies, that it may be upon us at any moment. Whether the country is ready for demobilisation is doubtful; perhaps complete readiness should be ruled out as unattainable, since so much depends upon the terms of peace. There is no doubt that hundreds of thousands of men can be absorbed straight away in such trades as coal-mining, farming, or building; but there are other trades where the places of enlisted men have been occupied by women. What will happen in these cases was discussed last week at a Conference between trade-union women representatives and employers of labour, which had been arranged by the National Alliance of Employers and Employed.

The Conference—or its chairman, Mr. F. Huth Jackson—began by discussing the position of the 1,750,000 women who have been added to the pre-war total of three millions in industry. That this army, which has worked so well for us during the war, cannot be summarily disbanded with thanks and a gratuity is obvious enough. A small proportion, mostly well-to-do women, will thankfully retire to less strenuous activities; a larger proportion will resume domestic duties as the wives of returning soldiers; a still larger section will go back to their pre-war occupation in other industries. What the rest will do, or how numerous they will be, is not clear. In all reconstruction schemes the claim of the returning soldier to his old job, or to any other job which is open and within his capacity, must be paramount. The Conference discussed the Government pledge to reconstitute trade-union conditions as they prevailed before the war, but it came to the conclusion that the pledge does not in any way apply to new industries (such as the dyeing trade) which have been created during the war, or to the extension of old industries which have absorbed a larger number of workers during the war than they used to employ. It seems to have been the opinion of those present at the Conference that there will be a temporary period of dislocation after the signing of peace, during which the whole community will have to be patient and work on a give-and-take basis. They reckon that ultimately there will be work for all, so that every woman at present in industry can be retained if she wishes to continue. This is an optimistic conclusion.

Much depends, Mr. Huth Jackson said, on the rate of demobilisation. If it proceeded at the rate of 50,000 a week it would take two and a half years at the least. Surely this is an absurdly low estimate! As soon as the submarine menace is removed and our ships can move freely, transports will steam rapidly from French and Belgian ports to all the chief ports of England and Scotland. We should have thought that 50,000 a day would be a poor total; yet the report of the Conference states that 50,000 a week would be "a very high figure, seeing that four-fifths of the men will have to be brought from abroad." No doubt the repatriation of our troops from the Balkans, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Palestine will be a lengthy business, but from France and Flanders the matter ought to be simple enough. With men on the Western front the real problem will be to decide which men shall come home first. There will be great discontent if miners and so on are brought back to earn 10s. to 15s. a day, while other men in the same battalions are kept under military discipline at 1s. 6d. a day. The Government may find it necessary to raise the pay of the English soldier to the 4s. or 5s. a day which Colonial and American troops have been receiving during the war. The necessity for paying "a living wage" to soldiers will not be altogether an economic evil. If it can be extended to the Continental countries it will make their Governments more ready to consent to smaller armies. Had the German Government been forced to pay 5 marks a day to its conscripts, the German taxpayer would not have yielded so readily to the demands of their War Minister.

On the practical point of what shall be done to find employment during the period of demobilisation, the Conference came to the opinion that it would be better to institute a system of part-time work, so that all workpeople may be employed for part of the day or part of the week. This is not unlike the method adopted in the cotton trade; short-time working has been voluntarily imposed for some weeks past in consequence of the shortage of raw cotton, and now we read that the Cotton Control Board has decided to stop all looms throughout the week beginning October 21. During the week the operatives receive full pay. When it is a question of unobtainable raw material a general short week seems the best plan, but it is not clear that the National Alliance was thinking only of trade which cannot get full supplies: it looks as if the Conference had some leaning towards the fallacy of a fixed amount of work to be shared out equally. As we have said constantly before now, each man or woman who works helps other men and women to find work.

Speaking on the same day as the Conference met, the Financial Secretary to the Ministry of Munitions, who may be regarded as the chief wage-payer in the world, said that women workers during the war had been "lifted from a starvation to a living wage." Mr. Kellaway warned them that the formula of "equal pay for equal work" was being advocated by some people who "wanted to see women out of industry." Curiously enough, a third gathering, on October 9, was also discussing the conditions of women workers after the war. At a meeting of the National Union of Women Workers a resolution was adopted demanding the removal of all restrictions which debar women from becoming members of professional corporations or Trade Unions. A second resolution advocated equal opportunities and training and equal remuneration for equal work. Lady Frances Balfour stated that the principle of equal opportunities "was more important than that of equal pay."

Electrical Review
25. 10. 18.

WOMEN'S WORK IN ENGINEERING.

In an address delivered before the Conference of the National Union of Women Workers, on October 8th, Mr. Ben. H. Morgan stated that throughout the country there were no fewer than six millions of women employed on works of various kinds. Approximately, a million women were employed on munitions work in engineering and allied trades. This was the great new departure of the war—one million women suddenly projected into a highly technical industry, requiring on the one side a large measure of knowledge and skill, and on the other the utmost physical endurance. These women were producing no less than one-third of the total output of munitions. There were thousands of women engaged on turning operations which involved a considerable measure of skill, some working to 1/1,000th of an inch. Many of these women set up their own work and tools, and ground their tools. They not only did plain turning, but non-repetition work direct from drawings, some, again, working on pieces with seven or eight measurements, practically all using gauges of various kinds, and many using micrometers. While many had acquired a large measure of skill, extremely few could be regarded as skilled in the same sense that men were skilled after having served an apprenticeship to the trade.

In fitting, women had not been so successful as in turning, but nevertheless very large numbers were employed on subdivisions of what was regarded as skilled work. Women were doing all ranges of drilling work; this was a line of work in which women had been as successful as men.

In milling, shaping, slotting, and planing women were executing a great deal of work, and many were capable of setting up in the machine and carrying out a wide range of simple jobs from working drawings. The war had not, however, produced a skilled woman miller or planer. In planing the setting-up was nearly always done by a skilled man, and the woman acted as a machine minder.

Women had made exceptional progress on the marking-off table, reading the most complicated drawings, and using measuring instruments with much greater facility than the average male apprentice. Women had made excellent tracers, and in some cases could piece drawings together, but there were no women draughtsmen at the present time. Acetylene welding was a branch in which women were eminently satisfactory. Women were specially capable of being trained in woodworking, and in the operating of woodworking machines. They were also doing extraordinarily good work in the laboratory as assistants in research work; in the testing room, testing metals, instruments, and engines; in the smithy, the forge, and all kinds of metal-shaping and heat-treating work.

What part were they going to play in our premier industry after the war? There was no more serious question than this for the National Union of Women Workers to consider. Women had opened up a vast field of activity which they should never again relinquish. When peace came, bringing with it the demobilisation of our armies, men would very justly wish to resume their places in the engineering factories of the country. But when this position had been liberally and generously dealt with, vast opportunities would present themselves to women in both the trade and the profession of engineering.

The conference should carefully examine the work which women had done, and estimate what special branches of engineering women should be encouraged to persist in after the war. In some branches of work they were as good as men in both quality and output; in other branches they were superior to men in both respects, while in a large number of other sections of work they were inferior to men, and in peace time they should be discouraged from pursuing any operation in engineering practice that was unsuitable to them.

Liverpool Weekly Post. 26.10.1918. 703/8

The Labour World.—By Gray Quill.

War Work, Women, and Demobilisation—Joint Committees and Ministry of Labour.

The dockers, I am told, have accepted the new award, so that we are assured of peace in the transport industry for some time. All the same, Mr. Harry Gosling and the executive of the National Transport Workers' Federation are vigilantly watching the development of the plans for demobilisation, which one of the shrewdest judges in the kingdom says will begin about Easter.

Allotment-holders in Liverpool have won a remarkable victory over "Dora" and the War Office, who wanted to take the land on which certain Liverpool workmen during the last two years have expended so much money, energy, and brains. Mr. John Williams, of the Stewards' Union, who is also secretary of the Liverpool and District Federation of Allotment-holders, by his courage, tenacity, and ability, has earned the well-deserved gratitude of allotment-holders throughout the kingdom.

The woodworkers of Liverpool are in a very restive mood just now on the bonus question, and they indignantly repudiate a report that they are not contemplating a strike if their terms are not conceded.

The question of a strike of panel doctors was discussed at the British Medical Association's annual conference of representatives of local medical and panel committees. That the position of the rural panel doctor is not too good is admitted, but his town confrere is "on velvet"; and one can endorse the opinion of Dr. J. R. Drever (Glasgw), who said that if a strike were proclaimed, they would not get the support of 1 per cent. of the panel doctors.

TRADE UNIONISM AND RECONSTRUCTION.

Mr. G. H. Roberts, M.P., Minister of Labour, speaking in London, ably dealt in the course of his speech with the establishment of joint committees of employers and of trade union officials to advise the Ministry of Labour in regard to industrial matters, and said he thought he could claim that the Ministry of Labour had been foremost in developing the new principle, or rather a principle which was now becoming acceptable to the people as a whole—namely, that of decentralisation. The experiment of bringing together representatives of employers and the workpeople to assist the Ministry in their work had, so far, been attended with gratifying results, and in that fact there lay a great hope that one of the greatest problems of reconstruction after the war would be the better dealt with.

After the war, the building trade industry was going to be one of primary importance. A lot of leeway had to be made up. Above all, the public conscience had been aroused during the war, and housing in which people might have acquiesced in pre-war times was not going to be tolerated in the future (hear, hear). The need everywhere was urgent, and it was up to the building trade to co-operate with the national and local authorities to see to it that the houses were supplied, and that they were of a character worthy of the race that had acquitted itself so splendidly during this supreme test.

To this statement may be added these details:—There will be a Government loan of at least thirty millions to municipalities and private builders for the rehousing of the people. The shipbuilding industry will be working day and night; the coal industry will be at its busiest.

WOMEN CITIZENS AND THE SKILLED TRADES.

At the inaugural conference of the Liverpool Council of Women Citizens, Miss Eleanor Rathbone said that women would never go back to the leper compound of unskilled trades they occupied before the war. They had proved the right to a place in skilled industry, and it was a grave problem of how, after the war, full justice was to be given to every man who had given up his job to go to the front without placing women once more into the fetters they had shaken off.

Miss Rathbone may rest assured that an iron law called necessity will settle this, as well as other matters, after the war is over. Those men who are physically fit to go back to their skilled jobs will start work once more without placing fetters on any woman war worker. As a matter of fact, there will be more than enough work for everybody during the next twenty years. We shall have a large army of maimed men, fit only for light work; the labour market will be minus the deathless army of the men who died that the world might be free. Fifty per cent of woman war workers will go back to their homes to nurse their children and take their natural sphere in home life; a large number of women, through overwork, will be compelled to lie up and rest; a large number will marry. It follows that, in a world which will have to be rebuilt, there will be plenty of work for those who are left.

So far as the women M.P.'s are concerned, I do not anticipate sex rivalry for political power. Neither this nor any other generation is likely to see a Ministry composed solely of women. There are obvious reasons against it. Nor can I imagine a large number of women members of Parliament, for the odds will always be against them, so long as there is not complete unity amongst their own sex. In other words, I see no reason to change my belief that the next Parliament will be filled mainly with representatives of Labour and ex-service men.

OVER 46,000 MINERS RETURNED TO THE PITS

Sir A. Stanley announces that 26,910 coal miners have been released from the Army since May 1, 1918, and have reported at the mines. In addition, about 20,000 have been released and have reported since August 1. About 300 have been released from the Navy and the Air Force.

ITEMS.

Dr. Macnamara assured the House of Commons that all the shipyards were at the moment provided with all the unskilled labour which could be utilised under present conditions and with the necessary materials, but there was a shortage of skilled labour in certain trades and districts.

Mr. A. G. Walkden, the general secretary of the Railway Clerks' Association, is seriously ill with 'flu.

The Operative Cotton Spinners and Card-room Amalgamation, at Manchester, made a joint application to the Federation of Master Cotton Spinners for a 40 per cent. advance of wages, the new rate to come into operation in December. One hundred thousand operatives are affected.

MISSING SOLDIER.

Rifleman J. E. Jennings, No. A/203136, K.R.R.C., Attached M.G.C., B.E.F., France. Missing since March 21, 1918. Inquirer, his wife, Mrs. J. E. Jennings, of 11, Battersby-street, Higher Openshaw, Manchester, who would be glad to hear news from any soldier who saw her husband about the date named.

1918. N

Engineering.
5. 11. 18.

WOMEN IN THE DRAWING OFFICE.

To the Editor of Engineering.

Sir,—In your issue of October 18 appears an account of the National Conference of Women, and in the account occurs a remark from a Mr. Ben. Morgan, who spoke as one having authority (from the Ministry of Munitions), and gave the benefit of his experience to the assembled ladies. The remark is to the effect that "women are specially suitable for such *semi-skilled* operations as tracing, and *draughting*." It is possible that the rest of Mr. Morgan's speech was accurate and reliable, and as the apparent object of the conference was to indicate to the ladies the departments and processes of industry which held out the best prospects for their employment, I am sure Mr. Morgan will not object to a correction.

Therefore, ladies, be not misled. You are as welcome to the drawing office as you have been to the shops. Many of you have been there for years—tracing—and you have done the work moderately well: I can say no more. You will be employed willingly enough as draughtswomen when you are capable of supplanting draughtsmen, and if you organise yourselves properly you will perhaps earn as much money. Do not, however, let this golden dream of Mr. Morgan deceive you into believing that you can command the princely salaries paid to draughtsmen in the short space of time that "semi-skilled" would seem to promise. Rather, make up your minds for years of hard preliminary work. For days spent in the shops and nights in the technical classes. Look up your mathematics, your mechanics, your geometry. Be sure that you will have to know something of most engineering processes, from pattern-making to freightage, and a variety of matters there is no space to enumerate. And then, after having thoroughly ascertained what you will let yourselves in for, ask yourselves whether there is not some equally well-paid, semi-skilled job among the Ministry officials that would be more to your purpose.

And may I deferentially suggest, Sir, that the next time Mr. Morgan undertakes to give advice he gets his particulars of drawing-office work from No. 8, Victoria-street, S.W. 1, which is the Head Office of the Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen, where fully-skilled information may be obtained free, gratis, and for nothing.

Yours faithfully,

Ernest H. Walker
(Chairman, National Executive).

61, Claverton-street, S.W. 1, November 4, 1918.

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A NEW WORLD.

Mr. A. Richardson and Reconstruction.

LAWS AND LANDLORDS.

Mr. Arthur Richardson, M.P., Liberal candidate for West Nottingham, last night addressed a well-attended meeting in the Nottingham-road Schools. Dr. Fulton presided.

"I am not a prophet nor the son of a prophet," said Mr. Richardson, referring to the war, "but I believe that with Bulgaria, Turkey, and Austria out of it, the struggle will not last many weeks longer. At least I hope we shall have the pleasure of eating our Christmas dinner in peace." (Applause.) In any event he hoped that no stone would be left unturned so far as they were concerned in making this country the Merrie England they all wished to see when the boys returned. (Applause.)

Milestones Left Behind.

Turning to the subject of reconstruction, Mr. Richardson said he hoped to see the new earth built upon the principles of equality, justice, and fraternity. (Hear, hear.) Reviewing the position that obtained prior to the creation of the Parliament of 1906, Mr. Richardson said the Franchise and the Education Acts of the seventies and the eighties were really responsible for the workers being able to make their voices heard in the House of Commons at that time. As the result many beneficent measures for organised labour were placed on the Statute Book, but whether Labour or Liberals were in power after the next general election much remained to be done. In the forefront would have to be placed the reform of the Poor Law and the workhouse as to-day we understood it. (Applause.)

An extension of the principle of the Wages Boards established by a Liberal Government would also have to be provided for in the near future. (Hear, hear.)

Demobilisation difficulties would be tremendous, both in regard to the return of the men from the front and their replacement in civil life. "We must see that the public purse in this respect is not used stingily," emphasised the speaker amidst applause. It was not the fault of the fighting men that this country went to war, and the State must deal generously with them until such time as normal conditions again prevailed. (Applause.)

Land Laws and Landlords.

Touching on the housing problem, Mr. Richardson said the difficulties in the past had been accentuated by land laws made by the landlords. (Laughter and applause.) In future the people must be considered first. Recalling what took place when the Derwent Valley Water Board was formed—land, he said, was offered Nottingham, Sheffield, Leicester, and Derby at treble the price it was subsequently bought for—Mr. Richardson instanced building sites in the city, for which, he said, an exorbitant rate was being demanded. His contention was that instead of £600 or £700 per acre, this "ducally owned" land ought to be sold, if the Corporation required it for housing purposes, at the £100 per acre at which it was valued for rating purposes. (Applause.)

Turning to the liquor question, Mr. Richardson said he hoped to see many of the licensing restrictions now in existence as a war-time measure become permanent.

Women and Equal Pay.

Increased maternity benefits should, he thought, be granted. (Hear, hear.) As to the demand made in certain quarters for equal pay to women for equal work, Mr. Richardson said he agreed, if it was intended that the wages should only be paid where women did the same class of work in the same time as men. On the other hand, there were industries in which women could not and ought not to be expected to perform a man's task. That being so, he thought the women would be well advised to qualify their demand for equal pay for equal work along the lines suggested. (Applause.)

Review of the Week.

Employment of Women in the Machine Tool Industry.

We have received a copy of a statement, prepared by Sir Alfred Herbert, K.B.E., Chairman of the Machine Tool and Engineering Association, on the Employment of Women in the Machine Tool Industry, which has been submitted to the War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry. Sir Alfred prefaces his statement by referring to his being a large employer of labour, male and female, for three years at the Ministry of Munitions as head of the Machine Tool departments, during which period he has been in close contact with many questions arising out of the employment of Women in the industry.

He suggests, with great respect, that there is a disposition on the part of the Government departments and Committees to collect a large amount of detailed information on any particular subject under investigation, and the mass of information thus obtained, coming, as it must, from so many sources, is extremely difficult to digest. My notes may be more helpful if I refrain from going too closely into the detailed points outlined and confine myself to a more general statement of my views, based on the experience to which I have already referred. Sir Alfred in ten paragraphs sets out his views, which are of interest and value; the first two are of a further explanatory character, and conclude with the assumption that the War Cabinet are deliberating on the framing of recommendations; which as an ideal should bring about the following results: The maintenance of the Engineering industry in a condition of maximum profitable activity, the employment in that industry at fair and adequate wages and under healthy and harmonious conditions of the maximum number of male workers; the employment in that industry on work within their capacity of such numbers of women workers as the demand for additional labour may render necessary, and under such conditions in which they are protected from unduly low wages, and from possible injury to their health. The remainder of the statement is devoted to the main question, the Employment of Women in the Machine Tool Industry. It is far too lengthy for us to reproduce in these columns, but Sir Alfred, after apologising for their length, summarises them as follows:—

> There will undoubtedly be scope for the employment of a considerable number of women after the war in mechanical industry, particularly on work of a simple and repetition character.
>
> That this employment on any large scale will be possible if the wages paid to women are economic and not artificial.
>
> That the economic earnings of women, in common with the economic earnings of men, and also the general prosperity and well-being of the community, will increase if output be unlimited, but will stagnate if output be restricted.
>
> That women can in the future take an important part in mechanical production only if a good understanding is arrived at with Trade Unionism.
>
> That the nature of the work on which women are to be employed in the various industries must be limited only by their capacity, on the one hand, and by such restrictions as are necessary to preserve their health.
>
> That to prevent exploiting or sweating no reasonable employer would object to the fixing of a minimum wage or of maximum working hours.

We will only make one further reference to Sir Alfred Herbert's carefully and well-considered statement, and that is upon the difficult question of wages. He says: "Regarding the rates of wages to be paid to women, it will be admitted that the present rates are artificial and not economic, that they have been rendered possible only by the fact that war conditions are artificial and not economic, and when peace comes artificial conditions will very largely be swept away and industry can prosper only to the extent that the conditions under which it is carried on are economic also. Wages, whether of men or of women, cannot economically continue at a level which does not permit the industry employing them to carry on its business at a profit. They can be raised only by greater production, on the one hand, or, alternatively, by the imposition of protective tariffs on the goods produced, or by Government bounties. No industry can continue to employ labour indefinitely at a loss."

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WAR PLEDGES TO WORKERS.

FUTURE OF WOMEN.

(From Our Special Correspondent.)

BIRMINGHAM, Thursday.

My previous contribution broke off in the middle of the conversation with Mr. W. J. Davis, the Secretary of the National Society of Amalgamated Brassworkers. I had asked him when the real jolt would come, to which he replied: "I regard the first eight weeks after the war as the critical period. I have no doubt that history will repeat itself. When war was declared in August, 1914, manufacturers simply collapsed. They did everything they could to induce their workmen to join the Army and fight the Germans, promising that their places would be kept open for them, and in many instances their wages would be paid. A few weeks later when contracts came pouring in many of these same manufacturers regretted that they were so patriotic; and ever since then trade has been booming.

"I agree with the paragraph in the *Morning Post* article that distribution of material is a great problem, and I agree with the appointment of committees as suggested, and that material should be allocated in proportion to the number of people employed and the amount of material supplied to manufacturers. Such industries as the brassworkers and metal mechanics should have such a committee, and as the men are practically all now in the Trades Unions this would necessitate every manufacturer belonging to his Association. What would be done with the brassworkers and metal mechanics could be done with other industries. This work could be much better done by these separate committees than by a general committee even though the different industries were represented on it.

The Pledge to the Unions.

"With regard to the return to pre-war conditions on which the Government gave a pledge to the Trades Unions, that is a very difficult question. Events have moved very rapidly since 1914, and there are now some things that the workmen would not have restored, just as there are some things the employers would not like restored. The workman has adapted himself to the new conditions, and so long as his wages or his piecework prices are not interfered with he would not mind working three days a week instead of six if work was short. As a matter of fact, he would sooner work three days because he would get nearly as much under present piecework rates as he did for the week under his old day rate, and there is a consensus of opinion that the principal employers in the country are anxious not to reduce wages if they can possibly be maintained.

Displaced Women.

"As to women workers we have agreements with the employers that when the male brassworkers return if there is not sufficient work for the men to do the women must go first. Many of those women were kept by their parents before the war and did not go out to business at all. A large proportion of them are married women whose husbands are in the Army, and naturally when their husbands return these women will go back gladly enough to their homes. Many of them have entered the factories from patriotic reasons; they do not want to remain there permanently, and it is in the interests of the nation that the women should return to their proper sphere of life, which is the home. But even if it came to a choice. If a soldier comes back to the factory and finds a woman in his job, he has a wife and children, whom are you going to consider—the girl who has no husband or the man who has been serving his country and who has a wife and little children at home?"

The question with which Mr. Davis concluded served as an opening inquiry of another authority whom I consulted.

"Women and girls," was the answer, "constitute an even greater problem than the men. Will they go back to domestic service? Many may. Others, having tasted what they are erroneously pleased to call freedom, will not. One difficulty is that there will not be the same number of situations open to them as in pre-war days. People who kept half a dozen servants now manage with two or three, and it is highly improbable that they will ever fill the servants' hall quite so full again. The higher cost of living and the increased taxes will necessitate in many houses a continued reduction of staff. As to shop assistants there will be a general return in that direction. No doubt married women serving on the railways, tramcars, and omnibuses will be only too glad to relinquish their occupations on the return of their husbands from the Army and Navy. But when all that distribution has taken place there will still remain a very large number of what used to be termed the weaker sex, for whom the coming of peace with its inevitable dislocation will spell tragedy. That is a social problem both Church and State must grapple with promptly."

Before leaving the labour side of the question let me quote this striking confirmation a manufacturer gave me of Mr. Davis's forecast: "With reference to the return to Trade Union conditions I think the Government ought to keep its promise. Nevertheless I am convinced there are many pre-war conditions that the men themselves will not wish to return to any more than the employers."

Keeping Trade Together.

On the general subject of unpreparedness for peace my attention was called by a gentleman, who, by the way, disagreed with the suggestion of unreadiness, to a speech made the other day at a company meeting. In it the chairman of a large and flourishing motor manufactory stated that in about a week after the declaration of peace they would be able to reconvert their plant to a peace footing, and they had *bonâ-fide* orders on their books which would keep them fully employed for at least two years. Similar conditions prevail, I was given to understand, in what is known as the push bicycle trade, which, with its customary sources of raw material cut off (always excepting supplies for Government needs), has been learning during the last four years the uses of adversity. A great many shifts have been resorted to to make good the failure of the regular steel supply, and heroic efforts have been made to keep the trade going even on a small scale and to maintain a hold on the markets. The industry, indeed, presents a fine example of the unquenchable spirit of the British manufacturer. There must necessarily be a transition period for the accumulation of raw material, but immediately that is available the factories can be turned on straight away to the production of new machines.

The Hat Trick.

Capital and Labour are agreed that, provided the Ministry of Reconstruction acts sensibly by accepting the advice and assistance to be had from them for the asking, there is no reason to apprehend any serious trouble in the industrial world when the war is declared at an end. Their only fear is that the Ministry is unready. There has been no indication of a Government plan, although the announcement to-day of the appointment of a Standing Council on Post-War Priority looks as though something has been moving somebody. The question is: What has Dr. Addison got in his hat—a scheme or a coney? Such public opinion as I have been able to elicit is expecting nothing of more consequence than a rabbit. I wonder what the magician really will produce. Time—and the *Morning Post*—will tell.

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PROBLEMS OF RECONSTRUCTION

RAW MATERIALS AND PRIORITY.

ADVISORY BODIES CHOSEN.

The following statement with regard to advisory bodies, other than reporting committees, appointed by the Minister of Reconstruction, was issued yesterday as a Parliamentary paper:—

The Minister of Reconstruction has appointed the following bodies, other than committees required to report on specific terms of reference, to advise him on different aspects of the various problems which come before him:—

1.—THE ADVISORY COUNCIL.

The Advisory Council consists of a panel of men and women of mature experience and distinction in affairs, from whom the Minister of Reconstruction can obtain practical and competent advice on any questions of special difficulty or complexity that may arise in connexion with the work of the Ministry. For working purposes the Council is divided into five sections, each under the direction of a chairman and vice-chairman selected from the members of the Council. The chairmen and vice-chairmen of the different sections of the Advisory Council meet, as a rule, once a week, to advise the Ministry informally on any points of difficulty that may arise in the daily work of the Department, and to suggest convenient methods of machinery for approaching questions of great complexity and importance. An informal committee of women members of the Council, under the presidency of Lady Emmott, will also meet regularly to give the Ministry similar advice in connexion with questions affecting the position of women. The Council is at present constituted as shown below, but additional members will be appointed from time to time as may be necessary in connexion with further developments of the work of the Council and of the Ministry as a whole.

SECTION I. (Finance, Transport and Common Services.)—Sir Charles Metcalfe, Bt. (who has acted as Chairman in the absence of Sir H. Babington-Smith, K.C.B.), Sir Clarendon Hyde (Vice-Chairman), the Hon. Herbert Gibbs (Financial Chairman), E. Husey, Esq. (Financial Vice-Chairman), Sir Alfred Booth, Bt., the Hon. Robert Brand, C.M.G., Sir E. Tootal Broadhurst, Vernon Hartshorn, Esq., O.B.E., W. L. Hichens, Esq., H. J. Mackinder, Esq., M.P., Sir Adam Nimmo, K.B.E., Major the Hon. George Peel, M.P., Sir Alexander Roger, Ernest E. Spicer, Esq., the Right Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P., Sir W. Rowan Thomson, K.B.E., and Arthur Whitworth, Esq.

SECTION II. (Production and Commercial Organization.)—Sir Henry Birchenough, K.C.M.G. (Chairman), E. Bevin, Esq. (Vice-Chairman), J. P. Boland, Esq., M.P., Sir E. Tootal Broadhurst, H. S. Clough, Esq., Sir Charles Fielding, K.B.E., W. T. Green, Esq., J. W. Hope, Esq., C.B.E., W. H. Hutchinson, Esq., Sir Clarendon Hyde, H. J. Mackinder, Esq., M.P., J. J. Mallon, Esq., Sir Alexander Roger, and W. H. Watkins, Esq.

SECTION III. (Labour and Industrial Organization.)—The Right Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P. (Chairman), W. L. Hichens, Esq. (Vice-Chairman), Mrs. E. Barton, E. Bevin, Esq., Sir H. Birchenough, K.C.M.G., Mrs. Butler, H. S. Clough, Esq., J. F. Duncan, Esq., Major-General Sir P. Girouard, K.C.M.G., the Right Hon. Lord Gorell, Vernon Hartshorn, Esq., O.B.E., J. W. Hope, C.B.E., Esq., W. H. Hutchinson, Esq., C. A. McCurdy, Esq., M.P., J. J. Mallon, Esq., Sir Thomas Munro, Sir Adam Nimmo, K.B.E., Edwin Orde, Esq., Sir H. B. Rowell, K.B.E., R. H. Tawney, Esq., Miss G. Tuckwell, and W. H. Watkins, Esq.

SECTION IV. (Rural Development, including Agriculture.)—Leslie Scott, Esq., K.C., M.P. (Chairman), Right Hon. Henry Hobhouse, P.C. (Vice-Chairman), C. R. W. Adeane, Esq., C.B., Mrs. E. Barton, Right Hon. C. W. Bowerman, M.P., G. Dallas, Esq., J. F. Duncan, Esq., Lady Emmott, Sir Charles Fielding, K.B.E., Sir Richard Glazebrook, K.C.B., F.R.S., Hugh A. Law, Esq., M.P., T. Lundon, Esq., George Nicholls, Esq., Major Hugh Pritchard, Major-General A. E. Sandbach, C.B., D.S.O., Hon. E. G. Strutt, Miss G. Tuckwell, Mrs. Reginald Wilkins, David Wilson, Esq., and Professor T. B. Wood, C.B.E.

SECTION V. (Social Development, including Education, Health, Housing.)—Arthur A. Allen, Esq., M.P. (Chairman), Lady Emmott (Vice-Chairman), Mrs. E. Barton, Right Hon. C. W. Bowerman, M.P., Sir Richard Glazebrook, K.C.B., F.R.S., the Right Hon. Lord Gorell, and Miss G. Tuckwell.

Women's Advisory Committee of the Council.—Lady Emmott (Chairman), Lady Birchenough, Miss Beatrice Chamberlain, Mrs. Deane Streatfeild, Miss Harris, Miss Susan Lawrence, Dr. Marion Phillips, Mrs. Pember Reeves, Lady Rhondda, Miss Symons, and Miss M. J. Tuke.

ADVISORY COUNCIL ON THE DISPOSAL OF SURPLUS GOVERNMENT PROPERTY.

This Council has been appointed "To consider and advise, under the direction of the Minister of Reconstruction, as to the manner in which all stores, land, and other property (except shipping and Government factories), under the control of Government Departments, being property acquired for the purposes of the present war, and no longer required for the purposes of the Departments under the control of which it is, shall be dealt with, whether by the transfer thereof to some other Department, or by the sale or disposal thereof to other persons." It consists of the following members, together with representatives of the Departments concerned:—

The Most Hon. the Marquess of Salisbury, K.G., G.C.V.O., C.B. (Chairman), Sir Howard Frank, K.C.B. (Vice-Chairman), the Right Hon. W. Adamson, M.P., S. Lowes Dickinson, Esq., Philip Hanson, Esq., C.B., Sir R. Sothern Holland, Bt., W. Lander, Esq., Sir Maurice Levy, Bt., M.P., Captain Sir Reville Stanier, Bt., M.P. and Sir John E. Thornycroft, K.B.E.

ENGINEERING TRADES (NEW INDUSTRIES) COMMITTEE.

This Committee was appointed "to compile a list of the articles suitable for manufacture by those with engineering trade experience or plant, which were either not made in the United Kingdom before the war but were imported, or were made in the United Kingdom in small or insufficient quantities and for which there is likely to be a considerable demand after the war, classified as to whether they are capable of being made by (1) women; (2) men and women; (3) skilled men; and setting out the industries to which such new manufactures would most suitably be attached; and to make recommendations:—(a) On the establishment and development of such industries by the transfer of labour, machines and otherwise: (b) as to how such a transfer could be made, and what organization would be requisite for the purpose, with due regard to securing the cooperation of labour.

The members of the main Committee, together with the Sub-Committees which have been appointed to deal with particular industries, are as follows:—

The Hon. H. D. McLaren, M.P., C.B.E. (Chairman), Charles Bennion, Esq., Sir George Bullough, Bt., F. H. Crittall, Esq., R. Dumas, Esq., Sir John Griffith, M.Inst.C.E., W. B. Lang, Esq., Charles A. Lister, Esq., C.B.E., P. J. Pybus, Esq., C.B.E., G. H. Sankey, Esq., Sir Percy Stothert, K.B.E., John Taylor, Esq., William Taylor, Esq., William Thom, Esq., Sir W. Rowan Thomson, K.B.E., and H. C. B. Underdown, Esq.

BRANCH COMMITTEES.

WIRE MACHINERY.—Mr. Charles Bennion (Chairman); Mr. Frank Impey, M.B.E., of the Brass Wire Association; Mr. J. W. Earle, of Messrs. Earle, Bourne, and Co. (Limited); Mr. H. D. Lloyd, of the Whitecross Company (Limited); Mr. F. Smith, of Messrs. E. and A. Smith Co. (Limited); Mr. G. Rushworth of Messrs. G. Crossley (Limited); Mr. D. C. Bolton, of Messrs. T. Bolton and Sons; Mr. W. W. Gibbins, of the Birmingham Battery and Metal Co. (Limited); Mr. E. Mapplebeck, of Messrs. John Wilkes, Son, and Mapplebeck (Limited); Mr. J. C. Hunter, of Messrs. Ramsden, Camm, and Co.; Mr. W. H. A. Robertson, of Lynton Works, Bedford; and Mr. W. Barton.

PRINTING MACHINERY.—Mr. Charles Bennion (Chairman); Mr. H. Furnival, of Messrs. Furnival and Co. (Limited); Mr. G. F. Read, of Messrs. R. Hoe and Co. (Limited); Mr. Walter Haddon, of Messrs. J. Haddon and Co.; Mr. J. D. Ratcliff, of Messrs. J. Ratcliff and Sons (Limited); Mr. W. H. Lock, of the Linotype and Machinery (Limited); and Mr. A. W. Lockett, of Messrs. W. H. Lockett and Co.

PRINTERS' GENERAL MACHINERY.—Mr. Charles Bennion (Chairman); Mr. E. A. Braddick, of the British Wire Stitching Machine Co. (Limited); Mr. T. B. Kendell, of Messrs. T. Kendell and Sons; Mr. A. Collis, of Messrs. J. Collis and Sons; Mr. J. K. Robertson, of Messrs. Strachan and Henshaw (Limited); Mr. W. I. Burch, of the Lanston Monotype Corporation (Limited); Mr. J. W. Bainbridge, of Messrs. J. W. Bainbridge (Limited); Mr. A. Hess, of Messrs. Jampson, Bettridge, and Co.; Mr. S. Thompson, of Messrs. T. C. Thompson and Son; Mr. Leo Crosland, of Messrs. W. Crosland (Limited); Mr. A. Hewitt, of Messrs. Hewitt Bros.; Mr. J. Haddock, of Messrs. Job, Day, and Sons (Limited); Mr. A. H. Walker, of the Linotype and Machinery (Limited); Mr. A. G. Strong, of Messrs. H. O. Strong and Sons (Limited); and Mr. E. S. Hunter, of Messrs. Hunters (Limited).

PAPER-MAKING MACHINERY.—Mr. Charles Bennion (Chairman); Mr. T. D. Nuttal, of Messrs. Bentley and Jackson (Limited); Mr. V. G. Fraser, of Messrs. Masson, Scott, and Co. (Limited); Mr. J. Paramor, of the Watford Engineering Works (Limited); Mr. J. Dixon, of Messrs. P. Dixon and Son; Mr. B. I. Milligan, of Messrs. Mather and Platt (Limited); and Mr. J. Wolstenhome, of Messrs. Charles Walmsley and Co.

LEATHER-MANUFACTURING MACHINERY.—Mr. Charles Bennion (Chairman); Sir Henry Ledgard, of the Vacuum Tanning Company; Mr. W. L. Ingle, of Milnshaw Leather Works; Mr. J. G. Withinshaw, of Highfield Tanning Company; Mr. A. P. Preston, of Messrs. Whitelow (Limited); Mr. H. Hall, of Messrs. Joseph Hall and Co.; Colonel W. E. Walker, of United Tanners' Federation; Mr. H. Cocksill; Mr. F. H. Briggs, of Victoria Leather Works; Mr. Percy Denham, of Messrs. William Mortimer and Co.; Mr. E. G. Wilson of Messrs. E. Wilson and Co. (Limited); and Major D. Amor-Wilkins, of the United Tanners' Federation.

Textile Machinery (Manchester).—Sir George Bullough (Chairman); Mr. L. A. Forrett, of William Tatham (Limited); Mr. J. Standeven, of Tomlinsons (Rochdale) (Limited); Mr. F. J. Dixon, of Mather and Platt (Limited); Mr. W. H. Norton, of Sir James Farmer and Sons (Limited); Mr. J. Brandwood, of Elton Cop Dyeing Company (Limited); Capt. P. Thomas; Mr. C. W. Leather, of P. and C. Garnett (Limited); Mr. H. Smith, of Prince, Smith, and Son; Mr. J. W. Sowden, of David Sowden and Sons (Limited); Mr. E. Hollingsworth, of Hutchinson, Hollingsworth, and Co. (Limited); Mr. G. Smith, of William Smith and Bros. (Limited); Mr. A. F. Fielding, of Devege and Co.; Mr. A. McMurdo, of James McMurdo; and Mr. W. B. Richardson, of Messrs. Richardson, Tuer, and Co.

Textile Machinery (Nottingham).—Sir George Bullough (Chairman); Mr. E. Jardine, M.P., of Hofberts (Nottingham) (Limited); Mr. J. Pycroft, of Newton and Pycroft (Limited); Mr. W. Spiers, of William Spiers; Mr. C. R. Woodward, of M. Meller and Sons; Mr. W. B. Mitchell, of William Mitchell (Pens) (Limited); Mr. W. H. Price, of Shepshed Lace Manufacturing Company (Limited); Mr. W. O. Larmuth, of Thomas Larmuth and Co. (Limited); and Mr. James Drake, of Howard and Bullough (Limited).

Light Section Rolling and Drawing.—Mr. H. F. Crittall (Chairman); Mr. C. A. Lister, of R. A. Lister and Co.; Mr. Jas. Whitby, of George Warren and Co.; and Mr. W. D. Lloyd, of Sutton and Ash (Limited).

Machine Tools.—Mr. W. B. Lang (Chairman); Mr. J. W. S. Asquith, of William Asquith and Co. (Limited); Mr. J. W. Darling of Darling and Sellers (Limited); Mr. A. Drummond, of Drummond Brothers (Limited); Mr. E. M. Griffiths, of Burton Griffiths and Co (Limited); Mr. H. A. Liebert, of John Holroyd and Co. (Limited) Mr. S. H. March, of Churchill Machine Tool Co. (Limited); and Mr. H. G. Williams, of Machine Tool and Engineering Association.

Agricultural Machinery.—Mr. C. A. Lister (Chairman); Mr. E. J. Bentall, of E. H. Bentall and Co.; Mr. T. D. Harrison and Mr. Wm. Harrison, of Harrison, McGregor and Co. (Limited); Mr. E. Marshall, of Marshall Sons and Co. (Limited); Mr. J. McLaren of T. H. McLaren; and Mr. J. Legar, of R. Hornsby and Son (Limited).

Aircraft.—Mr. P. J. Pybus (Chairman); Mr. R. O. Cary, of Sopwith Aviation Company (Limited); Mr. N. G. Gwynne, of Gwynnes (Limited); Mr. J. D. Siddeley, of Siddeley-Deasy Motor Car Company (Limited); Mr. H. White Smith, of British and Colonial Aeroplane Company; Mr. G. Holt Thomas, of Aircraft Manufacturing Company (Limited); and Mr. C. V. Allen, of Society of British Aircraft Constructors (Limited).

Hollowware, Sheet Metal, and Pressed Work.—Mr. G. H. Sankey [illegible] Fletcher, of Birmingham Chamber of

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Commerce, Mr. W. Hall-Jones, of Wolverhampton Chamber Commerce; and Lieutenant H. Soper.

Electrical Apparatus.—Mr. J. Taylor (Chairman); Mr. L. Atkinson, of the Cable Makers' Association; Mr. A. F. Berry, the British Electric Transformer Company (Limited); Mr. R. Duma of the British Thomson-Houston Company; Mr. D. N. Dunlop, of the British Electrical and Allied Manufacturers' Association; Mr. B. Longbottom, of Electromotors (Limited); Mr. G. E. Pingree of the Western Electric Company (Limited); Mr. R. H. Schofield of Messrs. Ferranti (Limited); Mr. S. D. White, of the General Electric Company (Limited); and Mr. Herbert Taylor, of Mather and Platt (Limited).

Scientific Instruments.—Mr. W. Taylor (Chairman); Mr. Douglas Baird, of Baird and Tatlock (Limited); Mr. Gerald Bishop, of Marion and Co. (Limited); Mr. Arthur Colefax, of Controller of Optical Munitions and Glassware Supply; and Mr. Robert Wigglesworth, of W. Cooke and Sons (Limited).

Miscellaneous Machinery.—Mr. W. Thom (Chairman); Mr. Charles Day, of Mirrless, Bickerton, and Day (Limited); Mr. H. M. Bickerton, of the National Gas Engine Company; and Mr. E. D. Simon, of Henry Simon (Limited).

Motor Industry.—Mr. Underdown (Chairman); Mr. B. Caillard, of British Lighting and Ignition Company; Mr. C. A. Hyde, of Birmingham Small Arms Company (Limited); Mr. E. M. S. Instone, of Daimler Company (Limited); Mr. E. Powell, of Humber (Limited); Mr. J. W. Stocks, of Components (Limited); Mr. L. Walton, of Vauxhall Motors; Mr. H. Wyatt, of Association of British Motor and Allied Manufacturers; and Mr. G. M. Young, of Albion Motor Car Company.

LABOUR PANEL.—In connexion with this Committee a Labour Advisory Panel has been appointed to advise on all matters arising out of the work of the Committee which affect labour interests. The Panel is composed as follows:—Sir Claud Schuster (Chairman); Robert H. Coates, Esq., Alexander German, Esq., A. Herd, Esq., W. H. Hutchinson, Esq., W. T. Kelly, Esq., Miss Mary Macarthur, T. E. Smith, Esq., A. B. Swales, Esq., Miss Gertrude Tuckwell, and George Wilkinson, Esq.

SUPPLY OF RAW MATERIALS AFTER THE WAR.

In this connexion the Minister of Reconstruction is being advised by committees to whom, for their general guidance, the following terms of reference have been given:—

(1) To consider and report upon the nature and amount of the supplies of materials and foodstuffs which, in their opinion, will be required by the United Kingdom during the period which will elapse between the termination of the war and the restoration of a normal condition of trade, and the steps which should be taken to procure these supplies, having regard to:—

(*a*) The probable requirements of India, the Dominions, and Crown Colonies for such supplies at the close of hostilities.

(*b*) The probable requirements of belligerents and neutrals for such supplies at the close of hostilities.

(*c*) The sources from which, and the conditions under which, such supplies can be obtained and transported, and, in particular, the extent to which they might be obtained from the United Kingdom or within the Empire, or from Allied or neutral countries.

(2) To consider also whether any measure of control will require to be exercised, and the extent and character of such control.

The following compose the individual committees:—

Aluminium.—Mr. Cecil L. Budd, C.B.E., Ministry of Munitions Chairman; Mr. Murray Morrison, of Messrs. the British Aluminium Company (Limited); Mr. H. J. Jack, of Messrs. the Aluminium Corporation (Limited); and Mr. F. W. Gower, of Messrs. the Birmingham Aluminium Casting Company.

Antimony.—Mr. Cecil L. Budd, C.B.E., Ministry of Munitions, Chairman; Lieutenant-Colonel A. J. Foster, C.M.G., of the Ministry of Munitions; Mr. Clive Cookson, of Messrs. Cookson and Co.; and Mr. Miller Hallett.

Copper.—Mr. Cecil L. Budd, C.B.E., Ministry of Munitions, Chairman; Mr. Thomas Bolton, of the Wire Association; Mr. Ambrose Hopper, of the Cold Rolled Metals Association; Mr. George Jewell, Ministry of Munitions; Sir Gerard A. Muntz, Bt., of the Brass and Copper Tube Association; Mr. Leonard Sumner, Copper Manufacturers' Association; and Mr. R. W. Rucker, Chairman of the Committee of the London Metal Exchange.

Lead.—Mr. Cecil L. Budd, C.B.E., Ministry of Munitions, Chairman; Lieutenant-Colonel A. J. Foster, C.M.G., representing the Lead Manufacturers' Association, White Lead Manufacturers' Association, and Lead Oxide Manufacturers' Association; Mr. Clive Cookson, of Messrs. Cookson and Co. (Limited), Newcastle-on-Tyne; Mr. F. C. Hill, of Messrs. Locke, Lancaster, and Co. (Limited), London; and Mr R. W. Rucker, Chairman of the Committee of the London Metal Exchange.

Nickel.—Mr. Cecil L. Budd, C.B.E., Ministry of Munitions (Chairman); Lieutenant-Colonel A. J. Foster, C.M.G., Ministry of Munitions; Mr. Saxton Noble, of Messrs. Armstrong, Whitworth, and Co. (Limited); Mr. D. O. Evans, of Messrs. Mond Nickel Co. (Limited); and Mr. A. H. Wiggin, of Messrs. Henry Wiggin and Co. (Limited).

Spelter.—Mr. Cecil L. Budd, C.B.E., Ministry of Munitions (Chairman); Mr. F. A. Keating, Chairman of the Zinc Smelters' Association; Mr. Peter Rylands, Chairman of the Wire Netting Association; Mr. Henry Summers, Chairman of the Galvanized Iron Manufacturers' Association; and Mr. A. Hopper, of the Cold Rolled Metals Association.

Tin.—Mr. Cecil L. Budd, C.B.E., Ministry of Munitions (Chairman); Mr. J. B. Young, of Messrs. E. Boustead and Co. (the chief importers of Straits Tin); Mr. H. C. Bond, Chairman of the Tin Plate Manufacturers' Association; and Mr. R. W. Rucker, Chairman of the Committee of the London Metal Exchange.

Ferro-Alloys.—Mr. E. W. Harbord, C.B.E., Ministry of Munitions (Chairman; Mr. A. Balfour, of the High Speed Steel Alloys (Limited); Mr. H. A. Blackwell, of Messrs. G. G. Blackwell, Sons and Co. (Limited); Mr. W. Conan, of the Continuous Reaction Company (Limited); Mr. F. MacLaren of the Thermo Electric Ore Reduction Corporation (Limited); Mr. H. Pelle, of the Newcastle Alloy Company (Limited); and Mr. T. R. Phillips, Ministry of Munitions.

Asbestos.—Admiral Sir E. B. Slade, K.C.V.O., K.C.I.E. (Chairman); Mr. C. J. Bell, of Bell's United Asbestos Company; and Mr. Harold Jones, of Turner Bros. Asbestos Company.

Hides and Skins.—Mr. Lawson-Johnson (Chairman), Mr. F. H. Briggs, Mr. H. Percy Dendum, Mr. W. L. Ingle, Mr. Charles A. Scriven, Mr. Henry Ward, and Mr. S. Young.

BUILDING MATERIALS.

A special Committee has been appointed to advise on the important questions connected with the supply of building materials. Its terms of reference are as follows:—

(1) To inquire into the extent of the probable demands for building materials for all purposes which will arise in this country during the transition period, and the extent of the available supply and form of such material.

(2) To inquire how far the quantities of materials now available are capable of increase, what are the difficulties in increasing them, and how these difficulties can be removed; and to report to what extent an increase in production will affect the price of materials.

(3) In the event of the supply of material or labour being insufficient to fulfil the total building demand, to consider the principles and methods by which the priority of various claims should be settled; and to report what steps are necessary to ensure that the manufacture of the material so far as it is at present inadequate shall be extended in time to secure sufficient quantities for use when required on the cessation of hostilities, and to recommend what steps should be taken during the war to facilitate a prompt commencement of building work at that time.

(4) Generally to consider and report upon any conditions affecting the building trade which tend to cause unduly high prices, and to make recommendations in regard to any measure of control which it may be desirable to exercise over the purchase, production, transport, and distribution of material.

The Committee consists of the following members:—

Mr. J. Carmichael, J.P. (Chairman); Sir Arthur Shirley Benn, K.B.E., M.P.; Mr. C. B. Broad; Sir Maurice Bonham Carter, K.C.V.O., K.C.B.; Mr. J. Good; Mr. W. J. Jones, C.B.E.; Mr. J. Walker Smith, M.Inst.C.E.; Mr. J. Storrs, J.P.; Sir John Tudor Walters, M.P.; and Mr. H. D. Searles Wood, F.R.I.B.A.

Timber Supplies.—A report has been made on the future timber supplies of Great Britain by Professor E. B. Stebbing.

COUNCIL ON PRIORITY AFTER THE WAR.

The War Cabinet recently set up a Cabinet Committee to deal with post-war priority questions and a standing Council on Post-War Priority, composed of representatives of employers and workpeople in various industries, is now at work. This council is constituted as follows:—

MINISTER OF RECONSTRUCTION (President).

SIR HENRY BIRCHENOUGH, K.C.M.G. (Chairman).

MEMBERS.—Sir Kenneth Anderson, K.C.M.G., Orient Steam Navigation Company, London, Ministry of Shipping; Mr. W. Appleton, General Federation of Trade Unions; Mr. H. R. Armitage, Bradford Dyers' Association, Manchester; Mr. J. T. Brownlie, Amalgamated Society of Engineers; Colonel Byrne, C.M.G., Secretary of the War Priorities Committee; Mr. J. Carmichael, Contractor, Wandsworth, London, S.W.; Mr. J. H. Clapham, C.B.E., Litt.D., Board of Trade; Sir Sydney Henn, K.B.E., Director of Priority, Army Contracts Department, War Office; Mr. W. J. Larke, O.B.E., British Thomson-Houston Company, Rugby, Ministry of Munitions; Sir Peter McClelland, K.B.E., Messrs. Duncan, Fox, and Co., London; Sir Herbert Rowell, K.B.E., R. and W. Hawthorn, Leslie, and Co., Newcastle-on-Tyne; Sir David Shackleton, K.C.B., Secretary, Ministry of Labour, ex-President Trade Union Congress, and ex-Chairman of National Labour Party; Mr. Wallace Thorneycroft, Lochgelly Iron and Coal Company, Steel Company of Scotland; Mr. Alexander Walker, John Walker and Sons, Kilmarnock, Ministry of Reconstruction; and Mr. J. Wormald, Mather and Platt, Engineers, Manchester, Chairman of the Industries Committee. Additional Labour representatives have been invited to join the council, and their names will shortly be announced.

INTERIM INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION COMMITTEES.

The proposals submitted by the Committee on the relations between employers and employed, viz., that in each industry which has reached a sufficient level of organization there should be established a Joint Standing Industrial Council consisting of equal numbers of representatives of associations of employers and trade unions, having been approved by the Government, the Minister of Reconstruction will consult these councils, where they have been formed, on reconstruction questions affecting their industry.

Joint Industrial Councils have been set up in the following industries:—

Baking.	Hosiery.
Bedsteads.	Leather-goods and belting.
Bobbins.	Matches.
Building.	Paint and varnish.
China-clay.	Pottery.
Furniture.	Rubber.
Gold, silver, horological and allied trades.	Silk.
Heavy chemicals.	Vehicle building.

In certain industries, however, owing to various reasons, the progress made with the establishment of joint standing industrial councils has as yet been slow, and the Minister of Reconstruction has been, in association with the Board of Trade and the Ministry of Labour, promoting the formation of interim industrial reconstruction committees consisting of equal numbers of representatives of organizations of employers and trade unions. These committees have been formed in the following industries:—

Basket-making.	Heavy chemicals. In this industry a joint industrial council has also been set up which is represented on this Special Committee, which has been formed at the suggestion of the Minister of Reconstruction to deal with technical and commercial questions falling outside the scope of the Council.
Blacksmiths and farriers.	Leather production.
Brick and fireclay.	Lock, safe, and latch.
Brush-making.	Music trades.
Catering.	Packing-case making.
Cement.	Patent fuel.
Cocoa, chocolate, sugar confectionery, and jam.	Quarrying.
Coopering.	Railway carriage and wagon building.
Cutlery.	Wire manufacturing.
Envelopes and manufactured stationery.	Woollen and worsted.
Fertilizers.	
Furniture warehousing and removing.	
Glass.	
Gloves.	
Iron and steel trades. The work of this Committee is limited to commercial and technical questions.	

(Continued at foot of next column.)

Arrangements have also been made with the Cotton Control Board and the Provisional Committees which have been appointed in 17 industries to draft constitutions for Joint Industrial Councils to undertake the functions of Interim Industrial Reconstruction Committees.

STORAGE EXECUTIVE.

This body has been appointed to collect information from Departments of available storage accommodation, to act as a clearing-house of information in respect of such storage, and to allocate the same in the event of more than one Department requiring it. This body is composed as follows:—

Sir Charles Metcalfe, Bt. (Chairman); Captain Norbury, R.N., Superintendent of Ordnance Stores, Admiralty; Mr. J. W. L. Oliver, O.B.E., Deputy Director of Naval Stores, Admiralty; Colonel A. S. Redman, of the Directorate of Movements and Railways, War Office; Brigadier-General Heron, C.B., of the Directorate of Mobilization, War Office; Brigadier-General Mirendin, Director of Demobilization, Air Ministry; Lieutenant-Colonel C. D. Harvey, R.A.F., Inspector of Stores Depôts, Air Ministry; Lieutenant-Colonel Lindsay, Assistant Director of Movements, Air Ministry; Mr. W. T. Potts, Director of Forwarding Department, Ministry of Munitions, Major the Hon. L. H. Cripps, C.B.E., Deputy Controller of Stores, Ministry of Munitions; Mr. H. F. Carlill, Assistant Secretary, Industrial Power and Transport Department, Board of Trade; Sir Robert Turnbull, Kt., M.V.O., Railway Executive Committee; Mr. L. A. P. Warner, Director of Ports Branch, Ministry of Shipping; Mr. E. J. Foley, Director of Military Sea Transport, Ministry of Shipping; Sir Norman Hill, Kt., Chairman, Port and Transit Executive Committee; Sir F. Baines, Kt., C.B.E., M.V.O., Principal Architect, Office of Works; J. Baillie Hamilton, Esq., Director of Storage, Ministry of Food; Sir Howard Frank, K.C.B., Director of Lands, War Office, Ministry of Munitions, and Air Ministry, Disposal of Surplus Government Property Advisory Council; and Lieutenant-Colonel Bonham Carter, Ministry of Reconstruction, who also acts as Secretary to the Committee.

November 1918

The Sheffield Telegraph. 13.11.1

ENGINEERING AND METALLURGY NOTES.

Training Women as Engineers.

Can women be trained as engineers?

The question, so frequently asked since girls showed that they could handle turret and capstan lathes and other machine tools with care and accuracy, has apparently been answered in the affirmative by a leading firm in the trade, and it would seem that it has opened yet another profession to the educated woman. Hitherto it has commonly been supposed that the mechanical instinct, the ability to construct, was the special prerogative of the male. In this connection it must be admitted that woman was seldom if ever afforded the opportunity to show what she could do; there were many who looked askance at the woman who could drive a motor or motor-cycle, and, for some reason, it was almost regarded as unwomanly for her to repair a puncture or replace a faulty sparking plug. The altered conditions brought about by the war has changed all that, and it certainly seems that in the near future woman will be given the opportunity of proving her capabilities in many branches of engineering, and it only remains to be seen whether, given proper and systematic training, she will be able to make good.

A little over a year ago a well-known firm of manufacturers of precision grinding machinery, finding themselves seriously hampered by a lack of skilled men, decided to train women to carry out their work. There were many who considered the scheme as foredoomed to failure, but the firm made their plans, and have now, after some fifteen months of experience, allowed some account of the results obtained to be made public.

A Fair Test.

Some thirty women were selected for the work, and of these twelve were specially trained in the tracing and detailing sections of the drawing office, whilst the others, who were not of quite so high a standard of education, were set to work at the production of blue prints, with the prospect of early promotion to tracing and even more advanced work as soon as they showed ability and aptitude. It was understood that they should take precedence of any more recently engaged employees in their promotion, provided they gave reasonable promise of being able to undertake work of a higher grade. Those who were engaged as tracers were also told that they would be promoted to assembly drawings, and even to designing in due course, and as a result two out of the thirty are now producing workshop drawings from complete plans of smaller scale, and one of these has already proved her ability to prepare drawings for foundry and other patterns practically unaided.

Although the firm felt it advisable to select well-educated women for their work, they regarded brightness and quick intelligence as essential. It is interesting to note—although it sheds a somewhat subdued light on the value of modern education—that those applicants who had had previous training in the high schools on drawing work were not so successful in carrying out their duties as women of average intelligence who had not been through the school drawing classes. In discussing this point, Messrs. Dunbar and Freeland, to whom the writer is indebted for this information, admit that the reason for this is not quite clear. They suggest that it is probably due to the fact that the girls, or indeed any who have had some instruction, feel that they are quite well versed in the subject, and are not disposed to follow closely the instructions given, or to learn the work in the way in which the firm feel they should be taught.

The possession of ideas of one's own has often been a bar to success in other walks of life, and a further point is that the instruction of the public school is generally arranged for a broad general knowledge of a subject, and so is rarely applicable to any particular and specialised branch. Whatever may be the reason, the firm has found that many who are perfectly well versed in the technical terms associated with drawing may possess only the faintest notion as to how to make use of the knowledge they possess. In this matter it appears that age has little to do with it, as those employed ranged from girls of seventeen who had just left school to women of thirty or thirty-five years of age.

A Probation Period.

Dealing first with the work of lesser importance, it appears that the blue printing section is conducted entirely with women help. In the course of an interesting communication on the subject to the "Iron Age," it is mentioned that the normal output of this section is from 500,000 to 1,000,000 square inches of finished blue print per week. This amount of blue printing is handled by a forewoman and two girls. This staff,

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A Probation Period.

Dealing first with the work of lesser importance, it appears that the blue printing section is conducted entirely with women help. In the course of an interesting communication on the subject to the "Iron Age," it is mentioned that the normal output of this section is from 800,000 to 1,000,000 square inches of finished blue print per week. This amount of blue printing is handled by a forewoman and two girls. This staff, besides doing the work of ordinary blue printing, take care of all the other forms of reproduction work, such as photostats, Van Dykes, etc. The equipment of the blue-print section consists of one 45in. continuous printing machine, one 60in. continuous washing and drying machine, photostat machine, trimmers, washtrays, hangers, etc. The girls have a weekly basic rate for 44 hours of service. They are guaranteed their weekly rate, but they work on a piecework system and average 20 to 50 per cent. over their base rates.

In the course of the article referred to it is pointed out that women are employed as tracers with a definite understanding as to their duties and advancement. They are given to understand that they are not certain of success and must prove their ability before they can be recognised as a member of the department. They are first taken on with the understanding that they are to work for one month under competent instruction as a sort of probation period in which the supervising engineer can decide whether they are capable of development for actual work. In this period they have eight lesson sheets which they have to make over and over again until their work is satisfactory to the instructor. That they may feel a degree of contentment, and that they may take care of their financial obligations, they are paid a weekly rate of about 34s. In other words, the compny is willing to pay to develop a tracer, or, in the words of the supervisor, "it is willing to gamble six or seven pounds that it can make a tracer of a girl in four weeks."

At the end of this probation period, or before, if it is possible, a decision is made as to the prospective usefulness of the student. If the decision is a negative one she leaves; if it is affirmative she is put on regular work at the normal rate for which inexperienced boy tracers can be hired in that locality. This remains her rate of pay for five months. At the end of five months she is advanced a few shillings a week, and at the end of six months more she receives another increase. Further advancement in pay is based upon the ability she may develop to perform the work, and the degree to which she demonstrates that she is capable of taking on new tasks and new responsibilities. The company purposes paying the women the same rate as would have to be paid to young men for corresponding service. As the company is desirous of advancing the women as fast as possible, those showing particular adaptability for drawing work, and having somewhat of a mechanical instinct, are developed into detailers and for layout work.

A Year's Experience.

When a woman is engaged, and during the instruction period of a month or less, she is required to charge her time against an order which is issued at the time she is hired. This

is done in order that records may be kept of th exact cost of each girl's instruction. Although period of four weeks has been set as the limit o time in which a woman shall show her adapta ability for the work, in the group that has bee trained it has never been necessary to go to thi limit of time, and many have proved thei ability to perform the desired tasks in three o four days.

Each woman student is furnished with ar equipment complete for the work which she i to perform. It is believed that this is quite a factor in the successful conduct of a woman's section of a tracing division, because when they are given only such instruments as are needed in their work they become proficient in the use of those instruments, and are not confused by having a complete set of drafting implements with many of which they are not sufficiently acquainted to make proper use. As the company furnishes the instruments, it is assured that they are high grade, are all just alike, and that one girl has no advantage over another in the tools she uses. So the common excuse that "If I had such and such instruments like the other girl I could do better work" is not heard.

The Universal drafting machine is used in the entire department, this applying to women tracers as well as the regular draftsmen, and therefore the instructors are not confronted with the problem of teaching the use of the T square, parallel ruler, and other instruments. This also eliminates the triangle and scales, and the equipment is reduced to a very small number of instruments which the women must master.

There is no need here to go into particulars of the lessons given, although Messrs. Dunbar and Freeland have set them out in complete detail. The following summary given of a year's experience is certain, however, to be of interest to every firm which has contemplated the employment of women in drawing office and other engineering work, as well as to all who may contemplate taking up this branch of engineering as a profession, and may consequently be quoted at length.

The training division is in charge of a man competent by experience and temperament for this special task. The success of such work rests largely in the selection of the man to take charge of it. One must be secured who is competent to direct the girls, and, further, can appreciate their little peculiarities and tactfully give instruction and criticism so as to gain their confidence. It has been determined, too, that another important feature in the successful conduct of such a division of women workers is to place them in a separate room so that there will be little occasion for them to intermingle with the draftsmen Reference has been made to the necessity for careful selection of the students, and too much emphasis cannot be placed upon the statement that experience dictates that those who have not had previous training learn more rapidly and thoroughly than those who have had some idea of the work and have well-fixed conceptions of what they can and cannot do. Experience, too, dictates that there is little opportunity for group instruction, as each woman student must be studied and treated individually to secure the best results.

The adaptability of women to this work is particularly well shown by some figures of the cost of training. Of the girls who have taken up tracing study there has been but one who failed. The cost of training the first five girls were, respectively, £1 12s. 8d., £1 9s. 5d., £1 5s., £1 12s., and £2 8s. The women who have taken up the training since then have cost approximately the same amounts.

Star. 13.11.18.

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A MONTH'S HOLIDAY FOR MUNITIONERS?

Civil War Workers' Committee Unable to Agree.

The question of the month's holiday for munition workers is one that will have to be settled promptly by the War Cabinet.

The Civil War Workers' Committee, which was appointed by Dr. Addison (containing representatives of the departments concerned, of employers, and of labour) has been unable to come to a unanimous decision.

The Committee is split into two sections—the official and the Labour members. The majority includes Mr. Gerald Bellhouse, of the Home Office, the Right Hon. F. D. Acland, M.P. (Board of Agriculture), Mr. J. A. Barlow (Ministry of Munitions), Mr. W. H. Beveridge (Board of Trade), Mr. H. B. Butler (Ministry of Labour), Mr. J. A. Dale (War Office Contracts Department), Mr. E. Jardine, M.P., Mr. D. S. Marjoribanks, Mr. C. F. Rey (Ministry of Labour), and Mr. Humbert Wolfe (Ministry of Munitions).

Unable to Support Scheme.

They are unable to support the scheme either at once or during the next 12 months.

The long hours of the early stages of the war have been steadily reduced, and the cases of T.N.T. sickness have fallen from 11 per cent. in one factory in August, 1916, to a maximum of less than 1 per cent., while in many filling factories it is nil.

In certain areas a limited number of munition workers are suffering from the strain of long journeys in overcrowded trains and trams, but it is not possible to select them for a holiday.

There is no analogy with the case of the soldier; munition workers may move from works to works as they choose.

Demand for General Holiday?

It would be impossible to draw an equitable distinction between munition workers and other classes of workers, and an attempt to do so would lead to an irresistible demand for a general holiday at the expense of the State.

In a soap factory, for instance, persons making glycerine are doing munition work, and others are not. How could the holiday be given to one class and refused to others? Besides, clerks and shop assistants who have worked at least as hard as munition workers for much less pay would have morally ah strong a claim for a holiday.

Lastly, the majority believe that instead of assisting to minimise the dislocation of the transfer from war to peace work, such a holiday would have a precisely opposite effect.

The Minority Report.

The Labour Minority's report is signed by Miss Susan Lawrence, Dr. Marion Phillips, Mr. J. J. Mallon, Mr R. Young, Mr. A. Bellamy, Mr. George Dallas, and Mrs. Bell-Richards.

They deny that it is impossible to discriminate between munition workers and other workers, and declare that under the Munitions of War Acts, 1915-1917 the definition has been drawn with constantly increasing precision."

But if in practice the munition workers' holiday was extended to other classes of workers the minority think this is an argument in favour of the former proposal.

Special Restrictions

The law has imposed special restrictions on munition workers, and by prosecutions for bad time-keepeing has prevented them from taking rest, while it has relaxed the operations of the Factory Acts

Although night work for women is prohibited by law, very large numers of women are now (April, 1918) working at night.

The elements of danger in N.T N work cannot be altogether eliminated by precautions, while the employment of women on labouring work formerly considered unsuitable for them has made the strain greater.

The minority therefore recommend tht every munition worker should have a month's holiday with pay at some time during the next 12 months, preferably in the "slack" season of that particu- trade.

1918. December.
Railway Nationalisation.

The Call. 21. 12. 18.

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But there is, as intimated above, a good deal more yet to follow. In the N.U.R. national programme just referred to, another important item is the thirteenth :—

"Management of Railways.—That there be equal representation, both national and local, for this union upon the management of all railways in the United Kingdom."

The General Secretary, Mr. J. H. Thomas, in his official statement on the result of the eight-hour negotiations, says: "The other matters included in our national programme will in the interval (to February 1st, 1919) be negotiated by a committee of both sides." It will be extremely interesting to see how strongly the "pull" of the organised workers will tell on this vital matter. In our opinion this is a more dramatic demand than the hours question, important though that is. If it means what it says, it is the beginning, and a big beginning, of the control of industry by the workers, which, carried out in its entirety, means, of course, the end of private ownership and control, and the running of the railways for the use and benefit of the nation under democratic control.

* * * *

Nationalisation of the railways has, of course, been in the domain of practical politics for many years, but it would probably have remained in the air but for two powerful factors—the goal aimed at by the railway trade unions and the war. So now we have Mr. Churchill, as a Minister, announcing that the Government intend to nationalise the railways. This makes it all the more necessary that the workers shall have their views and demands ready, because we do not want any more nationalising of the same kind as the Post Office, which is a bureaucracy more soulless than capitalism, if that be possible. That the workers are getting ready is shown by the fact that the Railway Clerks have drafted a Bill, which seems to be rather far-reaching. At their recent conference the Railway Clerks' Association passed the following resolution :—

"That this conference, being convinced that in order to secure the improvement of public communications and the development of national resources, it is necessary that the railways and canals in the United Kingdom should be acquired by the State, and that provision should be made for co-ordinating with the reconstructed railway service that of the Post Office, and, ultimately, the road-motor, aerial, coastal and steam packet service as parts of a national system of transport under a Minister of Transport and Communications, hereby approves the Draft Bill submitted by the Executive Committee of R.C.A. and commends it to the favourable consideration of the Government, to members of Parliament, and the Committee appointed by the Minister of Reconstruction to consider the problems that will arise when the present war control of the railways ceases."

We have not yet seen the Draft Bill, and cannot, therefore, commit ourselves to approval of it in all or any of its details, but the fact that the workers have put their views into concrete form is in itself a valuable sign.

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Glasgow News
23.12.18

LABOUR PROBLEM

SCHEME FOR TRAINING OF WOMEN

In view of the greater extent to which women may find employment in the future a sub-committee, under the chairmanship of Miss A. Susan Lawrence, of the Women's Advisory Committee on the Ministry of Reconstruction, have presented to Dr Addison a report urging the necessity for co-ordination of the provision of vocational training for women. The Ministry of Munitions have provided women's training at approximately seventy training centres, seven of these being instructional factories and the remainder technical schools and institutes. The factories are controlled by the Ministry, but the schools are managed by the local education authorities, though the Ministry pay all expenses and the Board of Education give assistance and advice. The Ministry of Pensions has powers for the training of disabled men and pensionable widows. Trade instruction for disabled men is under the supervision of national and local technical advisory committees set up by the Ministry of Labour, and many appropriate schemes for training have been drawn up. The training of pensioned widows, however, has been small in extent. It is estimated that their number within the next six months will amount to 190,000. Only 460 have applied for training. Sanction for this has been given in 204 cases, of which 27 were officers' widows. No communication has been made to the representatives of organised labour with regard either to the curriculum or to the remuneration during or after the training, though advice has been taken with regard to possible openings. Trade boards have important powers as to training, and certain steps have been taken also by the new Whitley Councils and by the Central Committee on Women's Employment.

The report says that the number of bodies interested in training and the want of co-ordination between them may lead to serious overlapping and waste of energy.

The committee consider that co-operation between the Board of Education and the local authorities, associations of employers and employed, and the Ministry of Labour is necessary. The actual training, so far as it is undertaken by public bodies, should be the function of the local education authorities acting either through private or aided institutions and under the control of the Board of Education. They consider that for each industry central and local advisory trade committees representing employers and employed should be formed to draw up an appropriate trade curriculum, to decide as to the rates of wages to be paid during and after the industrial course, to advise as to suitable openings in their industry, to recommend technical instructors for appointment, etc. The Ministry of Labour should be charged with the duty of finding out the demand for trained persons under any particular occupation.

The functions of the Ministry of Pensions and of the Central Committee for Women's Employment should be those of recommending and assisting individuals suitable for training. Neither they nor any other Government Department should provide instruction or institutes; such purely educational work should be carried on by those authorities already set up by Parliament for this purpose. The committee think that the money already expended by the Ministry of Munitions on trainng should be considered as educational endowment, and that the property and equipment should become the property of the appropriate local authority.

The Committee draw attention to the fact that, though their inquiry concerned women alone, the considerations which have determined their recommendations are applicable to both sexes, and they leave it to the Ministry of Reconstruction to consider how far their recommendations might be applied generally.

WHAT EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK INVOLVES

One of the most interesting parts of the fourth report, just issued, of the Special Committee of the London Chamber of Commerce on Trade During and After the War is that which deals with the question of increased wages.

The success with which many classes of workers have demanded higher wages owing to economic conditions—partly assisted by Government action, but largely due to the circumstances of the war, and which may or may not prove merely temporary—must, the report says, be a matter of grave concern to all employers, whether Government, municipal, or private establishments. The question of wages involves consideration of what a particular industry can bear, especially in view of the claims of women workers to be placed on a parity with men.

The principle of "equal pay for equal work," strictly applied, involves equality of output and efficiency, a consideration which is not always appreciated by labour or by the public. It is generally admitted, and this view finds support amongst labour leaders, that the maintenance of wages on a higher scale than in pre war times, leaving out of consideration war bonuses granted purely on account of the increased cost of living, depends upon increased production. The effect of foreign competition upon wages must also be borne in mind so far as industries which depend to any material extent upon export trade are concerned. It may be hoped that due allowance will be made for these factors in any legislation which may be passed with the object of reverting to trade union rules and conditions suspended for the duration of the war, and that any measure introduced into Parliament with this general object will, by agreement between capital and labour, be so framed as to allow of an equitable adjustment consistently with the requirements of the future.

In their competition with foreign countries British manufacturers have suffered severely in the past from the limited output of their employees, whether due to trade union restrictions or other causes. It is, therefore, essential that this fact should be emphasised in the proper quarters, as if anything like the present standard of wages is to be maintained after the war, a substantial increase in output must be assured, in the best interests of employers and employed, in which both must do their share.

OUT-OF-WORK DONATION AND THE HOLIDAYS

It has been brought to the notice of the Department of Demobilisation and Resettlement that the ordinary periods of stoppage without pay over the Christmas and New Year holiday season are being extended by many employers, and it has accordingly been necessary to consider whether out-of-work donation under the scheme recently instituted by the Government should be paid in these circumstances. Having regard to the fact that the workpeople now in question are not discharged and will resume work on a definite date, it is clear that they are not unemployed in the usual sense. It would be a material extension of the original objects of the donation scheme if the whole of such period of stoppage, including as they do days of customary holiday, were to be treated as unemployment. It would, on the other hand, be productive of hardship if these periods were entirely excluded from the donation scheme irrespective of their length. Having regard to these considerations, it has been decided that in cases where the holiday commonly granted on this occasion is extended by a period of suspension, donation will become payable after a waiting period of six week-days (not necessarily consecutive) instead of the normal waiting period of three consecutive working days.

Thirty thousand munition workers employed at Vickers, Barrow, stopped work on Saturday until January 6. This suspension is to enable the firm to take stock and prepare for peace industries.

Newcastle Journal
14. 1. 19

7031

PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS FOR WORKMEN'S DWELLINGS.

By a Working Woman.

"Housing Schemes" fill the bill as one of the most pressing questions of reconstruction to be carried out by this next Government.

We have had many schemes for housing the working classes by private builders—model cottages and flats and tenement buildings, but all have fallen short of being really suitable for the class of people who want them. What we all desire to possess are plain, substantial houses built in accordance with our needs and suitable to the way we live our lives.

First, they must be on a satisfactory basis as regards rent. They must not be on a Government charity basis, as there is no more independent member of society than the average working man; so he must pay a suitable rent. The working man in the country considers 5s per week as much as he can afford with his rates over and above. The factory worker in the town considers 7s 6d a week his limit, the landlord paying the rates in his case. Then if we place the rent at 5s per week in the country and 7s 6d in the town, we must build our houses accordingly.

Let me tell you of a block of houses in the country erected for working people not ten years ago. There are three bedrooms up stairs, entirely suitable; a small sitting room and kitchen, with a piece four-foot square partitioned off for a pantry; no scullery, no pan closet, no washing copper. Consider what this means to the mother in this house. Everything has to be done on the kitchen table: cooking washing up, ironing the clothes and baking, with her family sitting round in discomfort.

SCRAP THE SITTING ROOM.

You say why don't they go into the sitting room? In the winter time they would require additional light and fire, and it would mean additional work for the already overworked mother. Now, if I were planning that house, I should scrap the useless sitting room; place the kitchen range in it, add to it part of the original kitchen, and turn the remaining part of the kitchen into a scullery. I would have a copper for washing days built into this scullery, a sink for washing dishes, and a good-sized table to cook and bake and iron on. Last, but not least, I would have the bath camouflaged under this table. The table top acting as a bed for the bath.

You ask me why I would put the bath there? Because most working families have their bath at night before retiring to rest, and generally like to have the benefit of the kitchen fire to dress and undress at. Then there are the children. The mothers can wash them and bring them to the kitchen fire to be dried and dressed for bed. You must keep in mind that the mother has all this work to do herself. It must be made as easy as possible for her.

Another question I have been asked is: why have the copper for washing in the scullery? Why not have a washhouse outside? Here the children come in again. The mother has to do the washing and attend to the children, and if she can do the washing in the scullery she can keep an eye on the children in the kitchen. Then, when her husband returns from work, he will find a comfortable warm kitchen, with no disturbance of housework going on to turn him out to seek comfort elsewhere.

The town flats for workmen are planned much in the same style, the "parlour" or sitting room taking up the much needed space for kitchen and scullery, and otherwise cramping the real living room of the house into a regular cubby hole.

WOMEN TO SIT IN JUDGMENT.

The remedy I would suggest is that the plans for workmen's dwellings be submitted to a committee of sensible working women who would be able to point out defects and supply suggestions to make life easier for the fortunate working women who are to possess them.

Lastly, we come to the slum-dwellers. They are a class of people who need more than "housing schemes" to lift them out of their dirt and degradation and make them worthy citizens. They want the "will" as well as the means to make homes for themselves and their children. Some of them have sunk to this existence through drink or ill-health, and some have been brought up in it and never known anything better.

It is our duty to provide them with habitable houses, and it is doubly our duty to see that their children are taught the benefits of clean surroundings, and instil into their minds a horror of dirt, so that they shall gradually outgrow the state they were born too, and become useful citizens of our great Empire.

The Hon. Miss Akers Douglas, speaking on housing schemes at Hexham last week, advised the women to hold meetings to consider what kind of houses they wanted under the new housing scheme. She told us communal houses and kitchens and flats with restaurants in the basement were talked of in London, but what was suitable for London was obviously not suitable for the provinces, and unless we had definite plans and wants to offer for ourselves we were likely to have any of the plans going the round "dumped" on us.

Let the women, she said, meet together, where they can and settle amongst themselves what they consider a working man's house ought to consist of. Then let them make their opinion public.

That is why I have given our views.

STOCK.

Daily Telegraph
23. 12. 18

WOMEN AND INDUSTRY.

In view of the greater extent to which women may find employment in the future, a sub-committee (under the chairmanship of Miss A. Susan Lawrence) of the Women's Advisory Committee on the Ministry of Reconstruction have presented to Dr. Addison a report urging the necessity for co-ordination of the provision of vocational training for women. The report states that the number of bodies interested in training, and the want of co-ordination between them may lead to serious overlapping and waste of energy. Before detailing steps to bring about co-ordination, the committee express the opinion that a woman who is induced to spend time to learn a trade in which there is no opening for her has suffered a serious wrong, and that it is necessary, therefore:

1. That persons should be trained only for occupations in which an ascertained opening for their labour exists.

2. That the training should be strictly practical in character.

The actual training, so far as it is undertaken by public bodies, should be the function of the local education authorities, acting either through private or aided institutions, and under the control of the Board of Education. Two local or central authorities dealing with training for the same class of persons, and possibly for the same occupations, would inevitably lead to confusion. They consider that for each industry central and local advisory trade committees representing employers and employed should be formed to draw up an appropriate trade curriculum, to decide as to the rates of wages to be paid during and after the industrial course, to advise as to suitable openings in their industry, to recommend technical instructors for appointment, &c. The Ministry of Labour should be charged with the duty of finding out the demand for trained persons under any particular occupation. The functions of the Ministry of Pensions and of the Central Committee for women's employment should be those of recommending and assisting individuals suitable for training. Neither they nor any other Government department should provide instruction or institutes; such purely educational work should be carried on by those authorities already set up by Parliament for this purpose. The Committee think that the money already expended by the Ministry of Munitions on training should be considered as educational endowment, and that the property and equipment should become the property of the appropriate local authority. The Committee draw attention to the fact that although their inquiry concerned women alone, the considerations which have determined their recommendations are applicable to both sexes, and they leave it to the Minister of Reconstruction to consider how far their recommendations might be applied generally.

Daily News
23 12. 18

BACK TO CIVIL LIFE.

Practical Training For Women.

REPORT BY THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE.

A sub-committee (under the chairmanship of Miss A. Susan Lawrence) of the Women's Advisory Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction have presented to Dr. Addison a report urging the necessity for co-ordination of the provision of vocational training for women. They point out that whereas before the war provision for technical instruction was mainly in the hands of the Board of Education and the local education authorities, the war has brought about a great diffusion of control.

The Committee express the opinion that a woman who is induced to spend time to learn a trade in which there is no opening for her has suffered a serious wrong, and that it is necessary therefore:

That persons should be trained only for occupations in which an ascertained opening for their labour exists.

That the training should be strictly practical in character.

CO-OPERATION.

It is necessary therefore that the national and local demand for trained persons for each occupation should be ascertained, and further that the training should be carried on under the closest possible co-operation with those actually engaged in the industry itself.

The Committee consider the co-operation between the Board of Education and the local authorities' associations of employers and employed and the Ministry of Labour is necessary. The actual training, so far as it is undertaken by public bodies, should be the function of the local education authorities acting either through private or aided institutions and under the control of the Board of Education.

They consider that for each industry Central and Local Advisory Trade Committees representing employers and employed should be formed to draw up an appropriate trade curriculum, to decide as to the rates of wages to be paid during and after the industrial course, to advise as to suitable openings in their industry, to recommend technical instructors for appointment, etc.

THE DEMAND.

The Ministry of Labour should be charged with the duty of finding out the demand for trained persons under any particular occupation. The functions of the Ministry of Pensions and of the Central Committee for Women's Employment should be those of recommending and assisting individuals suitable for training. Neither they nor any other Government Department should provide instruction or institutes; such purely educational work should be carried on by those authorities already set up by Parliament for this purpose. The Committee think that the money already expended by the Ministry of Munitions on training should be considered as educational endowment, and that the property and equipment should become the property of the appropriate local authority.

They draw attention to the fact that although their inquiry concerning women alone, the considerations which have determined their recommendations are applicable to both sexes, and they leave it to the Minister of Reconstruction to consider how far their recommendations might be applied generally.

NAVAL OFFICERS.

Officers borne in ships and establishments in the United Kingdom must make any application for demobilisation through their commanding officer, from whom also they should obtain any forms S.1299 required. Personal application at the Admiralty is not permitted.

OUT-OF-WORK DONATION.

It has been decided that in cases where the holidays commonly granted at Christmas and the New Year are extended by a period of suspension out-of-work donation will become payable after a waiting period of six week-days (not necessarily consecutive) instead of the normal waiting period of three consecutive working days.

MEDICAL EXAMINATION.

The Ministry of Pensions state that the demobilisation scheme provides for every man receiving a form on which he states whether he claims to suffer from a disability attributable to his services in the forces. If he does claim such disability medical examination will not delay discharge, but the man may be required to attend a local medical board after he has returned to civil life. All men who state that they suffer from a disability due to service have the right to be medically examined, and there is no question of a man "forfeiting his claim in his haste to leave the Army."

Times. 27. 12. 18.

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SUBSTITUTE LABOUR.

FUTURE OF THE WOMAN CIVIL SERVANT.

RECONSTRUCTION PROBLEMS.

In their Sixth and Final Report, which has been published as a White Paper [Cd.9228] the Civil War Workers' Committee, who were appointed to consider "the arrangements which should be made for the demobilization of workers engaged during the war in national factories, controlled establishments, in other firms engaged in the production of munitions of war and on Government contracts, or in firms where substitute labour has been employed for the duration of the war," deal with the subject of substitute labour. In a prefatory note to the Report, Dr. Addison, Minister of Reconstruction, states that the principal recommendations of the Committee have been adopted by the Government.

The Committee remark that the position regarding substitute labour is different from that of the workers engaged on munitions or Army and Navy contracts which they have considered in earlier Reports. Here the new labour has been brought in mainly to replace the men called to the Colours, and it will be discharged only very gradually as the soldiers are demobilized. The Board of Trade returns of employment for April, 1918, show an increase of 878,000 in the number of females employed as substitutes, and a net replacement of 1,064,000 in male labour since July, 1914. The number of male substitutes who are likely to be left without employment is not serious, and the Committee do not think it necessary to make any special recommendation concerning them. With regard to the women, the Committee remark that the position is more critical. Outside the metal and chemical trades (which were discussed in an earlier Report), the great bulk of the women are engaged in clerical and commercial occupations. Separate consideration has been given to the case of temporary clerks enployed in Government Departments, since it was felt that in several respects this presented special difficulties, while an undoubted responsibility rests on the Government, as their employers, to do everything possible to facilitate their employment when their services are no longer required. The Committee state that:—

The whole question of the future position of women in clerical and commercial occupations, not only in London, but in the provinces, is one of great importance and difficulty. It is very desirable not only that the opportunities and conditions of their employment in these occupations should be considered, but also that a more definite understanding should be arrived at with regard to the standards of education and training which should be recognized as qualifications for the various branches and grades of such work. In this connexion it might also be advisable to review the existing facilities for vocational training and to consider on what lines additional facilities, if required, should be provided. We recommend, therefore, that the Ministry of Labour should be asked to set up, in connexion with the Labour Resettlement Committee, a committee to consider and advise on these problems.

EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGES.

The extent and rate of displacement of temporary clerks in Government Departments will be affected by very dissimilar conditions in different departments; but, viewing the question as a whole, the Committee feel that a gradual adjustment may be looked for rather than sudden or complete dislocation. Of the men engaged as temporary clerks, a considerable proportion have been recruited from occupations to which they will in all probability return when normal conditions are restored. The case of the women presents a more difficult problem. The Committee recommend:—

That the Employment Exchange which has been established at Burlington-gardens and is working in connexion with the civil Service Commission should deal with the work of demobilization; and that, if necessary, its staff should be strengthened for this purpose. That a complete register of temporary Government clerks should be formed and kept in the charge of the Burlington-gardens Exchange; and that this register should record not only the qualifications, service, &c., of each individual, but also his or her wishes with regard to continuing in employment after demobilization.

That in connexion with the same exchange there should be set up an Advisory Committee, which should collect and furnish information as to openings outside the civil service and various courses of training; and that this committee should also make arrangements, where required, for special courses of training.

The Committee refer to the fact that it has been urged that on demobilization full-time intensive courses of professional training should be arranged for a selected few, and that bursaries or maintenance grants should be given, to make it possible for full advantage to be taken of these courses. The Committee do not feel justified in recommending action on such lines except in the case of a profession in which a demand for recruits is certain to exist, and in the case of persons who in point of age and education are fully qualified. The teaching profession is a case in point, and they suggest that the question of providing special facilities and modifying regulations where necessary might well be considered by the Board of Education and the Treasury, in conjunction with the other authorities concerned. It is recommended:—

That when the vacancies in the permanent civil service come to be filled the claims of the temporary clerks should be considered, together with the claims of men discharged from the forces and of established civil servants.

That a decision with regard to the future position of women in the permanent civil service should be arrived at and carried into effect, if possible, before demobilization begins.

That as regards temporary posts, vacancies should, wherever possible, be filled by the transfer of clerks employed from other departments; and that, in the cases of those clerks whom it is impossible to retain, the period of notice given should be not less than one month.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

With relation to substitutes engaged in clerical work (otherwise than in Government departments) and in commerce, the views expressed by the different organizations consulted are in very general agreement. It is anticipated that a considerable number of the women and some of the older men engaged as substitutes will voluntarily give up their employment at the end of the war and revert to private life. While the posts of men who have joined the Forces will in almost all cases be kept open for them, it is believed that many will not wish to return to a sedentary life. No serious displacement is expected immediately after the war, but rather a gradual adjustment spread over a considerable period. The view is expressed that women will be employed in insurance offices to a greater extent than in pre-war days, and that to some extent their services will be retained in banks also. It appears that prior to the war neither the clerical workers nor their employers had been in the habit of using employment exchanges to any great extent, but the Committee understand that increasing use is now being made of them by these persons, and that special attention is given to their needs by two of the London exchanges covering districts in which offices, banks, &c., are specially represented.

The Committee recommend that steps should be taken without delay by the railway companies and the trade unions concerned to arrive at an agreement with regard to the conditions of the future employment of women on railways. As regards agriculture, it is estimated in the Board of Trade returns that the number of regular female workers in Great Britain in April, 1914, was 65,500, and that this number had increased by about 33 per cent. in April, 1918. Among these permanent workers are the 15,000 members of the Women's Land Army, as well as those other women who have been drafted on to the land since the war began either through various other organizations or individually. These have been recruited from every class and every occupation, but it is anticipated that, though some will revert to their previous occupations, a considerable proportion will wish to continue agricultural or other outdoor work. Until it is decided, however, what the post-war policy of the Government is to be with regard to such questions as food and timber production, small holdings, rural housing, and emigration, it is impossible to forecast what openings or what inducements there will be for these women to remain on the land, and how many will in the end be driven to seek other forms of employment. It would appear probable, however, that a considerable number of women will continue to be required for agricultural work for some time after peace is declared, and the Committee do not consider that any special arrangements are necessary during the demobilization period.

The Committee, having recommended the machinery which is in their opinion best suited for facilitating the transfer of substitute labour to fresh employment, add that they are satisfied that in practice it will be impossible to find immediate employment for all the workers who will be displaced. They feel, therefore, that to a large extent reliance must be placed on the scheme of general unemployment insurance recommended in their Second Interim Report, together with the further schemes for unemployment benefit which they understand are under consideration by the Government, as the means of meeting the hardships that must arise through the inevitable dislocation.

Daily Chronicle 23. 5. '19

WOMEN AS BANKERS.

NEW CAREER OPEN—BUT NO GREAT RUSH EXPECTED.

The decision of the Institute of Bankers to admit women as members opens a new career for feminine enterprise.

A "Daily Chronicle" representative who made inquiries at some of the banks yesterday found, however, that the number of women who will immediately consider banking as a career is small.

At Farrow's Bank for Women in Knightsbridge, where women were employed long before the war, an official said that no member of the staff intended to enter for banking examinations.

"Most women employed in banks were taken on temporarily, but some are remaining on the permanent staff, and some of these clerks may find it useful to pass the examinations of the Institute of Bankers," she said.

"The examinations include such subjects as taxation, Free Trade, credit, fluctuations and crises, general relation of supply, demand, and value, as well as banking law, economics, and book-keeping.

"It will place women on the same footing as men in the banking world," she added, "and I have no doubt that the managers of banks who have said so many appreciative things about the value of women's work in banks will offer their women better posts when fully qualified.

Worcester Herald 5. 4. 19

FIGHT THE FAMINE COUNCIL.

The following memorial has been sent to the Prime Minister, Members of the Government and the House of Commons:—

"We, who were not agreed on all questions during the war, are impressed with the sombre reports of famine or threatened famine received from so many and wide-spread districts in Europe. There is no time to waste. There is a possibility of a catastrophe of unexampled horror and magnitude, and we urge the Government, without delay, and as a matter of immediate necessity, to raise the blockade so as to admit a greater freedom in the import of food supplies."

The signatories include: Earl Beauchamp, the Countess of Warwick, Lord Weardale, Lady Henry Somerset, Mrs. Creighton, Mr. John Masefield, Miss Mary Macarthur, and clergy of all denominations, among whom are the Bishop of Hereford, the Deans of Worcester and Carlisle, and the Revs. H. Webb Peploe, H. R. L. Sheppard, and W. Temple.

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WOMEN'S FUTURE.

RECONSTRUCTION MINISTER'S INVESTIGATIONS.

The interests of women in proposed measures of National Reconstruction are being closely watched by a committee of distinguished women who act in an advisory capacity to Dr. Addison, the Minister of Reconstruction. The committee is under the chairmanship of Lady Emmott, and comprises such well-known public women as Lady Birkenhead, Mrs. Deane Streatfield, Miss Harris, Miss Susan Lawrence, Mrs. Pember Reeves, Viscountess Rhondda, Mrs. Symons, and Miss M. J. Tuke. Miss Beatrice Chamberlain was a member till her death, recently.

The committee meet at the Ministry of Reconstruction every week, and take under their survey all questions in which women are primarily or largely concerned. As this field is a large one, in view of the greater place that women are taking in national affairs, the committee is split up into sub-committees to deal with different topics, and the sub-committees co-opt such outside members as may be helpful.

One of the largest subjects to be taken under review is that of the future place of women in agriculture, with particular regard to the recommendations made by the Selborne Agricultural Committee. This committee, it may be remembered, drew special attention in their report to "valuable information received from Mrs. Roland Wilkins" in respect to women's village institutes, and the good work they had done during the war towards promoting the better cultivation of gardens and allotments, the collection and distribution of vegetables, and the creation of interest in co-operative agricultural work. The report added that if, as is anticipated, there is a large increase of small holdings and settlement schemes after the war, women's institutes can play a large part in making the settlers contented, and the schemes successful.

Mrs. Roland Wilkins referred to by the Selborne Committee is the chairman of the sub-committee of the Women's Advisory Council which has been given the task of considering the place of women in agriculture. Working with her on the committee are Messrs. Strutt and Orwin, Prof. Bryner Jones, Miss Macqueen, Lady Gwendolen Guiness and Miss Gladys Pott, as secretary.

Other questions of importance to women which have been taken in hand by the Women's Advisory Committee include domestic service, health and kindred services for women, the co-ordination of authorities dealing with vocational training for women, and certain questions relating to the position of women in the Civil Service.

The scope of the investigations dealing with domestic service referred to the Women's Advisory Committee is "to consider the general conditions in regard to domestic service as affected by the employment of women on war work, and to indicate the general lines on which the available supply of labour for this purpose may be utilised in the best interests of the nation." The inquiry has been divided under four heads:—

1. The training of servants;
2. Distribution;
3. Home helps (i.e., women employed as helps in the homes of working women not employing a regular servant);
4. Organisation and conditions of service, upon which in the first instance reports will be submitted by committees of experts.

As to health and kindred services, the Women's Committee are considering what extensions of the employment of properly trained and paid women are necessary and possible in connection with national health work, and kindred services, and what place can be assigned to voluntary workers in this connection. They are working with Miss Anderson's memorandum on this subject to the Women's Employment Committee as a basis of inquiry. It indicated a large number of different ways in which women might find employment in health and welfare work.

As to the provision of vocational training for women, the Women's Advisory Committee has reported to Dr. Addison on the best methods for co-ordinating, both centrally and locally, and for extending the existing and the proposed provision of training for women.

With regard to women in Government service, the committee has been considering certain points relating to the position of women holding administrative posts in temporary departments, and the possibility of finding permanent openings for such women in the Civil Service.

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THE LANCET.

LONDON: SATURDAY, JANUARY 18, 1919.

Industrial Efficiency and Preventive Medicine.

THE physical inefficiency of our industrial classes is one of the spots in our social organisation which, hitherto dark, the searchlight of war has all too brilliantly illuminated. Our national unreadiness for war was most marked not in the fighting forces but in the industrial organisation behind these forces. Our Army may, as regards size, have been "contemptible," but it was constructed on a model which withstood the test of tenfold multiplication. The call of the Army for men, on the other hand, laid bare an appallingly low standard of physique among men of fighting age; and when this call had, so far as was possible, been met, our industries, particularly the munitions industry which supplied the fighting forces with their life-blood, had to rely mainly upon the fit in our population, who were over military age, and much admirable female labour. Then the discovery was made that owing to the conditions of industrial life during the past half-century there were but few skilled craftsmen over the age of 50 who had not already "gone West." Now the war is over, and attention is being given to reconstruction and reorganisation; and nowhere is fresh effort and new work more called for than in trying to ensure for the future generation a higher standard of health among the industrially employed. Two questions call for prompt reply: Who is to be entrusted with the effort which is needed? and How is the effort to be carried out?

The questions are really one, for the methods adopted will to great extent depend upon the agency selected. In the past what has been done to improve the lot of the worker has been carried out by the Home Office administration of the Factory Acts, Shops Hours and Mines Regulations Acts, and the Coal Mines (Minimum Wage) Act, and a decision must now be arrived at as to whether action concerning health and industry in relation to labour is in the future to be administered by an office destined, according to the Haldane Committee[1] to become a Ministry of Justice. If the decision is against the Home Office continuing in charge of the work, should the administration be entrusted as a health question to a new Health Ministry, or as an employment matter to the Ministry of Labour? There is much counsel, and as usual the old adage "In the multitude of counsellors there is wisdom" falsifies itself, because each counsellor counsels differently, and the adage does not indicate how the wisdom is to be sifted out from the multitude. For once, however, on an admittedly difficult question, we have before us advice flowing from two separate sources which is in close agreement. First, the Haldane Committee are definite and explicit:

> "We are satisfied that the inspection and regulation of conditions affecting the health and safety of industrial workers are matters for which the Minister of Employment, and not the Minister of Health, must be responsible to Parliament. ..... The ordinary methods of consultation (between two departments) will probably require to be supplemented from time to time by the appointment of special committees, on the principles which have proved conspicuously successful in the case of the Health of Munition Workers Committee, to advise the Minister of Employment upon problems of industrial health which are new in kind or have assumed a peculiar importance or urgency."

Secondly, the Association of Certifying Factory Surgeons[2] has recently prepared a report upon this subject and state:

> "We think, however, that early arrangements should be made for transferring the whole of the Factory Department from the Home Office to the Ministry of Labour. It appears to us that the Ministry which has the economic problems of labour under its care and direction is the proper body to take charge of occupational health and safety problems, but we are particularly influenced in our view by the conviction that Labour Exchanges could be made into such useful adjuncts to medical examination by securing for young people employment suited to their physical condition. We are also of opinion that the health and welfare measures established by the Ministry of Munitions could be more suitably carried on by the Ministry of Labour than by the Home Office."

Clearly, then, the balance of opinion would favour that the Ministry of Labour (or, as the Haldane Committee prefer it to be called, the Ministry of Employment) should be entrusted with the duty of organising industrial health supervision. There remains for consideration—How is the end in view to be attained? An answer to this question is hardly to be sought from the Haldane Committee, for it was not within their terms of reference, but the report of the certifying factory surgeons contains many valuable suggestions as to the way in which the work could be done by linking up the Employment Exchanges with the Medical Factory Service, especially in relation to juvenile employment. We would here express a word of regret that adults are not more fully considered by the Association of Certifying Factory Surgeons, feeling, as we do, that only by close and intimate association between the Employment Exchanges and the places of employment can any coördinated attack be made upon what is to-day the most serious economic loss in industry—that due to the turnover of labour, and the resulting wastage of workers. Our readers should in this connexion be familiar with the admirable report issued from the Medical Research Committee on the wastage of female labour in munitions factories.[3] Apart, indeed, from the serious loss thus indicated, social economy is not served by sending A 1 men to work which could be carried out by C 3 men, while to send C 3 men to attempt A 1 work is homicidal.

We desire to see every employer of labour with the whole- or part-time services of a doctor at his disposal to advise him on welfare and health

[1] Report of the Machinery of Government Committee (Cd. 9230). H.M. Stationery Office, 1918. Price 6*d*. net.

[2] Report on Reconstruction of Factory Medical Service. Manchester Cooperative Printing Society, Ltd., 118, Corporation-street, 1918.

[3] Medical Research Committee: A Report on the Causes of Wastage of Labour in Munitions Factories Employing Women. H.M. Stationery Office, 1918. Price 1*s*. 6*d*. net.

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matters; to examine new workers; to watch over the health of his whole staff; to supervise the hygiene of his establishment as regards ventilation, light, temperature, cleanliness, and first-aid appliances; to advise and help the Welfare Department: to be, in fact, an industrial medical officer of health. Such officers should also be retained to advise the local employment exchanges as to the type of worker to be drafted to this or that trade or process. They should also be employed to conduct the periodical examinations of juveniles industrially employed as will be required under the provisions of the Education Act, 1918, and so to coördinate the school and factory medical supervision. Such local officers would require to be directed and assisted by a medical organisation controlled from headquarters—a nervous system of which the local service would be the peripheral end-organs. The value of such a medical organisation, associated with the Government Department concerned with employment, would be incalculable not only to carry out investigations and assist research into the effect of industrial conditions and hours of labour, but also to influence the adoption of health reform based on sure knowledge so obtained. Probably in the whole field of preventive medicine nothing more urgently calls for action than the establishment of organised medical supervision of employment on sound lines; probably no field promises in return for cultivation a finer harvest of results. In the past unfavourable conditions of employment, overwork and fatigue have caused irritability and labour unrest, impaired physique and disease.

"The subject of industrial efficiency in relation to health and fatigue is in a large degree one of preventive medicine, a question of physiology and psychology, of sociology and industrial hygiene. ..... Without health there is no energy, without energy there is no output. More important than output is the vigour, strength, and vitality of the nation."[4]

Thus the final report of the Health of Munition Workers Committee in the sentences we quote summarises the whole great truth. In the immediate future the nation, as never before, must obtain industrial efficiency through preventive medicine.

Accurate Diagnosis in Appendicitis.

DURING the last 30 years the rôle of the appendix vermiformis in health and disease has been a frequent topic both in medical and lay circles. Before that time little of ill had been laid to its charge; if a criminal, its crimes remained undetected. But at the present time it has become the pathological scapegoat, every pain and ache below the diaphragm casting suspicion upon the appendix; so that the hand of every surgeon is against it. In spite of the attention that it has received the fact remains that the normal appendix has not been sufficiently studied, not only in its anatomy but also and especially in its physiology, and there are questions as to the activities of the appendix which have not, hitherto, received any very definite answers. The means to accurate diagnosis are not yet at our disposal. In the present issue of THE LANCET is an important paper by Dr. E. I. SPRIGGS on the normal anatomy and physiology of the appendix as revealed by the aid of X rays, and the paper is illustrated by accurate coloured drawings and a large number of admirable skiagrams taken by Mr. O. A. MARXER. The X rays have already been employed to a certain extent in the investigation of the appendix but the observations in this paper are more complete and more thorough than anything that has preceded them.

The first thing to be settled by Dr. SPRIGGS and his collaborator was the best material for the opaque meal when it is required to demonstrate the appendix, and it was found that buttermilk and barium sulphate formed the most suitable opaque meal. Moreover, the best results were obtained when the bowel had been previously thoroughly emptied by castor oil. With these preliminaries adjusted, much physiology was made clear by the ensuing observations. In the first place, it became certain that even in health some of the contents of the cæcum enter and leave the appendix, that it fills when the cæcum fills, and that when the contents of the cæcum pass on their way the appendix discharges what it has contained, though sometimes the emptying of the appendix may be a little delayed. In the young, indeed, the appendix may fill and empty several times while the cæcum is still full. It is also certain that in the young the appendix is much more lively than in those who are old. The appendix was seen by Dr. SPRIGGS to move actively; some times the movement occurs as the organ fills, and sometimes without any reference to the passage of material into or out of it. So that we have learned much from these researches as to the conditions of the appendix when it is normal, something of its physiological movements, but, alas! we have learned nothing to enable us to answer the important question whether the appendix has a function or not. That it may be removed without any obvious impairment of health is no proof that it is valueless, for the spleen can be, and has many times been, removed without the least harm resulting, and yet no one would deny that the spleen is of functional importance. The persistence of the appendix, and its active movements, certainly do suggest that it may have some function in the economy of the human body, small though that function may be.

These investigations further afford us much insight into the pathology of the appendix, although such technique can be employed only in cases of chronic appendicitis, for in the acute form the time needed to prepare for and to take the skiagrams must not be spared. But in cases where the diagnosis of chronic appendicitis has not been definitely made, and when there are obscure pains in the abdomen of long duration and uncertain cause, it is all to the good if a diagnosis can be made whether there is or is not definite disease of the vermiform appendix. When sufficient skill

[4] Health of Munition Workers Committee, Final Report, Industrial Health and Efficiency. H.M. Stationery Office (Cd. 9065), 1918. Price 2s. net.

Weekly Dispatch
26. 1. 19

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WOMAN DISCOVERS MAN'S SECRET.

By ELIZABETH ROBINS.

"WHETHER the active women of the present find happiness in greater measure than the more passive women of the past," is a man's question.

What Every Woman Knows is that even for the handful of "the privileged" (nearly negligible in any wide survey of the sex) the Passive Life of the women of the past was one of the illusions of men.

The shibboleth of the privileged woman has been her supposed Leisure. The word gave its name to her class. The alleged fact constituted her charm. Part of the ritual of her life was punctilious banishment from masculine eyes of any activity that was not play or "fancy" work.

Even in what was called her sphere the proof of the successful *maitresse de maison* was the fact that the looker-on was unconscious of the domestic machinery.

This ideal was so rigorously lived up to that to this day the most intelligent and sympathetic man has the scantiest idea of the activity necessary on the part of the "passive" woman to keep the household machinery running.

If we compare the so-called "active life" of the woman in an office to-day, or even the woman doing farm, garden, or engineering work, with the "passive" life of the working-class mother of a family, we are face to face with the truly staggering discovery that the longer hours and the heavier labour fall on the "passive" home-tied woman.

If you doubt this, inquire of those who were taken out of their homes (or out of other people's) to carry on men's work in these last years. Inquire of the woman who is now asked to relinquish man's work and go back to her own.

Whether she goes back or not, she is one more of the tens of thousands cured for ever of any illusion as to the comparative weight of the two burdens.

INEVITABLE CONTRAST.

Who is foolish enough to suppose that the most happily married working-class woman will not more and more contrast her life of overwork (attended by that ill-health of the married on which the Insurance Act shed so lurid a light), with the life of the woman who can divide her day somewhat as experience has taught men to do? Will the delicate mother of clamorous children continue to think that only her stout husband needs an unharassed interval for food—food cooked by someone whose business is cooking, and not cooking added to seven or eight other occupations?

One of the great discoveries of the age is the very little work done and the amount of creature comfort and leisure enjoyed by many well-paid men. The woman who braced herself to bear the burden of "releasing a man for the front" often found to her astonishment that she could discharge her new duties in less time and with far less labour than she had been giving to some dull drudgery that had paid her a third as well.

Although employers in replacing men of 25 to 40 passed over trained women of the same age in favour of raw girls from 14 to 19, these mere children by their very childishness let the cat out of the bag. The difficulty of a vast amount of men's work is pure fiction. It is true that when employers can have men back they in many cases—not all—are likely to employ men. But nothing under heaven will ever get the cat into the bag again!

It must have been as far back as early 1916 that the observant began to notice the new look of purpose and animation in the faces of women. We admit that about that time many a home began to show the loss of some "passive" member of the household. The head of the family might be heard lamenting that the servants were "getting out of hand, and everything at sixes and sevens," in the absence of the war-working daughter. She, it now appeared, had run the house. She had kept an eye on the stables, answered notes, written cheques, seen boring callers and played the sedative game with the parent after dinner.

WOMAN'S HAPPINESS.

Her idle life at home was revealed to have been a good deal occupied. But to the person chiefly concerned had it meant happiness (to make no higher claim) that a first-class intelligence should have been put to tenth-rate uses? Who would consider such a life anything but an outrage if inflicted on a boy? Worthy in their limited way as the small "home" services may be, they do not call for the whole-time devotion of a vigorous and gifted girl any more than for the sacrifice (as would instantly be recognised) of a gifted and vigorous boy.

I admit that the educated young woman's power to find happiness in the new activities will be sorely tested till sounder judgments prevail. Happiness aside, how many boys would essay to make a place in a profession on the narrow means grudgingly accorded to the girl for such a purpose? What boy for all his greater physical strength would undertake in addition to his studies the fatigue of buying, preparing, or cooking his own food, making or mending any part of his wardrobe, or even the making of his own bed?

That thousands of girl students accept these terms rather than return to the old life may not mean that they have found happiness. But it means that they have found something precious.

If women are judges of their own happiness (and this is not always allowed) they have answered the question at the head of the column in two ways equally unmistakable:

1. By the alacrity with which they took up men's burdens.
2. By the reluctance to lay those burdens down.

In taking a short cut through a mews this afternoon I came upon a Green Cross ambulance belonging to the Scottish Women's Hospitals. A knot of young women, some in clogs and all in overalls, stood about cleaning and overhauling the car. I stopped and asked what they thought of the Active versus the Passive Life? Fully to answer that question would take the inquirer as far as the car had taken them—into a new world. But this much may be said. Those educated, attractive girls, standing there in the drizzle oiling machinery and polishing brass, spoke of demobilisation with no happiness in their faces.

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Newcastle Chronicle

27/2/19

BENCH A D BOARD-ROOM.

Why Not an Ideal Factory?

By GEORGE W. GOUGH.

THE NEW ECONOMICS.

The Economics of Reconstruction must be new to suit the new age, or there will be no reconstruction and no new age. And the concrete basis on which it must build is that employers and employes are colleagues and not competitors. "Bench and Board Room" must be its motto, not "Bench against Board Room." For employers and workers are like the officers and men of a regiment. The colonel commands and the rest obey, but they all fight, and successful fighting depends on prompt obedience to a colonel who knows precisely how to lead.

So essential is unity, obedience, command, to any army that even the Russian Bolshevists have swept out of existence the regimental "councils," and introduced the old system of insisting that the soldiers should do as they are told and do it at once.

Factories, and works, and mills, and mines, are precisely like regiments in this respect. The "boss" is simply the Colonel of the factory; and, though it is excellent to have a good "boss," it is sheer ruination to be without one I want to see a Whitley Council in every shop, and an Industrial Parliament for every trade; but the people who think that it can ever become part of the functions of such a Council to run the shop, or even to interfere in the running of it, are on the wrong track, that leads to economic dissolution.

The period of acute antagonism between employers and employed had its origin in false economics. Like every other science, economics advance with the years, so that what looked obviously right a generation ago is now seen to be so absurdly wrong that one wonders how any sane person ever believed it. The time has now come when any person, master, man or outsider, who reflects for a few minutes, cannot help seeing that all the old battles were fought on the wrong fields. Profits do not go down as wages go up. It is silly to think you can increase employment, either for yourself or a comrade, by taking ten hours over an eight-hour job, since all you do is to fool away two hours of your own time.

The Ideal Factory.

The sort of thing we may get if we will strive for it is the ideal factory. The only way to get real social progress is to make just such changes, and no more, as are possible under the existing circumstances, and are certain to be fruitful of the good expected from them. They have tried in Russia to improve the social order by smashing it with a hammer, and a nice mess has been the only result. I am averse from smashing anything, and I am healthily critical of all plans and dodges for taking short cuts to the millennium. But what I can see is that precious little would have to be done to turn our existing factories, which are so often full of friction and discontent, into ideal factories.

To begin with the worker in one such ideal factory: he would realise that his first duty was not only to pocket wages but to earn them, and that every unearned penny he got, whether by individual or trade-union activity, was a dead-weight debt on the factory; and consequently that for every unearned penny he got somebody would have to go short of an earned penny; and that, again as a certain consequence, this game could not go on very long or very far without shutting up the factory and ruining everybody.

He would further realise that the employer's work was just as essential as his own, and a great deal harder to do. The notion that any fool can run a factory is just futile nonsense. Having seen this, the worker would also see that anything the employer took out of the factory as his "profits" was just as legitimately earned as the worker's wages, and in the same way, by good, honest work. Further he would realise that the employer took all the risks, so that while his own wages were certain on a Friday, the "boss's" wages at the end of the year were not so certain.

The Ideal Employer.

Now for the employer in our ideal factory. Well, his outlook would be easy, since he had the ideal workers just described. He would make it the basic principle of his factory that the most unskilled worker in it should receive a wage sufficient as prices then ran, to ensure him in his leisure hours a life that was worth living, as a man and a citizen if he chose—as he would, being ideal—to spend them wisely, and from this base wages would be graded upwards to fit superiorities of skill, capacity and responsibility.

No industry must be allowed to become parasitic. It must feed on itself, not on other industries or on the general public. An industry becomes parasitic in two ways:—(1) When its workers get out of it a wage which does not allow them to reach a proper standard of life, so that, in one way or another, they have to be assisted from other sources, e.g., the rates; (2) when its workers, owing to the "pull" they have, are enabled to exact from their employers, that is to say, from society, more in wages than they return in product. In both cases, there is unfairness to society, and the ideal factory would not allow of either kind of parasitism.

In short, in the ideal factory the worker would say "How much can I do?" and the employer would say "How much can I pay?" And both would realise that in this way they did the best for themselves and for one another.

And can any one tell me why this should be nothing but an ideal?

Chapham Observer
17. 4. 19.

EDUCATION FOR WOMEN.—The granting of the vote and the opening up of nearly every profession to women causes the question of their education to be more important than ever. At the same time there are many facilities for the education of women, and of girls after they leave school, in existence, and that they are aware of them is evidenced by the number of enrolments at the Women's Evening Institute, New Park Road, Brixton Hill. Over 800 students, the majority of whom are adults, have applied for instruction in various subjects. In face of the declaration, so often made at the present time, that the modern woman does not like to be considered domesticated, it is interesting to note that the most popular subjects are first aid, home nursing, dressmaking and millinery. The summer term commences on April 28th, and classes will be held on Mondays and Wednesdays. The responsible mistress, Miss E. C. Massey, has a staff of thoroughly expert teachers under her direction, and, in addition to those mentioned above, the subjects taught include cookery, drawing, English, gymnastics, singing, violin, and domestic handicraft. A nominal charge of about two shillings is made for a course of studies, and all who are interested should communicate with the Responsible Mistress. On Saturday evening a students' concert was held, which attracted a large audience of parents and friends. Songs and recitations were rendered by a number of the students, and each item was thoroughly enjoyed. It is worthy of note that one of the shields offered by the British College of Physical Education at the Guildhall last March was won by the junior physical exercise classes of this Institute.

Daily Sketch
2. 4. 19

Hatless Women.

The no-hat-at-public-places craze among women seems to be increasing rapidly, which perhaps is just as well in these days of expensive millinery.

* * *

At several public meetings I have attended recently I noticed hatless women speakers on the platform Lady Rhondda, Miss Mary Macarthur, and Miss Susan Lawrence are all women speakers who belong to the hatless brigade.

* * *

A barrister tells me that at a recent case he noticed that several of the women witnesses appeared hatless, and they were all well dressed, too.

PATRICIA.

Portsmouth Times
7/3/19

LADY FRANCES BALFOUR'S VISIT.

"The Future of Women."

Mrs. Ramsay, of Fareham (President of the Women's Citizen Association), took the chair at a public meeting held at the Greenrow Rooms on Tuesday evening in connection with the Portsmouth Women's Citizen Association, when Lady Frances Balfour gave a highly interesting address on "The Future of Women." There was a crowded audience, and Mrs. Ramsay, in introducing the speaker, said that Lady Frances Balfour was well-known in connection with women's suffrage, and they had to thank her for what she had done for women.

Lady Frances Balfour said that the women had been classed with Serfs, as they had not the right of freedom, but now they had become free citizens. The women had got the vote, and it had been bought for them by the blood of their brethren. It came to them through the war, through the lives that had been laid down, through the hearts which had been broken of the women of this country. After Parliament had granted women the vote they had opened their doors to them. She was in the House of Commons the night this was carried, and declared that there was quite a panic among the members. The measure was carried by 11 to one. Every representative body in the country was now open to the women citizens as well as to men. Both men and women ought to use the votes they had got. In her opinion local government was more important than Parliamentary Government. Reconstruction was in the air, and if that was going to begin with any real purpose it must begin from the very bottom. It must be based in the lives of people. It was no good taking up reconstruction as a pack of cards. It was the same men, women, and country that they had to reconstruct as existed before the war. Some of the plans of reconstruction were a great deal worse than the state of things which existed. They had, she said, a most extraordinary tendency to look upon the State as a kind of parent. The State, they thought, had an enormous purse which they could put their fingers into, and they considered they were not receiving charity. State aid was the same as Poor Law relief. There was a great feeling just now that the race must be replenished and the children brought up under better conditions. They could not have happy homes unless the women and children were living in good conditions. The State had interfered enormously in the home. Everything that disintegrated the home was a menace to the Empire. Why had the Bolshevists taken away the individuality of the women? Because they wished to destroy the family, because they wished the State to own the child. The family was all that was possessive in the State. They wanted, she said, to make the divorce between men and women more just. The conditions under which they had lived they had not been responsible for. It had taken the country 15 years to believe that women Guardians ought to look after the care of the children. Those who had the vote should do their best to see that things were thoroughly reconstructed. They could not reconstruct by law unless they got the people themselves to care about reconstruction. Some of the greatest unrest had been in Scotland, and it had been of a very dangerous condition. Glasgow people were living in very bad conditions. The children showed the want of light and air. There they had the unrest, the unrest of minds and crippled bodies. They must do all they could to support these citizens, who were standing for the right. They wanted women to represent them who cared for the people they lived amongst and took an interest in. The women were the race bearers, the race rearers, and the nation would look to them to replace those torn and wasted regiments which had gone out to fight for their homes. The industrial unrest, she thought, was healthy, because those classes wanted their homes raised to a better standard.

Afterwards many questions were asked, and answered by the speaker.

On the motion of Mrs. W. H. David, seconded by Mrs. Whetton, a vote of thanks was passed to Lady Frances.

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Christian Commonwealth

19/3/19

The World of Labour.

The Berne Labour Policy.

The Labour and Socialist Conference held at Berne last month resulted in an achievement of great significance. It reconstituted the Internationale, thereby tying up the ends that were broken by the great war, and making a new beginning of fraternity among the democracies of Europe. And not only of fraternity, but of a practical understanding between the workers of the different countries on industrial questions. The conference devoted a large portion of its time to the drafting of a world labour policy, and the conclusions they arrived at are of prime importance. First place is given to education. The resolutions ask that primary education be made compulsory in every country, that higher education be free and universally accessible, and that provision be made for vocational and technical training. This is the practical interpretation of the doctrine of equal opportunities. As regards preparation for the work of manhood and womanhood, society is no longer to be stratified according to wealth and social position. As a corollary the conference asks that the preparatory years of life be kept sacred. It would make it illegal for any child under fifteen to be employed in an industrial occupation. It would further impose a partial ban on employment between the ages of 15 and 18, limiting the working hours to six, to permit of continuation training.

Working Conditions.

For workers in general throughout the world the conference proposes a strict limit of an eight hours day or a forty-eight hours week. While this stipulation appears retrogressive in the light of British industrial movements, it represents a considerable advance for many countries. And it is to be remembered that the conference was outlining a charter, to be converted into an enforceable code of world-wide law by the League of Nations. It is designed for the protection of workers, such as those in tropical lands, whose organisation is impotent, as well as to guard advanced nations from the competition of sweated labour. A Saturday half-day and a workless Sunday are included in the proposals, and a variety of suggestions are made in regard to home industries. For the latter wages boards are recommended, while it is asked that the right of all workers to combine and form associations be safeguarded. The Berne Conference is against the prohibition of emigration, though it admits the right of a State to make immigration regulations. State insurance against industrial accidents and unemployment, and labour exchanges in every country with co-ordinated action, also find a place in the proposals. The resolutions adopt the principle, as between the sexes, of equal pay for equal work, but do not attempt the impossible task of fixing an international standard of wages. They accept the basis that remuneration shall afford a proper standard of living, and would dispose of disputes as to amount by the creation of wages boards, with equal representation of employers and employees. These recommendations have been laid before the Labour Commission of the Peace Congress at Paris, at which they have received serious consideration. The Berne week has proved more fruitful than some of us perhaps imagined.

I.L.P. Conference.

An ambitious programme is being arranged for the twenty-seventh annual conference of the Independent Labour Party, which takes place April 20-22, at Huddersfield. One of the most pressing issues of the day will be brought forward in a resolution relating to coal. This will call upon the Government to take immediate steps to bring down the price to a level consistent with the cost of production, and will therefore be a direct challenge in regard to dead charges, such as royalties, which are not paid for services rendered. Other subjects to be dealt with are national finance, land nationalisation, profiteering, conscription, provision for the discharged and demobilised, housing and rent restriction, secular education, foreign policy, disarmament, Allied intervention in Russia and Germany, industrial and political unity, hours of labour, Ireland, prison reform, military training in schools, proportional representation, and amendments to the franchise.

A New Standard of Salaries.

It is no doubt felt by many people that the fixing of a standard rate of wages is not altogether satisfactory. The spending power of money fluctuates, and not always in accordance with actual economic conditions. Coinage not being a constant measure of value, a standard wage that is satisfactory to-day may be otherwise under the conditions of to-morrow, and the ideal is a scale that would automatically follow the variations in spending power. The difficulty is that no automatic method has yet been invented which would give adequate security to the workers. If a plan were adopted it would have to be controlled jointly by employers and employees, and, in practice, would hardly differ from the present system of negotiations between organised capital and organised labour. However, the method has been adopted by one great company, the South African Gold Trust, and the result of the experiment will be watched with critical interest. The bonus which is now enjoyed by the staff is to be continued, and to be regulated in future by the cost of living. By agreement between the company and the staff, Sauerbeck's Index figures are to be the guide. The existing bonus is to be represented by the index figure at the date of the agreement. After that the salaries will rise or fall according to the index, but it is provided that they shall never be less than a certain minimum.

An Enlightened Scheme.

The following extracts are from a suggested programme of post-war reconstruction: "The labourers must be given an interest in the success of every enterprise by a system of profit-sharing, by the building of garden cities for workmen, and by other privileges. The minor industries which do not require large capital should be handed over to the ownership of workmen and groups of workmen, who should be absolutely independent. For small industries it will be necessary to build model factories. If the introduction of a new industry appears to be useful and profitable we shall be obliged to find skilled and experienced workers for it. . . . Workshops will have to be set up, either by private or by national initiative, the aim of which will be to prepare skilled labourers . . After experiment has shown that a new industry is profitable for labour, it should be handed over to a labour group or to a co-operative society. . . . An industrial bank and a national technical bureau for technical inspection of all industrial workshops are of primary importance. . . . . We are now on the brink of a social revolution. The time has come to see to it that in the construction of our future state we should not repeat the old mistakes. By uniting industry with agriculture we shall be enabled to make the labourer independent; to raise his physical and moral standard, to increase his diligence and working capacity, and to neutralise the injurious effects of factory life on his health. To attain this object we must found garden cities for labourers, where they will acquire, by payments in easy instalments, pieces of land suitable for growing fruit and vegetables, houses, and also small workshops with electrical power." The writer of this is a Jew, and the country he is concerned with is Palestine. The land that once flowed with milk and honey is thus again raised to the rank of a Promised Land, or at any rate of a land of promise.

Chaos and a Way Out.

The industrial position is compelling us to do some very swift thinking, for we have travelled beyond the question of the scale of wages to that of the future control of the business of production and distribution. There has been a gradual approach to this point from the first occasion when a trade union was strong enough to declare a strike. The final and decisive factor is the union of force in the Triple Alliance of miners, railwaymen and transport workers. The National Guilds League, which has an interesting plan for reorganising industry on democratic lines, argues that Labour has, in fact, potentially deposed the capitalist owners from their dominion. If so, runs the argument, then industries require a new form of direction. To the suggestion of nationalisation the League offers two objections: the first that the State, as employer, has no more control over Labour than the capitalist employer, and the second that nationalisation brings with it a fresh set of evils in the way of bureaucracy. In fact, that Labour can be controlled only by itself is the conclusion, to fit which the League produces its scheme of National Guilds. It would transfer the control of industry from private enterprise to an organisation composed of all grades of workers, including, of course, the overseers, accountants, and commercial heads. It recognises that before such a scheme can be adopted the workers must be prepared for their new responsibilities. But the League contends that this condition is already fulfilled in the case of mines and railways, and that for them this Guild scheme is the only way out of chaos to order.

Miss Mary Macarthur.

Miss Mary Macarthur is leaving for America by the "Megantic" on the 29th for rest and change. She has been granted leave of absence for that purpose by the Women's Trade Union League, of which she is the secretary.

The Universe

29/3/19

RECONSTRUCTION IN AMERICA.

Important Pronouncement by the National Catholic War Council.

NEW ARCHBISHOP OF NEW YORK.

The subject of national reconstruction is occupying the attention of Catholic leaders in the United States, and an important "review of the problems and survey of the remedies" is made by the Administrative Committee of the National Catholic War Council in a pamphlet on "Social Reconstruction."

"The deep unrest (says the Council) so emphatically and so widely voiced throughout the world is the most serious menace to the future peace of every nation and of the entire world. 'Great problems face us . . . they must be met and solved with justice to all." This review is signed by their Lordships the Bishops of Rockford, Toledo and Charleston, and by the new Archbishop of New York.

It is not expected that as many or as great social changes will take place in the United States as in Europe. In the States neither the habits of thinking nor the ordinary ways of life have undergone a profound disturbance. In Europe, on the other hand, the devastation, the loss of capital and of men, and the changes in individual relations have been greater. Moreover, the better industrial and social condition of the working classes of America constitute an obstacle to anything like revolutionary changes.

The National Catholic War Council reviews the various proposals for reconstruction which have been put forward in England, and pays special attention to the deliberations of the Interdenominational Conference of Social Service Unions, comprising ten religious bodies, which spent more than a year formulating a statement on social reconstruction. The statement of the Interdenominational Council points out specific remedies for the evils that it describes; specific measures, legislative and other, by which the principles may be realised in actual life. Attention is drawn to the important summary and analysis of this statement which is contained in the Catholic Social Year Book for 1918.

Women's Work.

The first problem in the progress of reconstruction is the industrial replacement of the discharged soldiers and sailors, and it is suggested that many men should be assisted by Government loans to establish themselves as farmers. This, it is pointed out, would tend to lower the cost of living by increasing agricultural products. The whole problem of unemployment should be dealt with by a national system of Labour Exchanges.

Of the important problem of women's work the Committee says that mere justice, to say nothing of chivalry, dictates that those women who took the places of men during the war should not be compelled to suffer any greater loss or inconvenience than is absolutely necessary. It lays down that no woman should remain in any occupation that is harmful to health or morals, and adds that the proportion of women in industry should be kept within the smallest practical limits. But those women who are engaged at the same tasks as men should receive equal pay for work of equal quantity and quality.

The Committee considers also the question of wage rates, and recommends that the general level of wages attained during the war should not be lowered; first, because the average rate of pay has not increased faster than the cost of living, and secondly because a considerable majority of the wage-earners were not receiving living wages when prices began to rise in 1915. Even if the prices of goods should fall to the 1915 level the present rate of wages would not exceed the equivalent of a decent livelihood in the case of the large majority. The exceptional instances to the contrary are practically all among skilled workers. A living wage is not necessarily the full measure of justice. In a country as rich as America there are few cases in which it is possible to prove that the worker would be getting more than his due if he were paid something in excess of the ethical minimum. On grounds both of justice and sound economics we should give our hearty support to all legitimate efforts made by labour to resist general wage reductions.

The Legal Minimum Wage.

During the war the cost of living has risen at least 75 per cent. above the 1913 level, although the upward trend was checked by the Government regulation of prices in the case of a few necessities. The Committee observes in this connection that Government competition with monopolies that cannot be effectively restrained by the ordinary anti-trust laws deserves more serious consideration. More important than any Government regulation of prices would be the establishment of co-operative stores, the enormous toll taken from industry by the middleman being now fully realised. The Committee points to the success of co-operative stores in England and Scotland. The co-operative stores have the additional advantage of training the workers in habits of saving, in careful expenditure, in business methods, and in the capacity for co-operation.

The Report notes with satisfaction that there is no longer any serious objection by impartial persons against the legal minimum wage. It goes on: —

> The several States should enact laws providing for the establishment of wage rates that would be at least sufficient for the decent maintenance of the family, in the case of all male adults, and adequate to the decent individual support of female workers. In the beginning the minimum wages for male workers should suffice only for the present needs of the family, but they should be gradually raised until they are adequate to future needs as well. That is, they should be ultimately high enough to make possible that amount of saving which is necessary to protect the worker and his family against sickness, accident, invalidity, and old age.

Until this level of legal minimum wage is reached the worker stands in need of insurance, and the Committee recommend that the State should make comprehensive provision against industrial disability. So far as possible the insurance fund should be raised by a levy on industry, and the industry in which a man is employed should provide him with all that is necessary to meet the needs of his entire life. Any contribution to the insurance fund from the general revenues of the State should be only slight and temporary. No contribution should be exacted from a worker whose whole wage is below the present needs of himself and his family, for such a contribution could only be made at the expense of their present welfare.

> Any insurance scheme, or any administrative method, that tends to separate the workers into a distinct and dependent class, that offends against their domestic privacy and independence, or that threatens individual self-reliance and self-respect, should not be tolerated. The ideal to be kept in mind is a condition in which all the workers would themselves have the income and the responsibility of providing for all the needs and contingencies of life, both present and future.

Equality of Opportunity.

Vocational training also has the attention of the Committee, which declares that the vocational training should be offered in such forms and conditions as not to deprive the children of the working classes of at least the elements of a cultural education. A healthy democracy cannot tolerate a purely industrial or trade education for any class of its citizens. We do not want to have the children of the wage-earners put into a special class in which they are marked as outside the sphere of opportunities for culture.

The subjects of child-labour, labour participation in industrial management, and the housing of the working classes have also been considered by the National Catholic War Council, and its conclusions are set out in the report which is before us.

The Council concludes that the present system of private ownership is not likely to be supplanted by collectivism at a date sufficiently near to justify any action based on the hypothesis of its arrival. Nevertheless the present system stood in grievous need of modification and improvement. Its main defects were inefficiency and waste in production and distribution, and inequality in the reward of labour. Co-partnership is recommended. To prevent excessive gain by a small minority of privileged capitalists, the remedy was to be found in the abolition of monopolistic control of commodities, heavy taxation of incomes, excess profits, and inheritances, for "human beings cannot be trusted with the immense opportunities for oppression and extortion that go with the possession of monopoly power."

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Continued

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The employer has a right to get a reasonable living out of his business, but he has not right to interest on his investment until his employees have obtained at least living wages.

On the other hand, the employee must realise that he owes his employer and society an honest day's work in return for a fair wage.

Army Bishop Succeeds Cardinal Farley.

The new Archbishop of New York is the Right Rev. Patrick J. Hayes, Titular Bishop of Tagaste, and Ordinary of the United States Army and Navy. He was auxiliary Bishop of New York at the time of the death of Cardinal Farley, whom he now succeeds.

A native of New York City, and only fifty-one years of age, Archbishop Hayes has had a notable career in the priesthood since his ordination twenty-seven years ago. After his post-graduate course at the Catholic University he was appointed assistant to Mgr. Farley, who was then a parish priest in New York and Vicar-General, and when Mgr. Farley became Auxiliary Bishop, and later Archbishop of New York, he chose Father Hayes as his secretary. In rapid succession he made Father Hayes Chancellor and first president of the Cathedral College, recommended him for the honours of doctor of divinity and domestic prelate, and in 1894, at Cardinal Farley's request, the Holy Father appointed Father Hayes Auxiliary Bishop of the diocese.

Appreciation by a Friend.

A personal friend of the new Archbishop writes to us:—"Except through his articles in the Catholic Encyclopædia, the new Archbishop is not as yet well known over here in England. The British Catholic Mission remember gratefully that he was the first Bishop whom they met in America and made the first speech of welcome which set in motion that astonishing display of hospitality on the part of the Catholic Hierarchy. In America, Mgr. Hayes has made his fame by his work as Chaplain-General during the war. Faced by an exceedingly difficult task, he has disappeared for a year behind a mountain of detail. His was the hand that smoothed matters between the Government and the Church. He was the guiding member of the War Council, and the results may be gauged by the fact that the Catholic soldier received the fostering and faithful ministration of his Church both in America and in Europe. There was no hitch in the Chaplain's department, and the Knights of Colum-

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emergency possible for laymen to meet on the one han while on the other, the chaplains, of whom Archbish Hayes was the Ordinary, have created a splendid reco in the spiritual sphere.

"The Archbishop's life has been lived largely in t background of his friend the late Cardinal Farley. T modesty which he showed as an ideal assistant Bish concealed a strength that only full authority is need to bring into the open. As Chaplain-General he pass through an Episcopal novitiate that gave him more e perience than many years of normal diocesan wor Important and immediate decisions had to be mad which might make or mar the record of the Church war work. No flaw has been found in Catholic w work, to the surprise of friend and critic. A keen-eye sanity and an invisible purpose have been workin behind the scenes, and they are generally attributed the new Archbishop. Many happy omens attend h elevation. One is cheering to the Irish commnuity, th the Gaelic equivalent of Hayes is the same as that Hughes, and the first and greatest Archbishop of Ne York was a Hughes."

Archbishop Ireland's Successor.

Archbishop Ireland's successor in the See of St. Pa —the Right Rev. Austin Dowling, Bishop of Des Moines —has gained a reputation for thoroughness in organisation and for executive ability of a high order. He is a scholar of high attainments, and his zeal for education was expressed by his founding of the Des Moines Catholic College. A sum of £40,000 was required for the purchase of an institution which was formerly in the hands of the Baptists, and his Lordship raised the amount by popular subscription. Bishop Dowling was editor of the *Providence Visitor* for a couple of years, and in his writing showed a depth of thought and a lightness of touch which brought popularity to his paper. He introduced the Catholic Women's League to his diocese, a short time ago, and the movement of

Tribute to Cardinal Gibbons.

Our Washington correspondent writes: "The Catholic University of America, of which his Eminence Cardinal Gibbons is president, witnessed the deferred celebration of his Eminence's Golden Episcopal Jubilee (to felicitate him on which a distinguished delegation from England, headed by his Lordship the Bishop of Northampton, crossed the sea some few months back), with the most brilliant religious function in the history of the American Church. Not since the days of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, in which, too, his Eminence was the central figure, has there been such a scene as that which was presented that day by the interior of the monastery church of the Franciscans (on the University grounds) to the eyes of the Catholic laity who thronged its vast spaces. In the long and brilliant procession were two visiting cardinals, the Papal delegate, seventy-three archbishops and bishops, the assistant Papal Secretary of State—the special envoy of his Holiness—monsignori and priests from every diocese of the country, and members of the various religious orders. His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons celebrated the Mass.

Two-thirds of the church, which resembles in style some of the great Roman churches, and, by reason of its architectural beauty and rich adornment, formed an appropriate setting for such an event, was transformed into a sanctuary which offered a striking and beautiful picture. The three Cardinals, Cardinal Gibbons, Cardinal Begin, and Cardinal O'Connell, the Apostolic Delegate, and the Assistant Papal Secretary of State occupied five thrones, the seventy-three bishops were ranged in front of the altar (which stands at the centre of the church), the monsignori and priests to the right, and the faculties of the University (in academic robes) to the left. The stately movement of the Pontifical Mass, the rich colour-scheme of cardinalatial crimson and ermine, and episcopal purple, the simple, elegant adornment of church and altar, and the finely interpretative gladness of the Mass music, formed a setting for this act of thanksgiving and rejoicing which made one's heart burn within one. The vestments worn by the ministers of the Mass were those used by Cardinal Gibbons' great predecessor in the See of Baltimore, Archbishop Carroll, a hundred years ago.

The sermon, of which it is sufficient praise to say that it was worthy of the occasion and of its subject, was delivered by his Grace Most Rev. Geo. W. Mundelein, D.D., Archbishop of Chicago. After sketching briefly but with consummate effect the career of the Cardinal, and its marvellously far-reaching influence for good in Church and State, his Grace concluded with these words: "This, then, is our prayer, that you may still stay with us, even though evening is drawing nigh. And when, in God's own time, there comes for you the night, when you may no longer work, when the Master whom you have served so well will have placed you with the crimson-clad heroes of Holy Church, with Charles Borromeo, with Peter Damian, with Bonaventure, in the *gloriosus apostolorum chorus*, we who may be left behind will lovingly write your epitaph; not a voluminous history of your great achievements, not a lengthy recitation of your many virtues; just two words that will tell the story of your eventful life, just two things that will point out the things dearest to your heart, just two words that will best picture 'one who, after the service of God, has desired nothing so much as to serve his country'—just two words: '*Deo et Patriæ*,' to God and Country."

After the Mass, the prelates were entertained at dinner with his Eminence in the great dining hall of the University. During the dinner, Archbishop Cerretti presented to the Cardinal the letter of his Holiness, conveying his felicitations on the happy event of his Jubilee.

Times 9.5.19

WOMEN AS BUSINESS LEADERS.

SOME EXAMPLES AND A MORAL

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

There is a distinct divergence of opinion whether or no women will be leaders in the commercial world of the future. The divergence of opinion is not a sex one. There are men who, having found the right woman, believe firmly in the business capacity of the sex; and men, on the other hand, who have no intention of allowing any woman to control any part of their business or to grant that any woman would be capable of such a feat.

There are quite a number of women, too, who, being of inferior intelligence themselves, would not accept direction from a woman and refuse the woman "boss." It is this group of women which forms the principal argument in the case put forward by the men who refuse to acknowledge that women can ever become leaders in business. "Women won't follow women," they say, and when they have said this they think they have said all. But if they acknowledged that many men object to women holding big commercial positions and are reluctant to work under them, they would be nearer the truth. The woman who objects to a woman "boss" objects to her in her heart of hearts because she feels that men do not like working under a woman, and, being of the sheep-grade in business as in fashion, follows the lead of such men without testing on what it is based.

A well-known business man expressed his views a day or two ago to two women, one of whom, unknown to him, had built up within the last two years a wholesale business entirely staffed by women, of an exclusive kind, with a large turnover. His arguments were:—"A woman can never be a leader in business because she is a woman and carries her sex's capability for worry into her business life. If things go wrong at home she lets it influence her attitude towards her staff, so that they are uncertain any day as to how they will be treated. Women cannot stand this excess of emotional storm added to their day's work, and therefore prefer the male 'boss,' who is more level-headed and forgets his home except when he is in it."

The obvious answer was that all women are not the daily subjects of domestic worries, any more than that all men are bankrupts. The business woman instanced a very well known woman who has opened shop after shop in the West-end and exclusive shopping centres and has great work-rooms for the making of frocks which cost a little less than French models and are worn by some of the best-dressed women in London. Reluctantly he agreed that she might be an exception. The business woman he was speaking to did not give any inkling of her own claims to distinction, yet her work-rooms are filled with women who serve her as they would serve no man, her unruffled spirit and her kindly humour as well as her unerring judgment making her an ideal employer.

Recently a young university woman who had taken her LL.B. degree and looked forward to a career of a very different sort found herself forced to take over a licensed house owing to the sudden death of her father and the constant illness of an invalid mother. She has made it a success. Her barmen and cellarmen give her good service, and see nothing extraordinary in her having taken over her father's business. There are many women buying on a large scale for London and provincial firms who are quite capable of managing big businesses if they were given the chance, but the majority of them will never have the opportunity, as men are reluctant to give them directorships or put up capital for them. In one of the largest firms in London, however, there was recently a notable exception to this, when a lingerie buyer, who had the biggest turnover of any department in the house, was made a director lest she should be tempted to go over to some other firm.

Times 15.4.19 703/3

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OUT-OF-WORK WOMEN,

WAR RECREATION SCHEMES MAINTAINED.

The value of the instruction centres which were officially established for unemployed boys and girls has been recognized, but the activities which are bridging over the passage of industry from war to peace, in the case of women above the age of 18, are less well known. It has been realized that the responsibility of the State with regard to the women who came into the factories during the war is not discharged in full by the payment of an out-of-work donation, and the transference of the Welfare Department of the Ministry of Munitions to the Ministry of Labour has been accompanied by the direction of attention to the needs of the women who have been demobilized.

The position of the discharged woman munition worker is one of peculiar difficulty. The loss of her job means not only the cessation of wages but also of comradeship and organized recreation. Her labour, which she could at one time regard as of national importance, is now a drug in the market. The situation is one which might easily create an atmosphere of unrest, and the protection of demobilized women, which is being quietly carried on all over the country, is therefore of considerable social importance. Among the methods adopted to deal with the problem is the opening of clubs during the day and evening in those towns where it is known that numbers of women are drawing out-of-work pay. Many of the clubs are situated near to employment exchanges, and at these institutions or at rooms rented for the purpose, the women can rest or wait their turn for registration or payment at the exchange. Arrangements have also been made for babies to be cared for while their mothers visit the exchanges.

Where discharges are still taking place at the munition factories, and large numbers of girls are known to be travelling home, welfare officers are attending at the stations to see parties of girls safely away. For girls travelling at night waiting-rooms are specially set apart at the stations. In districts where discharged women and girls are seeking other work in the same locality it has been arranged that the hostels used during the war shall be kept open for their use until they find work. Such hostels are available at Woolwich, Coventry, Gloucester, and Bristol, and the women can live in them at the usual rates and under the protection of hostel supervision. Similar protection exists for girls living in lodgings who are seeking for work in munition areas. Another useful form of assistance is made possible by a special fund belonging to the Welfare Section of the Ministry of Munitions. This is now being applied to girls seeking to get into domestic service in the munition districts, and who have not got the necessary clothes nor the money with which to buy them.

More interesting, perhaps, than anything else is the fact that many of the recreation schemes which brightened the lives of war workers are still in operation, and care is taken that ex-munition workers are allowed to share in them. Various towns have been circularized by the Welfare Department asking that, where civic schemes are instituted, clubs or recreation centres opened during the war shall provide accommodation for women discharged from factories in other districts and who come to the town. Birmingham, Coventry, Liverpool, Leeds, Newport, Sheffield, Southampton, Swansea, Stafford, and other places have agreed to offer hospitality and recreation to out-of-work women as a result of this appeal. In some cases clubs in munition areas have been taken over, on the closing of the factories, by the Y.W.C.A. or other social workers, or even by the local authorities, and where this has happened the Welfare Section, conditional on ex-munition workers being received, has given assistance, by a grant of money or in some other useful way.

3 Times. 19.4.19.

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PEACE WORK OF WAR FIRMS.

MUNITION MAKERS' NEW ACTIVITIES.

While the unemployment figures are likely to remain high for some time to come, and the payment of the out-of-work donation steadily averages more than a million a week, the work of trade reconstruction is quietly proceeding. Slowly but perceptibly the world of industry is being remade.

From one end of the country to the other munition factories are being closed, dismantled, and then adapted and refitted for the work of peace. The manufacturers concerned are not saying very much during the period of transition, but when a full account can be given of the changes which are taking place there will be an interesting story to tell. This is made clear by the information already available of the many directions in which industrial activities are seeking a new outlet.

If swords are not being beaten into ploughshares, there is at least one firm in the South of England which has turned from the manufacture of Stokes bombs to the production of ploughs and spare parts for agricultural machinery. Other munition factories in the southern counties are now turning out dynamos and electric fittings, "art" bronzes, drop-stampings, oil engines, and even lace. From the extreme North of England a report is received of a firm which has cleared out its shop, used in war time as a cast-iron shell foundry, and refitted it for the manufacture of railway material, castings for marine engines, and colliery plant. Another munition factory is fully occupied with the manufacture of wire-rope machinery, and there is a firm which has reverted from bombs to railway appliances and signalling apparatus.

From Yorkshire comes news of a turnover from bombs and shrapnel shell to gas and steam pipes, general shipyard castings, and builders' ironmongery; and from shell-work to the manufacture of railway wagons. Bottle-working machinery is absorbing the attention of another ex-munition firm in this area, while standard clothing for civilians has replaced the weaving of khaki cloth in the Yorkshire mills. Factories in the East Midlands are going back to the production of woodworking machinery, the making of pumps, sewing machines, cranes, agricultural machinery, and electrical plant. In other cases German industries, such as the manufacture of sugar machinery, bootlaces, paper d'oyleys, and fish-plate papers, have been undertaken.

From Shells to Oil Cake.

In the North-West area there is an abundance of work at the ports in connexion with ship repairs and general wheelwrighting. One firm has passed from the making of 18-pounder H.E. shells to the manufacture of propellers for motor-launches and small steamers, and another firm previously engaged on similar war work has dismantled the special machinery for shells and is now manufacturing oil cake. There is a firm, too, in the district which is specializing in brick-making machinery and is likely to establish an industry of some importance, which should ultimately provide considerable employment. One factory in the North-West area is converting fuse cases left over from war contracts into ornaments. This is accomplished by the addition of three legs and a coat of electro-copper.

In the Metropolitan district a manufacturer of small arms is producing a hay and straw baling press, and another firm, until recently busy with munition work, has settled down to the manufacture of food machinery. Aircraft companies in the area are hoping to develop the aeroplane industry on commercial lines.

Scotland is actively engaged in turning from war to peace industries. One firm is specializing in the manufacture of internal combustion engines suitable for fishing boats, a class of machinery which before the war was mainly imported. In the North-east of Scotland a factory has turned from munition work to the production of chocolate machines, an industry once claimed by Germany, while in Glasgow war output has been superseded by toy-making, which gives employment to a number of discharged soldiers. An instance of adaptability is recorded in South Wales, where a firm is utilizing machinery, associated with the finest precision in war work, for the manufacture of micrometer gauges of an improved type.

The Future of Women.

The future position of women in many industries has yet to be determined by the trade unions, but arising out of the present transition there are indications that women have their own peculiar value in the manufacturing world. A firm in Scotland, for example, that is absorbing its staff of war workers on the post-war work of pump-making, is retaining women employees, who have given the greatest satisfaction during the last two or three years. There is even a report of a steel foundry in the North of England finding peace employment for its female workers. An unusually appropriate way of finding fresh duties for women employees has been developed by an aircraft firm which, during the transition period that must intervene before the construction of passenger aeroplanes becomes a definite industry, has arranged for the temporary fitting up of a shop where the women can fill in their time making ready-made blouses. The experiment, it is stated, is proving quite successful.

Toy-making has been mentioned, and this seems to suggest an industry where women's work might be used to a much greater extent than is now the case. The value of the import of toys into the United Kingdom in 1913 was £1,452,700. Openings, we understand, can be provided for the training of girls who are willing to take up this craft. The work is regarded as peculiarly suitable as a seasonal occupation, for women living in rural districts. The Germans have shown that toys can be made in the homes of the people, and the spread of a toy-making movement in our English villages might lead to the complete capture of a former enemy monopoly.

Manchester Despatch 5/5.19.

WHY NOT WOMEN JURORS?

The question of allowing women to act as jurors has recently been discussed by several provincial City Councils, and memorials on the subject are being sent to the Prime Minister.

Of course, there will be considerable diversity of opinion on this question. Women themselves have always thought the innovation would be beneficial to their sex and in the interests of justice generally. Years ago the Women's Labour League discussed a resolution urging the Government of that day to make it a legal obligation to empanel women on all juries where matrimonial cases were to be tried. It was suggested also that breach of promise actions should be tried before a woman judge and twelve women jurors, or that there should be a mixed jury of six men and six women.

In America women have long taken a share in the administration of justice by serving as jurors, and it has been found that juries of women are sterner and more logical than men. "They appear," says an authority, "to be consistently anxious to punish the guilty, and do not seem to be swayed so much by the possibilities of doubt which so often influence the men."

The State Attorney of Illinois declared on one occasion that it was absolutely essential in the interests of justice that women charged with murder should be tried by women jurors. "Even when the evidence is overwhelming," he said, "women cannot be convicted in the United States on any charge of murder if a male jury is empanelled. Men simply refuse to convict the other sex of that crime." Only a woman, he declared, can really read a woman's heart and tell whether her emotional displays are true or false; only the women can determine rightly when a lie falls from a woman's lips or when she speaks the truth.

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In a recent discussion at Nottingham City Council, it was argued that women are frequently placed at a grave disadvantage through having to give evidence to courts composed exclusively of men, and a Halifax magistrate also recently protested against the fact that man-made laws were administered wholly by men. On the other hand, most people with experience in the courts will readily admit that male juries invariably lean a little to the woman in the case, and, unconsciously, but none the less surely, make it harder for the man. Women would get much less sympathy from women jurors.

It seems, therefore, as though the women jurors would be welcome to many people, and doubts as to their capacity for impartial judgment need not be too seriously considered. Several coroners have in the past expressed themselves as favourable to the admission of women jurors, and years ago one of the Metropolitan police surgeons commended the idea, remarking that "the women have a lot of commonsense and their verdicts would compare favourably with those of the men."

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Besides, think of the happy release it would mean to business men if they could be assured that instead of wasting days at an Assizes Court or other place where justice is dispensed, they could leave the duty to their wives! That thought itself should make many men keen supporters of the women's claim.

W. S.

Daily Chronicle 2.6.19.

A NEW

CHANGES THE WAR HAS BROUGHT ABOUT IN THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE.

After four and a half years as a war correspondent on the Western Front, and a recent tour in the United States, Mr. Philip Gibbs is making a study of English life as it has changed during his absence, owing to the influence of war on the mentality and social state of our people.

He will write in the "Daily Chronicle" from time to time on various aspects of this new England of ours, in town and country.

By Philip Gibbs.

I.—OLD LONDON AND NEW CONDITIONS.

Like many other men who have been in exile for something like five years, with seven days' leave, or a bad illness now and then, I have been exploring London again and rediscovering its types, with fresh eyes and a spirit that has changed because of things seen and remembered.

It is with a queer sense of emotion that one goes to old haunts, like a Rip Van Winkle back from another life, because those five years of war seemed so long—so long!—and now one walks the streets with memories of England before the war, when peace seemed secure in the ways we knew, and human nature to be jogging along in the old familiar tracks, not knowing that forces were driving it on to a world conflict, in which civilisation itself was threatened with downfall.

"The same old London!" said a friend, back, like myself, from the other side, and then, after a long silence, he added: "But with a different spirit in it. Somehow I feel that I don't know the people. They are a different crowd from those we used to know in the old days when you and I used to watch Royal processions, suffragette rows, and the latest sensation at the Law Courts. I suppose it's because one misses the faces of old pals."

THE SPIRIT OF LONDON.

He was right. There is a different spirit in London, because the life of the people has been altered in a thousand ways by the influence of war, and old London has adapted itself to new social conditions.

At Euston Station the other day I saw one little scene which would have been incredible in pre-war times, though familiar enough during the war. The interest to me was that it should be happening nearly six months after the last shot was fired in Armageddon. There was a wild turmoil of luggage on the platform, and the passengers were sorting out their own trunks and searching for them in the luggage - van. A Brigadier - General hoisted a heavy bag, and carried it down the platform. A Rear-Admiral winked at me because he had been lucky in capturing a trolley for his own bags. A young woman sitting behind the desk of the cloakroom was scornful with a foreigner who asked, "Are there no porters here to carry my baggage?"

The young woman patted her front hair and sniffed loudly.

"There's been a war," she said. "All our men have been killed. Haven't you read about it in the papers?"

OLD FRIENDS IN NEW GUISE.

She exaggerated a little in her bitterness. Not all our men have been killed. On the contrary it is comforting to see great numbers of young men walking about the streets of London, crowding into the trains and tramcars; young men in civil clothes, though I notice that they still wear their trench coats on cool days and brown socks under their serge suits. They are well-set-up fellows, and stride down the street in a soldierly way, and have a keener, more alert look than the boys who used to play dominoes in tea shops in the luncheon hours of the days before the war.

It was a well-being with a daily apprehension of tragedy at the bang of the postman's knock, which struck at the heart of many a woman waiting for her mate or her first-born. But it has changed the aspect of back streets in London, down which I used to wander with a heart stricken by so much human misery among those poor, grey, cheerless lives.

They are the fellows I met along the roads in France and Flanders before they were taken prisoner in the March offensive or before a Blighty wound saved their lives in the Flanders fighting. Many of them do not seem to have settled down to any job yet. They sit in the sunshine of Hyde Park listening to the music of a red-coated band. They make long lines with their girls in the queues outside the matinee theatres. They line up for boats on the Serpentine. They seem to have all their time on their hands in these days of armistice. Plenty of time for talking about the new conditions of their life, as I hear them when they sit, with straw hats tilted back, over marble-topped tea tables.

"Found anything to do yet?"

"No; I'm looking round. It isn't easy. What's your plan?"

"Not a ghost of an idea. What can I do? I'm a pretty good machine-gunner—do you remember that stunt outside Le Cateau?—and I'm not bad as a bayonet instructor. But I've no trade, and there's a glut of unskilled labour. I shall sit tight awhile, on twenty-nine bob a week. I did my bit all right. Now it's up to the country."

"The women have taken our jobs."

"Oh, well, I don't grudge it to them."

There are women on the tramcars, and women ticket collectors at the stations. This morning I saw two women bill-stickers, and very smart they looked in light linen skirts. I watched them putting up the posters in the Underground Railway, with nimble fingers, making a clean job of it, and remembered the old scarecrows, the dirty, beery, old fellows who used to have this job before the war.

WOMEN DOING MEN'S WORK.

I have watched the women window-cleaners polishing up the panes of London houses so that the sun shines through them. There was a group of land-girls at Victoria Station a few days ago, strutting about in linen smocks and breeches; strapping, rosy-cheeked, strong-limbed young women, indifferent to the glances of discharged soldiers, none too friendly, it seemed to me.

This arrival of women in the Labour world stares in the face of the man who has come back to London after years of exile. It was all right during the war. It was splendid, and helped to win the war, and the men in the trenches were proud of the spirit of the women, and gained strength through it. But now—after the war? Are they going to say: "Well, there you are, boys. There's the job. I'm going back to the little kitchen and the wash-tub—or me for a maid-servant in a semi-detached villa, with one evening a week, and no visitors?"

Women are not going back, I imagine. They have come out into the open, on equal terms with men, and with the same wage for the same work, or they will know the reason why. . . .

But the men are not all dead, in spite of the young woman in the cloak-room and the memory of a million dead boys in the homes of England, and in the sadness of England's heart. There are many idle brothers, with working sisters in this strange new London of ours, and I see a frightful problem coming when there is no 29s. for a soldier who has done his job, and wants another.

So far there is plenty of money about in London. The war—which corrupted the fields of Europe, and made a wide track of desert land through France and Flanders, and a graveyard where thousands of white crosses rise above the cratered earth as memorials of youth's great sacrifice—cleansed the London slums and brought prosperity and a new sense of well-being into little homes in mean streets.

The ragamuffin children are gone. They wear stockings now and lace-up boots. Their frocks hold together without rags and tatters. The frowsy, blousy women of Poverty Court are smartened up. They wear "summer blouses," and furs if the wind is shrewd. The young girls come out into the courtyard of an evening with silk stockings and bows on their shoes, and new skirts short enough to show the neatness of their ankles.

A great wind has blown through Poverty Court—the wind of war—and in spite of the groans of dying men borne on its breeze, and heard o' night by sleepless women, it has blown the old filth out of these courtyards and blown in paper money, good to spend—while it lasts.

NEW LIFE IN OLD PLACES.

There are flowers in windows which used to be stuffed up with rags; and gramophones in rooms which used to be almost bare of furniture, with pawnshop tickets in the cupboard drawer. In these districts there is a new life in old London, and there is hope in it for people who knew nothing but hopelessness. They will not go back to the old conditions without a desperate struggle, fierce as escaped animals thrust back to the cage.

As yet I do not see the drift of things. I see a kind of restlessness in the spirit of London as of people waiting for something else to happen after one act in a sensational drama. In all classes and in all places there is this sense of waiting and expectancy, a kind of hanging-about in the corridors of life before the Messenger comes with a new announcement.

So it seemed to me when I went into a club for officers in Pall Mall. It is a great rendezvous in halls where all day long there is a seething crowd of young men—mostly young, though with senior officers among them—who a few weeks or a few months ago were with the Army of Occupation, pulling every string to get demobilised.

Many of them are in civil clothes now and greet each other with laughter, because a fellow looks so different in a grey suit and straw hat, after years in khaki. But others still wear their "war-paint," with chevrons and wound stripes and ribbons and all, with regimental badges and Scottish tartans.

THE ONE GREAT PROBLEM.

There are one-armed men and one-legged men, and every afternoon an ambulance drives up with a crowd of cheerful cripples, rather weak on their pins as they cross the marble floor, badly mauled by the luck of war, still wearing the blue armlet of the Army hospital.

"Hullo, old buck!"

"Anything doing?"

There seems to be nothing doing, except the latest theatre, or a race-meeting, or a flying stunt, as far as the younger men are concerned. They are like the fellows of "other ranks," who sit talking across the marble-topped tables of tea-shops. The conversations are very similar.

"What the dickens can a fellow do? I can fly all right, but I don't want to, and it's no use, anyhow. To hell with flying, except as a Hawker game with the Press to boom you. I had enough of it when I crossed the lines every blessed morning, with the Archies going full blast and no crowds to cheer me. But now? I've no training for civil life, and I'm 23, and want to marry the best girl in the world, and I can't see how I can earn five quid a week, which is no good to me at all. I'm waiting for something to turn up, like old Micawber."

"Same here, and I'm fed up with it. Back to the Army again! I don't think."

There was music at the corner of a northern suburb on Sunday morning. It was a military band, played with a military beat. I strolled over to it, and saw a circle of bandsmen in plain clothes. By the look of them, more than by their badges, I knew them as discharged soldiers, the heroes of the war—young Tommy Atkins in mufti. The tune stopped, and one of them mounted a kitchen chair and addressed a crowd which had gathered round.

"The discharged soldier asks for justice—and work. Twenty-nine shillings a week is not good enough. We want work, and good wages after serving England. Some of us want a bit of the land we fought for. It is our right to have it. There are 500,000 members of the Discharged Soldiers' and Sailors' Federation, and we are out for the just reward of service in the war—for ourselves and for our crippled and helpless pals. It is up to England, and we are waiting to see what England is going to do."

In London I find that everybody is waiting, expectantly, anxiously, for the next phase of history which has already changed all their habits and all their thoughts.

Manchester Guardian

24/6/19

Women in Industry.

One the gravest domestic problems left for set ment by the war is that of the hundreds of thousands of women workers who have taken the places of the men who went to fight. Two distinct lines of argument are advanced to support the general dismissal of women workers from the tasks they have performed in the war years. The first urges that the men who fought must be given the places they left, whatever the effect on their substitutes. This is a just if not an ideal solution of an unusual and artificial industrial condition. But the argument is also sometimes put forward, both by employers and employed, that women should be excluded from an industry because they are women. The manager of the Manchester Tramways lately pronounced his women workers less efficient and less courteous than his men, and a similar line is taken in support of the provision in the Government's Restoration of Pre-war Practices Bill, which, in deference to trade union opinion, seeks to exclude women from the engineering trade. Of course promises to the unions must be kept, but any attempt at the indefinite exclusion of women is doomed ultimately to stultification and failure. The many faults women have shown in tackling men's work in these exceptional years that have given them their chance have been due in the main to the handicaps that their education, mainly controlled until now by men, has put upon them. The Women's Advisory Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction recognise this fact when in their report, now published, they plead for a sounder training for that secretarial work which attracts so many girls. The traditions and atmosphere of forensic work are not acquired in a day, and for centuries we have educated woman for the home in the belief that that was her complete and sufficient destiny. The war has shown that we were wrong. As a nation we have admitted our error in extending the franchise, and ultimately we shall find it no more possible to shut the gates of industry than those of suffrage. The war antedated the education of many women to fill the rôles which they are capable of filling and destined to fill, but the attempt to rule them out of industries as a sex can only be wasteful and temporary. Let us see to the reinstatement of the men who left their civil work to take on a more vital task, and let us at the same time recognise that, with the exception of certain labour in which greater physical prowess must always dominate, the ability of women to take part in industry depends not on sex but on education, and make our plans accordingly.

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Times Educational Supplement

NEW PROFESSIONS FOR WOMEN.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

The annual meeting of the National Council of Women, heretofore known as the National Union of Women Workers, always throws light on the future of girls' education, directly or by implication.

This year's gathering was held in the last week in June amongst the archæological antiquities and very modern commercial developments of Leicester, and was especially interesting as showing the trend of movements which have been somewhat in abeyance during war time. It was soon evident that, in the minds of the more advanced, at least, the concession of Parliamentary suffrage with its corollary of eligibility for a seat is not that goal of women's aims which some have supposed it. On the contrary, it proves a jumping-off point for the demand that no occupation which a woman may desire to enter shall be closed to her by a barrier of sex. The thorny question of admission to the priesthood was not taken up by the conference. But amongst the literature exhibited were copies of a newly-formed league which has this object definitely in view, and however small may be the numbers at present making the demand, it foreshadows a development of theological college training for women, and of qualifying examinations that will go further than the present one for the Archbishop's diploma.

The position of women in law administration, however, was very fully discussed. One of the most important aspects of this subject is of course that which regards the child. Apart from any desire of women to establish themselves in a great profession which may be said to range from police point duty to the Woolsack, there is a growing feeling among all who consider the delinquent boy and girl that they need something more of maternal influence both in penalty and in protection. One wave of opinion removed the child-criminal from the tainted atmosphere of an ordinary court. But the child-witness may still appear there, and an instance was quoted of a child of eight who was cross-examined for an hour and 20 minutes.

The woman probation officer has proved her value and is consulted by magistrates while cases are under remand. The woman juror would seem to be equally desirable, and would certainly relieve the strain sometimes put on busy men by calls to attend tedious cases. Logically, therefore, it would appear that the woman magistrate should also sit, and if it is urged that as yet women know little of common law, the answer is that some are ready to begin to learn at once, and that also, as things stand, it is frequently the knowledge possessed by the Justices' clerk which saves the situation. It is certain that much work entirely suited to women needs to be done with regard to separation orders, affiliation cases, and many kinds of assault. As for the policewoman, it may unreservedly be said that she has had a success far beyond anything that was hoped for by early supporters of the movement. The acknowledgment of her value by authorities has taken the classical form of entrusting the faithful servant with more work. To give one instance only: A year ago the Bristol training school supplied two women to the Gloucestershire force as an experiment to be tried for one year. After eight months, however, the County Committee were so well pleased that they appointed 14. In many places where the services of women patrols, without specified training and at first with very limited powers, were asked for the special needs of war-time, their position has now been regulated for permanency, and both training and position will no doubt before long be standardized. As things are, in some places a woman is sworn in, not in others, and regulations, pay, and prospects vary greatly. At a moment when many women are asking for socially-useful salaried work this should appeal. Owing partly to the generous gift of £1,000 by the Carnegie Trust, training at the Federated schools at Bristol and Liverpool, to which Glasgow is now added, costs only £3 3s. for three to six months' course, while immediate employment is practically certain.

Morning Post.

27/6/19

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WOMEN'S POST-WAR WORK.

GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATIONS.

SHORTER WEEK; MOTHERS' PENSIONS.

The Women's Employment Committee, presided over by Major J. W. Hills, M.P., which was appointed in August, 1916, to consider and advise, in the light of the experience gained during the war, upon the opportunities for the employment of women, has presented its report, and it was issued yesterday in the form of a Blue Book of 116 pages, which deals with practically all aspects of women's post-war work.

It recommends that free entrance to all clerical posts in the local government service should be given to women, and that all clerical posts open to men should be open to women. Sufficient training for industry and, in the case of unorganised workers, a large extension of Trade Boards are deemed necessary. The time has arrived, the Committee urges, for the consideration of a Bill dealing with fines, deductions, and the "living-in" system for shop assistants, drafted on the lines of the Minority Report.

New Shops Act.

The relaxation of the Factory Acts allowed during the war, the Committee believes, should cease when peace is restored, and excessive overtime, long spells, night work and Sunday work should be forbidden. The Government is asked to consider the possibility of a 44-hours working week and an annual fortnight's holiday on full pay. Trades should be allowed, within statutory limits, to settle their own hours, subject to Government sanction, "a substantial majority having power to bind the minority." A new Shops Act is required to limit the existing excessively long hours and spells. Government factories should make experiments to see whether a working day much shorter than the present is not economically possible.

Welfare work must continue after the war under a single Government authority. Industries should determine their own conditions under Government supervision. "It should be the employer's duty to study conditions as he now studies cost of production, and workers should strive for good conditions as they have striven for good wages." The workers should operate through Whitley Councils and Works Committees, on which organised women must be fully represented. Factory inspectors should be encouraged to call conferences of employers and employed. "Compulsory action by the State should be used for the purpose of making universal that which experiment has proved to be right." Women superintendents should be appointed where women are employed in substantial numbers.

Roll of Trade Unions.

With regard to Trade Unionism, the report states, organisation should be encouraged in every way. "Trade Unions should play an important part in preventing unemployment. Unions comprising both men and women are stronger for bargaining purposes than those consisting of women only, but there is work for both classes of Unions to do."

The employment of married women outside their homes is not to be encouraged. A system of mothers' pensions, on the lines of that in operation in the United States, is recommended. An immediate inquiry should be held into conditions in offices. Home work should not be encouraged in any trade unless it is clear that the maintenance of adequate wages is possible.

Training Scheme.

Considerable emphasis is placed on the desirability of adapting the training scheme of the Ministry of Munitions to peace purposes. Training must be closely associated to trade methods and requirements. Apprenticeship, learnership, technical classes, instructional, national, or local factory courses should be utilised. Maintenance for women during training must be provided, and the cost of training and maintenance should be a national charge. The Ministry of Labour, it is urged, should appoint a Committee at an early date to deal with this phase of the problem.

THE RIGHT TO WORK.

NOT SOLELY ON HARD JOBS.

The first resolution adopted at yesterday's sitting of the National Council of Women's Conference at Leicester was one to the effect that no restrictions on the employment of women should be included in the Restoration of Pre-War Practices Bill, and particularly that the right to work in new trades which had been organised during the war should not be taken from them.

Mrs. Oliver Strachey, who submitted the proposal, said that before the war women had all the nasty, hard, and unpleasant jobs thrust upon them at the worst possible pay, all the best and most highly-paid work being reserved and preserved for the men. Now that women's spheres had been expanded they must be very careful and determined or they would be driven back ruthlessly to the old and bad conditions.

Lady Lawson-Tancred, who seconded, said no woman worth her salt would for a moment wish to keep the brave soldiers who had fought for their country out of their old employment, but there was a wide difference between that and going to the other extreme of displacing women especially in new industries. (Applause.)

After a most animated discussion, the Conference approved the Bill for the State Registration of Nurses. It was also resolved to ask the Government to empower the Ministry of Health to take steps to ensure an uncontaminated milk supply.

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The position of women in engineering was also shown to be important. When we remember that as the result of the Government agreement of March, 1915, with the trade unions no fewer than 792,000 women entered trades previously closed, it is evident that much experience and result of education, as well as scrapping of new machinery, will be wasted if all are turned out. It is also an open secret that an Act to bring about the return to pre-war conditions has been sought with intention to use in agreement rather than for complete execution. Some of the crafts also are new to this country.

The most "advanced" suggestion laid before the conference was that of Dr. Christine Murrell, who brought forward the complete endowment of motherhood, pleading this as the true solution of the equal pay for equal work problem. Grant that no man will have a family to support, because the State will free him from all obligation and claim his children as its own, and certainly the whole argument for men's wages on a higher scale vanishes. A conference composed of practical workers listened with more interest to the case for those pensions for widows and deserted wives left with children which a majority of the American States have now adopted. While an income for a child *quâ* child may undermine the foundations of family life, this measure abolishes the need for Poor Law schools, except for total orphans, and seeks not only to preserve the family life but to improve and raise it by wise inspection and guidance. And this, again, points the way to more and better domestic teaching, both for visitor and visited.

Yorkshire Post
25. 7. 19.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.

THE QUESTION OF CONSCRIPTION.

A meeting of the General Committee of the League of Nations Union was held yesterday in London, to consider the report of the special committee on the reorganisation of the Union. Lord Robert Cecil, M.P., was elected chairman of the Council, on the motion of Professor Gilbert Murray, who remarked that their President, Lord Grey of Fallodon, owing to the lamentable loss of his eyesight, was unable to take a part in their counsels.

Lord Robert Cecil said the cause in which they were engaged was a worthy one, and the work of a society like that was of great importance. It had often been stated that the whole success of the League of Nations depended entirely upon the spirit of the nations forming it. If we failed in this country there was very little hope that the League would succeed in other countries.

In the discussion on the report of the special committee, objection was taken to the proposed admission to the League of "all peoples able and willing to give effective guarantees of their loyal intention to observe its covenants." The clause was amended to read "Admission to the League of all peoples able and willing to observe its covenants."

Another clause related to the advocacy of a "progressive limitation of armaments in all countries." To this Miss Mary MacArthur desired the addition of the words "and the abolition of conscription." Professor Murray said every nation in the League had to be ready to undertake military operations if necessary, and he could conceive a state of things where some form of conscription might be necessary. It was finally decided to add the words "and the abolition of the system of conscription."

Some 80 branches of the Union were approved, including those of Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, Harrogate, Hull, Scarborough, Todmorden, Liverpool, Manchester, Derby, Nottingham, Glasgow, and Edinburgh.

The report, as amended, was adopted.

Manchester Dispatch
23/7/19

EMANCIPATED WOMAN.

THE House of Lords has gallantly passed the Second Reading of a Bill to remove sex disqualifications which is pretty much on the lines of the Bill on which the Government were defeated in the House of Commons last week.

Their lordships, that is to say, the few of them assembled, have agreed that women may hold civil and judicial offices, professions, and vocations, and so on, and serve on juries, but their lordships were not so hearty about peeresses in their own right sitting in their House. This Bill says peeresses may do so by permission of the King.

An anomaly was pointed out that the existing peeresses in their own right would be debarred, and it was suggested this interesting question should be left over until the Government "next session" introduced their Bill to reform the House of Lords. But there is no pledge there will be such a Bill next session.

Wits, of course, are saying that to have old women on the Bench will not be a drastic change, but with the arrival of the woman doctor the woman lawyer was inevitable, and there never was any reason why women should not adopt those and other professions, though there may be some domestic friction if a man consults his lady solicitor too frequently!

As for jurywomen, they are long overdue, though we believe there will be found to be many unfortunate women in the dock who would prefer the tender mercy of the male to the stern condemnation of the immaculate jurywoman.

Daily Chronicle 16.9.19.

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Yorkshire Post 5.9.19

WHERE WOMEN OF 40 ARE WANTED.

ROOM FOR HUNDREDS IN THE HOSIERY INDUSTRY AT LEICESTER.

BEST WORK AT MIDDLE AGE.

No woman, whether she is young and fair or in the mature stage of forty, need want work at Leicester. There is a big demand for such women in the hosiery trade.

Their work is greatly appreciated in Northampton, among other provincial centres of industry.

Miss M. A. Storey, manageress of the Women's Department of Leicester Labour Exchange, says: "Our difficulty is to find sufficient women to fill the positions. We have in this populous city less than fifty women on our register, and they are largely unemployable and quite unfitted for industrial work. Women of all ages, including those over forty, can find employment at once at very good wages and under excellent conditions.

"We could find work for hundreds more if we only had the housing accommodation. I have a committee now sitting to devise a means of extending the hostel accommodation. Women of fifty as well as young folk are trained quickly for the hosiery industry, in which there is every scope for artistic and manual work. Over 80 per cent. of the operatives engaged are women and it is work which specially appeals to women. In fact, women who wish to succeed have never had better opportunities."

These statements were confirmed by Mr Tanner, the manager of the Exchange.

VALUE OF EXPERIENCE.

NORTHAMPTON TESTIMONY TO WORK OF WOMEN OF FORTY.

Rev. C. W. Crump, in charge of the financial department of the South Midland and Cambridge division for the Y.M.C.A. and general organising secretary for Northampton and district, said to a "Daily Chronicle" correspondent:—

"At one period during the war I had 600 women workers under me, of whom nearly two-thirds were forty or thereabouts, and they did splendid service. I should think it would be almost impossible to carry on any big social undertaking without women of that age and experience.

"I cannot understand anyone suggesting that women are too old at forty, because I should think that is about the age at which they are capable of doing their best work."

Mr. Sidney Adnitt, of Messrs. Adnitt Brothers, the largest drapers in Northampton, who employ a very large number of women, said:—

"Our experience is that it is all nonsense to say that women are too old for business at forty, for in many cases we find women, both of that age and older, very capable business women. We have got some employees of that age, and I for one should be very sorry to lose them.

"The whole question is one of brains. If you have anyone who is capable, when they reach the age of forty they are usually better still, because they are using their accumulated experience, and from that point of view are additionally valuable to any business."

NOT ACUTE AT CARDIFF.

WOMEN CLERKS OVER FORTY ARE PRACTICALLY UNHEARD OF.

The problem is not in an acute stage in the Cardiff district.

Commander Evan Owen, whose business interests at Cardiff and in the South Wales coalfield entitle him to speak with authority, told the "Daily Chronicle" correspondent that in Cardiff the woman clerk as a considerable factor in the business life of the city was a comparatively recent innovation.

Mr. Owen, who is secretary of the South Wales and Monmouthshire Clerks' Association, added that it was quite true that among the women clerks of Cardiff he knew none over 40, and he was unaware of any seeking office positions at that age.

In further inquiries our correspondent found this view generally supported, but there was no evidence to show that women of 40, with business training and experience, would be regarded with disfavour for vacant positions.

AGE NO BAR AT HULL.

WOMEN NOT LIKELY TO GET MARRIED PREFERRED.

The too old at 40 attitude towards women does not apply at Hull, so far as clerical work is concerned, telegraphs the "Daily Chronicle" correspondent. The number of middle-aged ladies thus employed is only small, because, in most offices, the lady clerk is a war-time innovation.

Mr. Kirk, of the firm of Messrs. J. Watt and Company, ship brokers, thinks that a woman of 40 would be preferable to a younger one, because of her experience and because she would be more reliable and less likely to fritter away her time. This, too, was the view expressed by Mr. A. J. Goodison, a stockbroker.

Speaking for the corporation, Councillor Wokes said that 40 years would not make a bar to the employment of women. "The Sanitary Committee," he said, "have engaged ladies of that age for important work in the people's homes, and at the last meeting of the Education Committee we appointed at least one lady of those years to one of our principal schools. I will admit that if there were two candidates, one 30 and the other 45, but in all other respects equal, the younger one would be most likely to get the appointment. But the latter would by no means be ruled out.

"Marriage is the chief cause of lady teachers retiring, and when we appoint one of 35 or so, we know she is not going to leave us in five minutes to get married."

Reliability of Age.

Alderman Rose, of Barnsley, told a "Daily Chronicle" representative that there was plenty of scope to-day for educated women. He expressed the opinion that women of 40 and over were more reliable than younger women.

He agreed that a woman with a knowledge of tailoring, cooking, and domestic service found a suitable situation quicker than the educated woman, there being a bigger demand for the former.

WOMEN AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The attitude of women towards the League of Nations was considered yesterday at a conference of women's organisations in London. Mrs. Rackham, who presided, said the object of the conference was to try to transform into effective action the words of the League of Nations covenant, which had said that all positions under the League which applied to men should equally be open to women.

Miss Macarthur (Industrial Women's Organisation) moved a resolution, which was agreed to, urging the need of the representation of women on the governing bodies of the League.

A resolution appealing to the Government and the League of Nations to support the appointment of women to serve women in the various capacities connected with the League was also passed. Mrs. Allen Bright, seconding, said all Governments were susceptible to pressure, the present Government notably so, and she advocated such pressure being applied.

Another resolution adopted provided that in making appointments in connection with the League, the Governments of various countries should consult the most representative of organised women. Miss Macarthur pointed out that the most suitable women for the job were not always those in the limelight.

The Countess of Selborne pointed out that the conference did not, by any means, represent the whole of the female opinion of the country. There were wives and mothers who did not join any society, who should have a voice in the questions before the conference. "We are regarded as cranks," said her ladyship, "and I am proud of being a crank myself, but there are the great mass of the nation who are not cranks and whose sound common-sense is one of the great pillars of society. It is the common-sense of these women that I want to get on to any representative body such as this might be."

Various schemes for the nomination and recommendation of women representatives were discussed, and a resolution, proposed by Miss M. Macarthur, was ultimately carried that measures be taken, by a provisional committee, to receive and consider and, if necessary, to recommend nominations of women to be submitted to the British Government and the League Secretariat as suitable for appointment on the various bodies, or in the capacities for which the Government or the Secretariat are responsible. The recommendations will be submitted to a further meeting of the conference. A resolution was carried for the establishment of a permanent International Women's Office, similar to that of the International Labour Conference and the International Labour Office already set up.

Morning Post 4.9.19.

DANGER OF CRANKS.

Women's Representation on the League of Nations.

Receptions of various women's organisations in the country met in conference in London, yesterday, to consider their representation on the League of Nations and the best methods of securing such representation.

Resolutions urging upon the Government the just demand for representation of women in the Assembly of Delegates in the International Court of Justice and in all commissions and other bodies set up in connection with the League were submitted and passed.

Speaking in support, Miss Mary MacArthur, of the Standing Joint Committee of Women's Organisations, strongly contended that no one should be appointed to any office simply because she was a woman, but on the other hand she should not be excluded for the same reason.

Miss Allen argued that women should be more fully represented upon the delegation to the forthcoming American Labour Congress at Washington.

The Countess of Selborne, of the National Council of Women, was alone in her opposition to a resolution to the effect that in making appointments to all bodies connected with the League of Nations the Governments of the various countries should consult the most representative bodies of organised women of each nation. She maintained that the whole of the womanhood of the country should be consulted, and not only those connected with organisations, for if the latter only were consulted they would be in danger of being represented by cranks. She would like to see the representation of the normal women of the country, the wives and mothers, of whom there were many who would be more fit to represent them than many organised women.

The resolution was carried.

Daily Chronicle 10.9.19

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PLIGHT OF THE WOMEN OF FORTY.

THOUSANDS UNABLE TO GET EMPLOYMENT, ALTHOUGH WELL EDUCATED.

MIGHT REPLACE FLAPPERS IN WHITEHALL OFFICES

Are thousands of middle-aged women of education doomed to unemployment and want in the post-war industrial order, as suggested by "A Woman of Forty," whose despairing appeal was published in the "Daily Chronicle" yesterday?

Inquiries made by a "Daily Chronicle" representative show that the fears expressed are only too well founded, except where women have retained their adaptability and elasticity of mind.

The older women employed in Government offices during the war are in precarious plight, and it is suggested that a number of them should be absorbed into the permanent staff, in the same way as discharged Service men, in preference to the flapper and the woman of independent means.

MORE ADAPTABILITY.

WOMEN WITH TRAINING NOT IN A HOPELESS POSITION.

The plaint of "A Woman of Forty" that the middle-aged, well-educated woman cannot get employment is tragically true in thousands of cases, writes a "Daily Chronicle" representative.

The position, however, is not hopeless. There are two organisations which exist for the purpose of assisting educated women to obtain posts, and the officials of both take an optimistic view of the future. These bodies are:—

The Professional Women's Registry (Ministry of Labour), 16, Curzon-street.

The Central Bureau for the Employment of Women, 5, Prince's-street.

Both lay emphasis upon two points:

Adaptability;
Mobility.

The woman who has lost her elasticity of mind, or who is not prepared to accept a position away from her home town, stands little chance of securing a situation which will enable her to support herself.

PROSPECT NOT HOPELESS.

Miss M. G. Spencer, secretary of the Central Bureau, has had 20 years' experience in dealing with applications for employment, and she has rendered useful service in advising Government Departments on questions of women labour. Her views, therefore, are worthy of attention.

"If 'A Woman of Forty' will write to me and arrange an interview, I will see what can be done to obtain employment for her," she said to a "Daily Chronicle" representative. "The prospect for middle-aged women is not at all hopeless, if they are adaptable. It all depends upon their personality.

"I found a position for a woman of 60 only a few days ago. We deal with 35,000 written applications and 10,000 callers in a year. The woman who wants £5 a week for supervising a few girls or who declines to go more than three miles out of London is hopeless.

"If, however, she has not lost her elasticity, it is quite possible for her to obtain a post where she will be able to support herself. We invite educated women to get into touch with the bureau; but we do ask that they should write and arrange an interview. We have only small premises for the work, and applicants become disheartened if they have to wait a long time.

"With regard to trained women, the demand is brisk, and is likely to remain so, although salaries are going down."

SCOPE IN SUPERVISION.

A woman official at the Ministry of Labour, who is in close touch with the question of employment, held similar optimistic views. She suggested that the untrained educated woman could adapt herself to:—

Welfare supervision in peace-time industry.

Supervision of domestic day servants in hostels.

Health visiting.

Assistance in households where only day girls are kept.

Working partnerships with professional women.

House property management on the Octavia Hill plan.

"There will be a big demand for women supervisors in peace-time industry," she said. "A number of factories are already writing to the Ministry asking us to recommend supervisors from the panel which we started, and which is being continued. The big shops always have supervisors, and they will be absolutely necessary in Government offices where a large number of women clerks are employed.

"Those who have had, or can obtain, first-aid training will find this an additional asset in the work of supervision.

DOMESTIC POSTS.

"My own view with regard to domestic service is that a new system will arise, in which day-girls will be grouped into hostels near the houses where they work. Here is another opportunity for the well-educated woman—to 'mother' them and look after them.

"Educated labour must be mobile; London women are usually reluctant to taking positions in the provinces. I think, as we settle down, there will be many openings for middle-aged women on the domestic side. There is the opportunity for women of taste to assist in the decorative side of house furnishing and to make themselves so useful in the modern household, where the servant problem is acute, that, while retaining their independence, they would be able to secure a comfortable home.

"Then there are infant welfare creches and nursery schools which offer openings for the capable, adaptable woman, and the training required for health visiting is quite short.

"And there must be many professional women who either cannot afford or are unable to get a servant at the present time who would willingly offer a home in exchange for light household duties. These would only occupy a portion of the day, leaving the remainder for needle-work, or any other occupation, which would produce a small income."

NEED OF TRAINING.

Miss Evans, the secretary of the Association of Women Clerks and Secretaries, pointed out that while there is not now the same antipathy on the part of employers towards employing women as there was several years ago, unless a woman has had some sort of training for a profession she is not likely to find employment when she is getting on in years.

"This difficulty is being experienced by a large number of really well-educated women who never had to work for their living until the war came," she said. "Then they found their incomes reduced very considerably, and they were obliged to seek employment—many in Government offices. They had had no training, and they are too old usually to begin a business life now that they are not wanted.

"I have known women of 40 who were determined to make something of their life, and they have succeeded. But at that age women must make up their minds that they have got to receive training.

TO REPLACE FLAPPERS.

"There is very little demand for the older women in the commercial world, unless they have had previous secretarial training. If they have been doing clerical work for many years they have a good chance of employment, but an employer, if he has to engage an untrained woman, prefers the girl of 18 to the woman of 40.

"A trained woman ought to have a good chance of getting employment, for there are plenty of openings. The demand, in fact, is greater than we can meet.

"We recommend that a certain number of these middle-aged women should be absorbed by the Government departments, in the same way as discharged Service men are. There is a considerable amount of very ordinary routine work that will have to be done in the new Civil Service, and we think it would be better for the Government departments to utilise some of the older women who can do this work rather than the young girls of 15 to 17 years of age or the women of independent means."

Times 4.11.'19.

CAREERS FOR WOMEN.

WIDER OPPORTUNITIES NOW OPEN.

A new edition of *Careers*, with the sub-title "After the War," has been issued by the Students' Careers Associations, 5, Princes-street, Cavendish-square. It contains a foreword by Lady Bryce, and covers the increasingly wide field of opportunities now open, or, as in the case of the legal profession, about to be opened to women.

It is hardly a book for women seeking some immediate work, for which a short "smattering" of knowledge would suffice; it is written for the woman who is prepared to undergo training. The teaching profession in all its grades, from elementary school teaching to lecturing and coaching, is dealt with, and the salaries, most of which are higher than in pre-war days, are quoted. Details of the medical, dental, nursing, and allied professions are given; other careers include social work and library work, with information concerning the new school of librarianship; literary work, secretarial work, accountancy, work in banks, insurance, advertising work, dress-making, hairdressing, house agency, house decoration, millinery, tailoring, and tea-room management (the profits from which are said to be three times greater than before the war though the initial cost is also greater); horticulture, agriculture in all its branches; arts and crafts, from black and white work to the stage; public work, including all branches of the Civil Service, and appointments under local authorities; architecture, engineering, the teaching of riding, and work overseas are all among the subjects covered.

In articles dealing with wholesale business, it is stated that girls have largely drifted into such positions as shorthand-typists, and that where the youngest male clerk may rise to the post of departmental manager or managing director, the girl usually remains only a shorthand-typist. This is at present open to question, for there are to-day many women holding important positions with wholesale firms in London, particularly in the drapery and millinery trade, some as owners of their business, some as managers of special departments. It is, however, very truly pointed out that a strong obstacle to their advancement in the world of commerce lies in the fact that the exchanges are closed to them, and that as long as this is so, their place in the world of commerce must be an inferior one.

Dancing is perhaps not the profession many ambitious fathers would choose for their daughters, but Mrs. Wordsworth, who has trained some of the most successful teachers and solo dancers, says:—"There are hundreds of young girls on the verge of choosing a career who would become splendid dancing mistresses with proper training. The ideal age for training is between 16 and 18." The salaries earned, as quoted by Mrs. Wordsworth, appear to compare very favourably with those offered in duller professions.

A warning is given that since demobilization began there has been an over-supply of drivers, both men and women; the demand for women motor-drivers has almost completely ceased.

Miss Mildred Ransom, in describing how to run a shorthand, typewriting, and translating office, has a sensible word to say against working overtime. "Working in shifts is reasonable," she writes, "but allowing the work to dribble on until after 10 or 11 at night is objectionable in every way. It is a matter very greatly to be regretted that overtime has been so encouraged in Government offices."

The book is compiled by educated women, each of whom has found a successful career in the vocation of which she writes. An interesting point is made in the preface by Miss M. G. Spencer, secretary of the Central Bureau for the Employment of Women, when she says, "Work with children was extraordinarily unpopular during the war, the chief reason being that it implied residence. But there are signs that with demobilization many girls will return to what is both a fairly paid and interesting profession."

Daily Chronicle 11.12.'19

WOMAN INSURANCE MANAGER.

BIG COMPANY'S PIONEER APPOINTMENT.

MOTHERHOOD POLICY.

The "new" women, the post-war women with their independence and self-reliance, have already made their mark on the world in many ways. Insurance methods and plans have now been adapted to meet their especial needs.

A "Daily Chronicle" representative yesterday had a chat with Mrs. M. R. Verden, who has recently been appointed manager of the women's section of the Eagle Star and British Dominions Insurance Company. This is pioneer work, for, up to the present, insurance companies have not concerned themselves specially with women.

"As a matter of fact," said an authority on insurance, when questioned on this point, "insurance companies have never regarded women's lives or business concerned with them as being as good as those of men."

WOMEN'S BIG SACRIFICE.

But this opinion has been changing since the coming of the Armistice released thousands upon thousands of women, whose wits and abilities have been sharpened by war work for business and commercial ventures.

"I have always been wrapped up in work for women," Mrs. Verden said yesterday. "And I have always realised that the modern, independent woman who marries is making a big sacrifice. The woman worker most often gives up her income, and, consequently, her economic independence, when she marries.

"When children come, there are the inevitable expenses. Cots, perambulators, and so on, have to be purchased, and there are the hundred and one expenses to be met which are such a heavy drag on an ordinary middle-class income.

WAR WIDOWS.

"In addition, there are thousands of war widows who have to educate their children and bring them up to be worthy citizens. They cannot do this on their pensions. Consequently, they must work. And while they are working they must think of the future.

"I have discussed all these aspects exhaustively with a company of well-known women, who have agreed to act as an honorary board of reference for the women's section of the insurance company. They include Lady Frances Balfour, Viscountess Hampden, Miss Lilian Barker, C.B.E., Miss Damer-Dawson, O.B.E., Miss Ruth Young (chairman of the Association of Women Clerks and Secretaries), Mme. Clara Butt, and Miss Lilian Braithwaite. As a consequence there has been drawn up a scheme of insurance policies which, I think, meets the needs of the modern woman.

A MOTHERHOOD POLICY.

"I am especially proud of the Motherhood Policy, a three-fold scheme which enables a woman to do three things, by means of yearly contributions, which may be broken up into detailed payments to suit individual incomes. These three benefits are:—

1. **An annuity or lump sum at the age of 55.**
2. **Payments of £10 at the birth of each of five children.**
3. **£100 if death occurs within a month of the birth of a child.**

"Many fathers and mothers are helping their young daughters to take these policies out," said Mrs. Verden. "It may be that, when they get married, their husbands will pay a proportion of the insurance for them.

"Anyhow, whichever way it may be arranged, I am glad that we have been able to fix up a scheme which should, I think, be of real use to the woman of to-day in helping her to make independent provision for herself, even should she give up her career."

Daily Chronicle 18.12.'19 703

LADY CHARTERED ACCOUNTANT.

IN PRACTICE FOR OVER THIRTY YEARS.

NEW 'OPEN' CALLING.

Latest of doors to open to women's imperious knocking is that which leads to the profession of accountant, writes a "Daily Chronicle" special representative.

One or two women have been practising for many years as accountants, some with the certificate of the London Association of Accountants, which admitted women to its ranks about ten years ago, when Mrs. Ayres Purdie was made the first woman member.

Until recently, however, neither the Institute of Chartered Accountants nor the Incorporated Society of Accountants and Auditors admitted women.

HONORARY MEMBER.

Now the latter society has capitulated, and women who are interested in figures and money as the means to providing an interesting career are wondering how long the oldest professional society of the three will hold out.

A woman who wishes to be admitted to the Incorporated Society can enter in two ways. She can prove that she has been practising for ten years, or she can be articled for five years, or three years if she has a degree, to a firm of accountants. The first woman whose name will be entered on the register of the institute will, however, not be asked to enter by either of these two ways.

Miss Harris-Smith.

Miss Harris-Smith, who has been practising for over 30 years, is to be made an honorary member.

HOW TO GO ABOUT IT.

Mrs. Ayres Purdie, probably the most famous woman accountant in the world, explained to a "Daily Chronicle" representative yesterday that the fact of a woman enjoying membership of a professional association enables her to give certificates when these are required at the end of an investigation.

"A girl who intends to take up this work," said Mrs. Ayres Purdie, "should have a good education of the matriculation standard.

"The most practical course for her to take, now that membership of two of the professional societies is open to her, is for her to get herself articled to a firm of accountants.

"She must pass an intermediate examination in mercantile law, auditing, general commercial knowledge, partnership and executorship accounts, book-keeping, and accounts generally. For her final she must study company and bankruptcy law."

Mrs. Ayres Purdie, it may be mentioned, did good work as auditor to some of the biggest of the women's charitable funds during the war.

703/39

WOMAN'S HOSPITAL IN WAR

By Flora Murray, C.B.E., M.D., D.P.H. Common Cause Jan 23 - 1920

The Military Hospital, Endell Street, was opened early in 1915, in the old workhouse of St. Giles, Bloomsbury. At request of the Director-General, Army Medical Service, the management and work were undertaken by the Women's Hospital Corps, which had been working in France since the previous September. On March 22nd the buildings were handed over to the organisers (Dr. Louisa Garrett Anderson and Dr. Flora Murray) by the colonel who was then in charge of the work of reconstruction. This gentleman was seriously disturbed by the innovation of giving women a command, and strove to make them realise the impossibility and the indelicacy of the proposal. Finally, having accepted receipts for the keys and the coals, he wrung his hands and exclaiming, "Oh, good God, what difficulties you will have!" he left them in possession.

The work of conversion of the old buildings had been in hand for some weeks. Lifts were being placed in each block, sanitation and lighting renewed, operating theatres and laboratories constructed, and painting and cleaning carried out. Some four hundred workmen were on the premises. There was an indescribable chaos, and a great mass of lumber and useless furniture impeded progress.

Out of it all order gradually was evolved. The workmen really worked; fatigue parties of Guardsmen were obtained to clear up the mess; indents went in for equipment, stores, instruments, and all the thousand things a hospital needs, and, though the delivery was slow and uncertain, the supplies brought home from France by the Corps made it possible to be ready in the first days of May.

The medical staff, which numbered fifteen women, included many well-known specialists. It comprised Dr. Louisa Garrett Anderson (chief surgeon), Dr. Winifred Buckley (surgeon), Dr. Amy Sheppard (ophthalmic surgeon), Dr. Louisa Woodcock (physician), Dr. Helen Chambers (pathologist), Dr. E. M. Magill (radiologist), and Dr. Handley Read (dental surgeon). The death of Dr. Woodcock in 1917 deprived the hospital of one of its most valued members. She was succeeded by Dr. Margaret Thackrah. The work of administration fell to Dr. Flora Murray as Doctor-in-Charge, assisted by Miss Olga M. Campbell, the Quartermaster. The doctors were graded as officers and drew the pay and allowances of the various ranks, as well as the bonus and rates which were subsequently granted to officers.

Miss Hale, the matron of the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital, and a member of the Territorial Forces Nursing Service, was seconded, by request, for service under the War Office and accepted the post of matron. She had thirty-six trained nurses under her. The rest of the nursing and the work in the stores and offices was undertaken by women orderlies. The orderlies were, perhaps, the most distinctive feature of the hospital. They were young, with all the beauty and charm of youth. They brought courage and inspiration to their work. Girls who had never worked before took up the daily grind in the wards or stores, and brought to it such gaiety and buoyancy of spirit that patients and staff were alike uplifted and sustained. They wore their graceful uniform of drab with blue facings with pride and dignity. They worked splendidly. They laughed and the men laughed with them. They were the spirit and the life of the hospital. They were ready to get up tea-parties, to dress-up the men, to act for them, sing to them, to disguise themselves in cats' skins and horses' skins, and play antics, till every sick man in the ward forgot himself and laughed till he cried. And with it all they were tender and careful. They had sympathy and knew how to comfort, and whatever demands were made upon them they never failed.

The hospital contained five hundred and seventy beds in seventeen wards, which were named after women saints—St. Anne, St. Barbara, and so on. They were fine, large wards, well lighted and airy, and gay with coloured blankets and flowers. There was a recreation room also, with a small, but well-equipped stage, on which wonderful plays and pantomimes were frequently produced, by the kindness of many of our best known artistes. Miss Bessie Hatton, the organiser of amusements, provided at least two entertainments a week, and eventually the hospital could boast of its own orchestra and its own troupe of "Follies." The "shows," as the men called them, were very popular. The room used to be crowded with beds, and wheel-chairs, and men in blue, forming an enthusiastic audience. On one occasion, when Her Majesty, Queen Alexandra, was coming to see a play, a very sick man asked to be taken down in his bed. The surgeon demurred, thinking it was too much for him, but he said, "Doctor, you wouldn't be hard on me. The only one of the Royal Family I've seen is Sir Edward Carson and I would like to see the Queen"; so he went, and, when Her Majesty was told about him, she went to his bed and spoke to him specially, making him very happy.

The Library was a very important department, and under the fostering care of Miss Beatrice Harraden, it made itself felt in every ward. Day by day, with note-book in hand, Miss Harraden went round taking orders. She taught many men to read, leading them on through the paths of literature from "Tit Bits" to Shakespeare. For some patients there would be subscriptions at Mudie's, with books changed daily; for others, fiction, history, or technical books were provided. Whether Dante or "Don Quixote" in the original, or mathematics, or a treatise on old china was asked for, it was always procured. The means for providing these books and entertainments and many other small comforts came through the liberality of friends outside, who, for four-and-a-half years, generously supported the fund for extra comforts. One man, addicted to the perusal of stories published at twopence, was persuaded by the Librarian to read a book of H. Seton Merriman's in the sevenpenny edition. Next time she went round, he said, "Librarian, I think this sevenpenny author is an improvement on the twopenny one. Now I might try something else? Have you got a shilling author for me?" Of course, she found one. A great deal of poetry was read. Shakespeare was popular and technical books of every kind were in great demand. The book-cases were not locked and, though a few books would disappear, that only meant that the patients and the staff were reading.

The War Office method of opening a new hospital is to transfer cases to it from other hospitals, and, on the opening day, a hundred such cases were received. The method has its disadvantages, because hospitals are wont to transfer cases which are undesirable for some reason, and this does not make things easier for the opening hospital. In the case of Endell Street, the convoys of wounded poured in during the first week, and the staff worked night and day to receive them and to get the hospital into working order. It was situated near the stations and, at all times, received a high proportion of stretcher cases and heavily wounded men.

The R.A.M.C. staff attached to the hospital numbered eight non-commissioned officers and men and it was necessary to train the orderlies for stretcher work. They did it very well and enjoyed it. If the convoy bell rang in the day time, the girls would run out of the offices and stores and line up ready to help, and, at times of pressure, a squad from the nursing section would voluntarily stand by till 10 p.m. to help if need be. Convoys most frequently came between midnight and 3 a.m., and the staff was often up every night for a week taking in.

In the dawn of an August morning in 1915, a large convoy of Australians from Gallipoli arrived. The men were dreadfully wasted and ill and the few who were on their feet were like grey ghosts in the dim morning light, as they wandered off to inspect the occupants of the beds under the glass screen in the square. Some thousands of Australian and New Zealand men passed through the hospital. They were pleasant patients and very responsive. They had, too, a welcome point of view where women were concerned. One would say that it was "a queer

country this, that lets its women do work like this and won't give them the vote," and the whole group would agree. But response to gentle influences marked all the men. They always thought that their ward was the best in the hospital, and their doctor the best on the staff, and that no one else could possibly have saved the leg or arm under discussion: and, indeed, the ward medical officers did such gallant and devoted work, that no man could ever feel that he had been passed over. The men would point out to visitors, generally quite wrongly, that the worst case in the hospital was in their ward, with conscious pride, and, at the tea-parties to which they were invited, they would boast about their hospital and their doctors and their nurses, while the hostesses sat amazed and edified. The sight of the dental surgeon crossing the square never failed to thrill them, for her power to extract teeth was considered marvellous. The photograph which had the best sale in the canteen was a scene in the operating theatre. Their faith in Dr. Garrett Anderson was unbounded. She used to go round the severe cases quietly, between five and seven in the evening. She would sit by a man talking to him about his case, comforting him, and explaining gently and clearly what she felt should be done for him, seeking his confidence, but never hurrying his decision, until at last it would come: "I leave it to you, Doctor. If you think it's best, I'll have it done."

A kind friend introduced the electrophone into the serious case wards and the men took immense pleasure in listening to the Halls. Perhaps the "Bing Boys" was the favourite turn. It helped to cure many of them. They would lie with rapt smiles, gazing at the ceiling, chuckling gently, till they fell asleep, with the receivers still on their heads. New cases could hardly believe it and waited eagerly for the evening to come. One, who had just come in and who was having an operation done that afternoon, made the others promise to rouse him in time for the "Bing Boys." His operation was a severe one, but they kept their promise, and he was found thoroughly happy, with the receivers on his ears and a smile on his face, in the evening.

Christmas was a great festival. It seemed to last a month, for decorations and rehearsals and preparations began early and entertainments went on after the New Year. The staff formed a carol choir and sang at night in the square, and on Christmas Eve in procession round the wards. In 1917 they were singing in the square of peace and goodwill when the air raid warning came through and the anti-aircraft guns began to fire; they had to put out the lanterns and finish in the dark with "Abide With Me." The ward decorations were most wonderful, and there would be a succession of teas, entertainments, dinners, and pantomimes, which everyone enjoyed thoroughly. As one patient said: "I never knew you could have such pleasure and enjoy yourself like that without getting drunk."

Now and then there would be a staff supper and dance, when everyone joined in the revel. The C.O.'s would personate Colonel Dugout and his lady; the matron, Mrs. Gamp; the Sergeant-Major, a lady doctor, and the fun would be tremendous.

In the four and a-half years that the hospital was open twenty-six thousand patients, of which two thousand were women, passed through the wards, and seven thousand operations were performed. The hospital was closed on October 31st, 1919.

The staff had lived and worked together in great happiness and harmony. Their hospital had grown very dear to them, and they could not bear that its memory should be lost. They have decided to raise a Commemoration Fund, with which to endow beds in the Roll of Honour Hospital for Children, 688, Harrow Road, in memory of the Military Hospital, Endell Street. The appeal for this endowment has gone out to former patients all over the world, and the first £1,000 has been nearly subscribed already. The collecting cards come back with a few shillings collected in threepences and sixpences, and with touching illiterate notes, which show that Endell Street is not forgotten:—

". . . . I was cared for kindly at that hospital and I was sorry to leave it. I was wounded twice after being at that hospital, but I wasn't cared for anywhere else as kindly as I was at Endell Street."

Messages and donations are coming too from mothers and wives whose men have been killed since they left the hospital but who were "set on Endell Street," and these little tokens are justly treasured in memory of a great opportunity given to women.

WOMAN'S ECONOMIC STATUS AND OUTLOOK.

III—IN INDUSTRY AND BUSINESS. WOMEN'S GUILDS.

By Mary Ward.

In a previous article* it was contended that a considerable percentage of the wives and mothers of the working classes—and we might well add of the poorer middle class also—are overworked and ill provided, that they command no fair remuneration for their labour either in cash or kind, and have practically no security for *any*, though their labour is directly and on a large scale productive of wealth. But this being granted, the fact remains that women in general can take, and ought in the future to take, a much larger part in the work of production. Unless they do so no very great improvement in their economic position is likely to take place—or will indeed be possible.

Along with her new powers and privileges the "free woman" will have to shoulder some new burdens; and the first of these is to increase her economic output. Will women shirk the task? The temptation of the "fleshpots of Egypt" in the way of a parasitic life with comfort and ease "provided," with leisure and irresponsibility, may well prove too strong for some. But this temptation, in the hard times ahead of us, is not likely to assail so very many. And women's war-work record augurs well. When women come to realise the necessity, in the national interest as well as their own, of this increased production the majority will assuredly rise to the occasion, and they will then find that this new burden is a much lighter and more agreeable load than some of the old ones which it will enable them to shake off. The "lion in the path" is not likely to be women's want of will but the difficulty of finding under present conditions proper outlet and scope for their productive energies.

The position of helpless economic dependence in which long ages of subjection have placed women has resulted not only in the drudgery and penury of multitudes, but in the creation of numbers of wholly or partially unemployed women—women who are practically "unproductive consumers" and contribute nothing—in normal times—by head or by hand to the national income. Such are to be found in all classes of the community. "Unemployed" here does not altogether tally with "unoccupied," for some of the busiest women may fall into the category. It only means that their work, whatever it is, serves no useful purpose, or at any rate yields a wholly inadequate result. That this should be so is in most cases more women's fate than their fault. Idleness and inefficiency have been fostered, and often even enforced, by the conditions imposed on them. Every discouragement has been theirs that social conventions, that lack of suitable education and training, that poor rewards (no *carrières ouvertes aux talents*) and a very limited range of choice of employments could offer.

From similar causes it results that much of the hard work women actually do in many important fields is wasteful and inefficient. This is particularly true of their home work, and it is likely so to continue as long as men alone are responsible not

* II.—Women's Work in the Home, Nov. 7, 1919.

Daily Chronicle
11. 12. '19.

Women Magistrates.

WITH the passing of the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Bill into law there has come into effect a revolution in the standing of women the magnitude of which has hardly as yet been fully realised. One practical result of it—and a smallish one in the light of the larger activities that are simultaneously thrown open to women—is give immediate effect by the LORD CHANCELLOR announcement that at least a beginning in the appointment of women magistrates is to be made at once. The announcement is a timely proof that the new Act is not to be regarded as a dead letter, but, as will be seen from the terms of the LORD CHANCELLOR's statement, there is no official intention of proceeding with headlong haste in the dilution of the male magistracy. But a point in the outlined scheme that is much more open to criticism than the speed with which it is to take effect is the new machinery that is to govern the appointment of the women magistrates. The first few women J.P.'s (whose names are already given) are to constitute a central advisory committee that is to assist in the gradual appointment of their colleagues throughout the country. But if the appointment of male magistrates is best controlled by the local advisory committees set up by Lord LOREBURN, why should these committees be discarded in the case of women, and that case left in the hands of a body that cannot possibly be in close touch with widely scattered neighbourhoods and differing populations? The women who are needed on the Bench are not so much those who have nationally "distinguished themselves in the "public service or by the possession of ex-"ceptional private gifts"—the LORD CHANCELLOR's phrase, for all its amiability, is just a little too strongly reminiscent of old abuses in the appointment of male magistrates and the view which regards their post as a minor social distinction rather than a responsible office. Where women are needed for magistrates they are needed for their special knowledge of labour and social conditions in the districts where they live, and many of them have already gained, through service in connection with police court missions and in the care of juvenile offenders, a working knowledge of the duties that they could most usefully discharge. We do not see how a central committee is to discover such women with any informed accuracy. And if the existing local committees cannot be trusted with the work, then no more are they to be trusted with the appointment of male magistrates.

Evening News
23. 2. 20

A NEW JOB FOR WOMEN.

Any suggestion of employment for women in these hard days is welcome. In pet-farming there is not merely a demand, but an outcry for capable women. It is an occupation, moreover, which does not require any long preliminary training or capital outlay.

In almost every family there is a pet of some kind—a dog, a cat or a bird. And it is a fact, though one not generally comprehended, that animals in becoming domesticated are liable to many of the ills that the human flesh is heir to.

Conscientious pet-possessors may seek the advice of a veterinary surgeon, but in many cases all that he can do is to prescribe careful nursing, and nursing of this kind means a full-time job.

It is a nurse that is the solution, not a "vet." At one time a "vet" would sometimes keep a nursery staffed with trained attendants for the treatment of sick pets, but this was abandoned owing to the stress of war work and to the difficulties of heating and getting labour.

There is a golden opportunity now for women to start similar establishments. The essentials are a fondness for animals, boundless patience and interest in the work, and a large room which can be kept moderately heated by a fire or stove.

The room must be fitted with wire-netting enclosures of a suitable size for dogs, but beyond this, nothing; the barer the room the better. If cat patients are also taken, another room will be necessary.

The lady nurse should work in conjunction with a vet and under his direction. The fees she can charge vary from 7s. 6d. to 12s. 6d. a week per animal, according to the amount of attention that is needed.

I know a Frenchwoman who makes a good living out of this kind of work. She came to England without friends or connections; she was, however, fond of animals, and she attached herself to a vet who is only too glad to recommend her to his clients, and she always has nine or ten dog patients in her nursery. A. B.

Sunday Times
7. 3. 20

JURYWOMEN.

Women over thirty years of age will henceforth be accorded the final privilege and responsibility of free citizens. As jurywomen they will sit in judgment on their fellow men and women, and it will be interesting to observe their attitude towards this new recognition. Will they deem it an irksome duty, and resort to expedients and subterfuges more subtle even than those of husbands, fathers, and brothers in their efforts to avoid it? Or will they welcome it in its more attractive aspect as an introduction to a phase of human activity without which no education can be said to be complete?

In either event, the result will have far-reaching effects. Women, hitherto, have studiously ignored the law, boasted their incomprehension of its subtleties, and waxed indignant at its insistence on giving a fair hearing to both sides of every case. Trained in this new school, it is not to be supposed that female characteristics will undergo no alteration. Their studies of human life in its infinitely varied aspects from the sordid to the sublime will be immeasurably widened, and though some may deplore this result, yet since the widest and fullest comprehension of human perplexities is indispensable to their solution, it is impossible to refuse congratulations or a welcome to the new explorers of our weaknesses and approvers of our virtues.

Daily Telegraph
8. 3. 20.

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WOMEN AS JURORS.

THE Home Secretary's announcement that in boroughs where the panel of jurors is drawn from the burgess list women whose names are on such lists are now qualified to serve on juries, and that elsewhere the parish lists to come into force next year will include women, is of special interest. It is one more logical outcome of the extension of the franchise to women, and it is in a direction where more opposition has been met, perhaps, than any other. Prejudice dies hard, and that against women serving on juries was a very lively one. It was based on a distrust of woman's emotional nature. There was a feeling that a woman juror might allow her heart to rule her head, or might permit herself to be swayed from an impartial view by the eloquence of a particularly clever counsel. Cynics went farther, and expressed a fear that she might be so swayed by the manner in which that counsel brushed his hair or tied his tie. Six years ago this feeling was general; even now it has probably not entirely disappeared. But we now know by experience many things about the capacity of women for public duties which were hidden from us six years ago, and there is no reason why a woman should not prove herself as deserving of trust in this fresh sphere of activity as she already has in so many others equally new to her. In one direction in particular this new announcement will further the course of justice. It has always been an inherent principle of the law of these islands that an accused person had the right to be tried by his peers. In future this will be true in a sense deeper and wider than any that could have been contemplated at the time when that principle came into being. The principle took no account of sex. It might well have done so, for the spirit underlying it is that every accused person has the right to be tried by people who will be able to assess his motives at their proper value and sympathise with his reasons so far as they are sound. But differences of sex are far more fundamental than those of station. A duke would find it far easier to probe the mental processes of a dustman than those of a duchess. So it is a matter for real satisfaction to think that in future, when a woman is before the tribunal of the law, some at least of the "twelve good men and true" will be women. The cynics already referred to may point the finger of scorn, and request to be informed when a woman in trouble has ever received as much sympathy from another woman as she would from a man. There is, indeed, behind this question a great deal of evidence, from all kinds of sources and dealing with all classes, which gives the cynic good ground for his attitude of doubt. But the cynic would do well to note that woman is approaching public life in a very different frame of mind from that in which she has gossiped at her tea-table. Little pre-occupations are giving place to big interests. Women will have nothing to fear from the prospect of being tried by their peers.

703/41

Financial Times
6.5.20.

INSTITUTE OF CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS.

FIRST WOMAN FELLOW.

The thirty-ninth annual meeting of the Institute of Chartered Accountants was held yesterday at Moorgate-place, E.C., under the presidency of Mr. J. W. Woodthorpe, who, in the course of his Presidential address, reminded members that the institute was incorporated by Royal charter on 11th May, 1880, so that within a few days they would have been in existence for no less than forty years.

He said the members now numbered 5,079, or more than in August, 1914, notwithstanding the deplorable losses sustained during recent years. It was clear from the number of candidates for the forthcoming examinations that during the next three or four years the membership of the institute was going to be considerably augmented; he ventured to anticipate that in five years' time there would not be less than 7,000 members on their register.

With regard to the admission of women to membership, one woman ~~Miss Harris Smith~~ had been admitted to Fellowship, and she occupied the proud position of being the first and only woman chartered accountant in the world. Miss Smith had been in practice as a public accountant since 1878.

During the year a member was suspended from practice for giving a certificate based on estimates and prophesying as to future results. Members should be careful not to exceed their duty and should restrict themselves to certify as to facts only. Two or three cases had occurred in which members had allowed their names to be inserted as advertisers in classified trades directories' lists at the end of telephone directories. In conclusion, Mr. Woodthorpe urged every member of the institute to do his utmost to maintain the high standard to which the profession had been brought.

The report and accounts were adopted.

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1918 Education Report.

Daily Telegraph.

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SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION.

CULTURE FOR THE WORKER.

Some of the important social problems which will have to be grappled with after the war, and the lines on which a solution should be sought, are considered in a striking interim report which has been presented to the Minister of Reconstruction by the Committee on Adult Education, presided over by the Master of Balliol. The committee, consisting of representatives of employers, workers, and educationists, earnestly plead for such a reconstruction of the conditions of daily life and work as will afford men and women alike greater opportunities for satisfying that craving for education in its widest sense which is a permanent human need—the desire "for knowledge, for self-expression, for the satisfaction of intellectual, æsthetic, and spiritual needs, and a fuller life."

Evidence obtained from men and women, both students and tutors, in all branches of non-vocational adult education throughout the country shows that the industrial and social conditions of to-day are only too often of such a character as to form insuperable obstacles to adult education. What, in the committee's opinion, the chief obstacles are is best indicated by the proposals they put forward. These are briefly as follows:

A maximum legal working day of eight hours, with strict regulation of overtime and night work.

Effective measures to ensure reasonable security of livelihood by guarding against and mitigating the effects of unemployment.

Reasonable holidays with pay for wage-earners.

A comprehensive scheme of housing reform, in the carrying out of which women should have an effective voice.

Reconstruction in the conditions of rural life; a public hall for every village.

Excessive and irregular hours of work are specially pointed to by the committee as tending to unfit the worker for taking advantage of educational opportunities.

We are convinced that long hours, and irregular hours of labour, night work, and the "shift" system, deprive those who suffer from them of the freedom that all men prize, and the community of the full service of its citizens. The loss, both to the individual and to society, from conditions which thwart the desire for self-expression, it is impossible to calculate. The view that the community must suffer economic loss as a result of a shortening of working hours is not one to which modern economic science lends any confirmation, and it has indeed received an impressive practical refutation from investigations made by the Ministry of Munitions during the present war.

SECURITY OF LIVELIHOOD.

In the committee's opinion the maximum legal working day should not be more than eight hours, and in certain heavy and exhaustive kinds of work even eight hours appears to them too long. Overtime should be more closely regulated and reduced to a minimum, and there should be special consideration for workers whose hours of labour are irregular. Further, regular night work, except where absolutely essential, should be prohibited by law.

The report goes on to analyse the effects of monotonous work and to suggest that alternative forms of employment should be encouraged to counteract its depressing mental effect. "The more industry becomes a matter of machinery, the more necessary it becomes to humanise the working of the industrial system." Pointing to the fatigue not only of the muscles but of the nerves which affects heavy manual workers, the committee say that excessive labour regularly pursued "undoubtedly degrades those who follow it," and recommend that particularly exhausting occupations should be scheduled and more closely regulated by law, and that, wherever possible, mechanical devices should be introduced, so that these heavy, degrading forms of labour should be altogether superseded.

Unemployment, and not less the fear of unemployment, are serious obstacles to mind-culture on the part of the workers, and the committee recommend steps to guarantee them a reasonable security of livelihood either by some reorganisation of industry to minimise fluctuations in the volume of production or by some extension of the principle of insurance.

More generous treatment in the matter of holidays is strongly urged. The committee believe that a reasonable holiday without stoppage of pay would have a beneficial effect upon the national life, and they think it important that the present custom among salaried workers of payment during holidays should be extended to wage-earners and incorporated in the Factory Acts. They think it equally important that the weekly half-holiday should be extended by law to agricultural workers, and that Sunday workers should be given a week-day "off" in compensation.

WOMEN AND THE HOME.

Discussing the reaction upon human personality of the conditions of industrial life and of what they call "the industrial background," the committee remark that though the modern industrial system has solved the problem of supplying the material needs of the world's population and largely removed the gross evils of a century ago, when vast masses of the working population lived in abject misery, nevertheless the subtle mental influences of industrial life—as well as its physical influences—are often anti-social in their effects. The age of mechanical developments, with the growth of large firms as units and of central controlled administration has effectually degraded the worker until he has become a "mere cog in the machine." The degradation of human beings to the position of mere "hands" and the treatment of labour as a commodity to be bought and sold have created a revolt in the minds of a large section of the community. The conditions of industrial life have only too often outraged human personality.

It is not possible, in our view, to accept the suggestion that the exigencies of industrial efficiency are of such paramount importance that the development of personality must inevitably and rightly be subordinated to them. Industry exists for man, not man for industry, and, if it be true—as it is—that modern industrial conditions have often tended to deprive the worker of the education which he previously derived from the intrinsic interest offered by his work, that fact makes it doubly important to supplement their deficiencies by a humane and generous educational policy. Adult education, and, indeed, good citizenship, depend in no small degree upon a new orientation of our industrial outlook and activity.

Bad and insufficient housing is prominent among the social conditions which impede the development of intellectual interests, and in this connection the committee emphasise the special interest of women in reform. "With the extension of the franchise to some six millions of women, it is to be expected that in future women should take a larger interest in public affairs, and that they will turn to a greater extent than in the past to the acquisition of knowledge to fit themselves for their new responsibilities." But for many women under present conditions it will not be possible to find time for these new interests. The difficulties of their many and exacting duties are "aggravated by cramped, ill-arranged houses, built without thought of convenience, and innocent of labour-saving devices." A comprehensive scheme of housing reform is therefore of vital importance to women, and upon it will depend in no small measure the extent to which they will be able to play their part in public affairs and to develop intellectual and social interests. Hence the committee consider it important that housing reform should be hurried forward, and that women, who are the persons most concerned, should be included in the housing, town-planning, public health, and other committees dealing with this question.

A NEW ERA.

Reconstruction in the conditions of village life and work is regarded as no less important. For the rural population, the committee point out, there are very special disabilities—isolation of the individual, class prejudice, long hours, rare holidays, low wages, besides lack of opportunities for social life and for intellectual development. In some cases there is even opposition to their provision. "In the majority of cases where we started rural groups (said one witness, speaking of a southern county), the principal farmer in the neighbourhood attempted to upset it by going down and protesting in person."

A large number of villages are without any meeting place under public control. The village institutes are few and are usually under private control, not always of an enlightened kind. Church and chapel buildings are by no means always available for secular purposes. Good village libraries are few and far between. The committee recommend the provision of a hall under public control in every village, adding that the general question of accommodation for educational purposes will be considered in a further report.

They conclude with a striking appeal for closer consideration of the lot of the worker and of the handicaps by which his development is hindered or prevented.

Few can fail to feel the force of inspiration and experience which is being born of the war, or to recognise the strength of the new hope with which the people are looking forward to the future. The nation ardently desires to order its life in accordance with those principles of freedom and justice which led so many of its best sons into the field of battle. . . . A new era has come upon us. We cannot stand still. We cannot return to the old ways, the old abuses, the old stupidities. As with our international relations, so with the relations of classes and individuals inside our own nation. If they do not henceforth get better they must needs get worse, and that means moving towards an abyss. It is in our power to make the new era one of such progress as to repay us even for the unmeasurable cost, the price in life lost, in manhood crippled, and in homes desolated. . . .

To allow this spirit to die away unused would be a waste compared with which the material waste of the war would be a little thing. It would be a national sin, unpardonable in the eyes of posterity. . . . We have awakened to the splendid qualities that were latent in our people, the rank and file of the common people, who before the war were often adjudged to be decadent, to have lost their patriotism, their religious faith, and their response to leadership; we were even told they were physically degenerate. Now we see what potentialities lie in this people, and what a charge lies on us to give these powers full play. . . . We owe it to our dead that they shall not have died in vain, but that their sacrifice shall prove to have created a better England for the future generation.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

File 703/44.

Please note that this election address has been reproduced elsewhere and we are therefore only filming the front page.

Please see 604 III/74.

FELLOW CITIZENS

AT the request of the STOURBRIDGE DIVISIONAL LABOUR PARTY, I have decided to stand as candidate for this Division at the forthcoming Parliamentary Election.

My candidature is endorsed by the National Labour Party, and has the warm support of the National Federation of Women Workers.

I STAND FOR THE AIMS and OBJECTS OF THE LABOUR PARTY, with whose comprehensive programme* you are doubtless familiar.

Its objects can be summarised as follows:—

TO UNITE ALL WHO CONTRIBUTE TO THE WEALTH AND WELFARE OF THE WORLD BY HAND OR BRAIN, TO SECURE, NOT PRIVILEGES FOR ANY SECTION OR CLASS OF THE COMMUNITY, BUT A FULL SHARE OF THE GOOD THINGS OF LIFE, MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL, FOR ALL.

I DO NOT APOLOGISE FOR MY SEX. It takes a man and a woman to make THE IDEAL HOME, and I believe that neither can build THE IDEAL WORLD without the help of the other. In the new Parliament, where laws affecting every household in the land will be framed, the point of view of THE MOTHER, AS WELL AS THE FATHER, should find expression.

If I am returned to the House of Commons, I shall try to voice in a special sense the aspirations of THE WOMEN WORKERS OF THIS LAND, to whose cause I have been privileged to devote my life, and who, in every industrial centre in the United Kingdom and Ireland, are voluntarily contributing their pennies to the expenses of my Candidature.

I shall also feel entitled to speak for the WOMAN WHOSE WORK NEVER ENDS—the woman in the home, who faces and solves a multitude of problems every day—the woman who has been too often neglected or forgotten by politicians, the mother of the children upon whom THE FUTURE PRIDE AND STRENGTH OF THE NATION DEPENDS.

At the same time, I shall not be deflected from my duties to my constituents, men and women.

No legitimate grievance (individual or collective) which may be reported to me will remain unredressed, if it is humanly possible for me to get it rectified.

No reasonable request for any assistance within my power, as a Member of Parliament, and consistent with the Principles for which I stand, will be refused.

MY FOURTEEN POINTS

1.—A PEOPLE'S PERMANENT PEACE.

There must be NO MORE WAR, and the policy laid down by President Wilson seems to me most likely to achieve this aim. The Peace settlement must be based on Justice and Equity between the nations.

There must be an end of Secret Diplomacy. I am opposed to the contemplated SITTING IN SECRET of the Peace Conference. Its meetings must take place in the FULL LIGHT OF DAY. THE VOICE OF LABOUR FROM ALL LANDS—and not only from the vanquished countries—must be heard, and its accredited representatives must have place at the Council Table of the Nations.

*It is fully expounded in a pamphlet entitled "Labour and the New Social Order" which can be obtained by any elector on application.

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The Rise of the "Unskilled"

THERE ARE MANY reasons which make the organization of skilled workers in Trade Unions far easier than that of the less skilled. The skilled workmen are better paid and can therefore more easily afford to make a regular contribution. Moreover they often pay a high contribution, receiving in return not only dispute benefit but also insurance against unemployment, sickness, and old age; and whatever the disadvantages of the mingling of "friendly" and fighting activities may be, it undoubtedly conduces to stability and permanence of organization, as well as to conservatism of spirit. Yet again, the skilled workers have a closer bond of craft pride and craft interest than is possible for the less skilled workers.

This of course is commonplace. What needs explaining is not the fact that organization has usually been weak among the less skilled workers, but the fact that during the years preceding the war and still more during the war period it has made remarkable strides. The number of members in the "general labor" Unions in Great Britain, which represent principally this type of workers, rose from 118,000 in 1910 to 366,000 in 1914, and the total is now something like 800,000. Why has this extraordinary growth taken place?

The principal explanation of the pre-war growth lies in the increasing prevalence of industrial unrest during the years preceding the war. Industrial unrest, which some call "the swing of the pendulum" of public opinion from political to industrial action, always means, naturally, a large accession to Trade Union membership. To this must be added as a further cause the fact that the sharp line of cleavage between the skilled and the unskilled was gradually being blurred, and that the tendency of machinery and management was towards the creation of a growing body of semi-skilled workers, recruited from the ranks of the unskilled, who encroached on the trades of the skilled workers and at the same time very greatly reduced the proportion of really unskilled workers in industry. Together with the growth of "semi-skill," went a tendency towards organization, not so strong as that of the skilled workers, but still appreciable and definite.

The creation of "semi-skill" was, of course, a process enormously accelerated by the war. Practically all the pre-war workers in the war industries were absorbed into jobs which were at least semi-skilled, and the lower ranges of jobs were more and more filled either by newcomers to industry, whether girls or adults, or by workers transferred from inessential or "sweated" trades. The whole body of semi-skilled and unskilled workers gained greatly in status as a result of war conditions. Also their pay in most cases increased; and even where this increase was offset by the rise in the cost of living, the expenditure of a few pence weekly on Trade Union membership seemed a far smaller thing than before.

At the same time a common consciousness began to grow up among the less skilled workers. They found the attitude of the old-established Unions toward them often hard and unsympathetic, because the skilled men often felt that the less skilled were doing them out of their jobs, and feared the cutting of rates by their competition in the crafts. The general labor Unions therefore grew, as it were, facing both ways. They confronted the employers with demands for better conditions, but they also confronted the skilled Unions with claims for better consideration. Their consciousness of their common opportunity and their common danger in industry took the place of craft spirit and acted as a powerful incentive to combination.

It is still an open question how far this consciousness, and the organization which has sprung from it, will survive the shock of the return to peace-time conditions. Severe unemployment or dislocation is likely at once to show its effect in a reduced membership in the general labor Unions. This type of membership has always been peculiarly unstable, and there are many who prophesy that it will not outlast the special conditions which called it into being. I do not know, but I believe that enough of it will survive to be a powerful factor during the coming years of reconstruction.

What, then, is the relation which this mass of newly organized workers bears, and is likely to bear, to the older established Trade Unions, and to the rank and file movements which I discussed in my last article? Clearly, there are large possible divergences of attitude between them, and these divergences, without wise handling, may easily become divergences of actual policy.

The official Trade Unionism of the skilled workers is apt to ignore, if not to repudiate, the claims of the less skilled. Its members have patriotically suspended during the war their customs and regulations, which it had cost them more than half a century of struggle to establish. They have received in return an absolute promise from the Government that these customs and regulations will be restored intact at the end of the war. To the redemption of that pledge they are clearly entitled; but their reasoning is apt to stop at that point, and to pay too

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little regard to the practical expediencies and exigencies of the situation.

The less skilled workers, on the other hand, conscious both of pre-war repression and of war-time service, are likely to adopt the standpoint of meaning to hold their gains, *J'y suis: j'y reste.* Some of them say in effect to the skilled workers: "We could not trust our interests in your hands before the war, and we cannot trust them now. The war has brought us into a position from which you selfishly excluded us before the war, and we are not prepared, because pledges have been given which do not bind us, to revert to our pre-war condition of servitude and inferiority." The case is not always so plainly stated, but that is the case, reduced to its essential elements.

Clearly this is a position which presents considerable dangers to the Trade Union movement. If the skilled and the less skilled workers spend time and effort in these internal struggles, the employers will reconstruct industry according to their own plans, and Labor will have no effective voice in its reconstruction.

This point however must not be pressed too far. It is still possible, and even likely, that the official Trade Unionism of the skilled workers and the official Trade Unionism of the less skilled, realizing their common danger, will reach at least a temporary agreement and meet the employers with a common program, in which each will concede something to the other. This is strongly to be hoped; and for this the best elements in both sections are working. But even if a temporary agreement is reached, and skilled and less skilled cooperate effectively in dealing with the problems of reconstruction, there will still remain big differences between them which it is essential to transcend if the recurrence of trouble is to be avoided.

The plain fact is that while the Trade Unionism of the skilled workers is built upon a basis of craft which excludes and antagonizes the unskilled, the Trade Unionism of the less skilled workers is largely based upon this antagonism, at least in the minds of many of the leaders. To mention only two of the most prominent, Mr. J. R. Clynes of the General Workers and Mr. J. N. Bell of the National Amalgamated Union of Labor have both dwelt frequently upon the function of the general labor Union in protecting the less skilled workers, not only against the employers, but against the skilled workers. The two forms of organization are thus built upon ideas which are mutually exclusive and partly antagonistic.

This means that in neither is there any resting place. The idea of craft and the idea of "no-craft" are alike inadequate to fit modern industrial conditions or to combine into a common program of a lasting kind. The need is for a bigger idea, and for a bigger basis of combination, to replace both alike.

We saw, in the last article, that the "rank and file" movement, which has its origin and its main strength among the skilled workers, is largely based on the repudiation of the "craft" principle and on the assertion of the rival principles of class and industry. We saw also that a considerable "rank and file" movement exists among the less skilled workers, though it is not so strongly organized as are the shop stewards of the skilled trades. The main difference is that, whereas the younger skilled workers tend to favor the combination in one Union of all the workers in a particular industry, whatever their degree of skill, the unskilled are led by their present form of association, which extends over most industries, to look forward rather to the combination in one Union of all workers, without regard to skill or industry. Reconciliation of these two problems is by no means impossible; but the difference of attitude is at present a barrier to effective common action and to the unity of all the advanced forces.

Union by class—the One Big Union idea—involves too sharp a break with the present to be immediately practicable. Union by industry can hard' be accomplished, in some industries at least, in i of the present strength of the general labor Unic The moral seems to be that the process of consolidation must be pushed as far as possible in each camp separately on the official side, and that in the shop steward and workshop committee movement the two must find their immediate field for common action and for propaganda. In the end, I believe that the One Big Union idea will prove to be the only way of straightening out the tangle of British Trade Union organization; but the time for that is not yet.

It may be a matter for surprise that in this article I have said nothing about the women workers as a distinct factor. The truth is that only in one respect can they be regarded as a distinct factor: generally speaking the women in the war trades count mainly as a section of the less-skilled workers, a majority of those who are organized being found in the general labor Unions which admit both sexes, and only a minority, though an active one, in the National Fe eration of Women Workers. The respect in whic the position of some women is different from that of the less skilled men is that, as the men have passed from the unskilled to the semi-skilled grades, the women have in many cases taken their place on unskilled work, though many women have of course been employed on semi-skilled and even on skilled jobs. The unskilled women and girls hold their

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position in the vital industries only precariously, and are unlikely to count for much as a factor in reconstruction. They must be considered and provided for; but they will not exercise any considerable force. Men's and women's interests will not diverge in any important respect: the real cleavage that needs healing is that between the skilled and the less skilled workers. This I believe can and will be temporarily met by mutual concessions; but it can only be met permanently by the emergence of a broader spirit and the achievement of a more comprehensive form of organization.

G. D. H. Cole.

The Modern Point of View and the New Order

VII

Live and Let Live

The nation's inalienable right of self-direction and self-help is of the same nature and derivation as the like inalienable right of self-help vested in an irresponsible king by the grace of God. In both cases alike it is a divine right, in the sense that it is irresponsible and will not bear scrutiny, being an arbitrary right of self-help at the cost of any whom it may concern. There is the further parallel that in both cases alike the ordinary exercise of these rights confers no material benefit on the underlying community. In practical effect the exercise of such divine rights, whether by a sovereign monarch or by the officials of a sovereign nation, works damage and discomfort to one and another, within the national frontiers or beyond them, with nothing better to show for it than some relatively slight gain in prestige or in wealth for some relatively small group of privileged persons or vested interests. And the gain of those who profit by this means is always got at the cost of the common man at home and abroad. These inalienable rights are an abundant source of grievances to be redressed at the cost of the common man.

It has long been a stale commonplace that the quarrels of competitive kings in pursuit of their divine rights have brought nothing but damage and discomfort to the peoples whose material wealth and man power have been made use of for national enterprise of this kind. And it is no less evident, though perhaps less notorious, that the pursuit of national advantages by competitive nations by use of the same material wealth and man power unavoidably brings nothing better than the same net output of damage and discomfort to all the peoples concerned. There is of course the reservation that in the one case the kings and their accomplices and pensioners have come in for some gain in prestige and in perquisites, while in the case of the competitive nations certain vested interests and certain groups of the kept classes stand to gain something in the way of perquisites and free income; but always and in the nature of the case the total gain is less than the cost, and always the gain goes to the kept classes and the cost falls on the common man. So much is notorious, particularly so far as it is a question of material gain and loss. So far as it is an immaterial question of jealousy and prestige, the line of division runs between nations, but as regards material gain and loss it is always a division between the kept classes and the common man; and always the common man has more to lose than the kept classes stand to gain.

The war is now concluded, provisionally, and peace is in prospect for the immediate future, also provisionally. As is true between individuals, so also among the nations, peace means the same thing as Live and Let Live, which also means the same thing as a world made safe for democracy. And the rule of Live and Let Live means the discontinuance of animosity and discrimination between the nations. Therefore it involves the disallowance of such incompatible national pretensions as are likely to afford ground for international grievances—which comes near involving the disallowance of all those claims and perquisites that habitually go in under the captions of "national self-determination" and "national integrity," as these phrases are employed in diplomatic intercourse. At the same time it involves the disallowance of all those class pretensions and vested interests that make for dissension within the nation. Ill will is not a practicable basis of peace, whether within the nation or between the nations. So much is plain matter of course. What may be the chances of peace and war, at home and abroad, in the light of these blunt and obvious principles taken in conjunction with the diplomatic negotiations now going forward at home and abroad—all that is sufficiently perplexing.

At home in America for the transient time being, the war administration has under pressure of necessity somewhat loosened the strangle-hold of the vested interests on the country's industry; and in so doing it has shocked the safe and sane business men

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into a state of indignant trepidation and has at the same time doubled the country's industrial output. But all that has avowedly been only for the transient time being, "for the period of the war," as a distasteful concession to demands that would not wait. So that the country now faces a return to the precarious conditions of a provisional peace on the lines of the status quo ante. Already the vested interests are again tightening their hold and are busily arranging for a return to business as usual; which means working at cross-purposes as usual, waste of work and materials as usual, restriction of output as usual, unemployment as usual, labor quarrels as usual, competitive selling as usual, mendacious advertising as usual, waste of superfluities as usual by the kept classes, and privation as usual for the common man. All of which may conceivably be put up with by this people "lest a worse evil befall." All this runs blamelessly in under the rule of Live and Let Live as interpreted in the light of those enlightened principles of self-help that go to make up the modern point of view and the established scheme of law and order, although it does not meet the needs of the same rule as it would be enforced by the exigencies of the new order in industry.

Meanwhile, abroad, the gentlemen of the old school who direct the affairs of the nations are laying down the lines on which peace is to be established and maintained, with a painstaking regard for all those national pretensions and discriminations that have always made for international embroilment, and with an equally painstaking disregard for all those exigencies of the new order that call for a de facto observance of the rule of Live and Let Live. It is notorious beyond need of specification that the new order in industry, even more insistently than any industrial situation that has gone before, calls for a wide and free intercourse in trade and industry, regardless of national frontiers and national jealousies. In this connection a national frontier, as it is commonly made use of in current statecraft, is a line of demarkation for working at cross-purposes, for mutual obstruction and distrust. It is only necessary to recall that the erection of a new national frontier across any community which has previously enjoyed the privilege of free intercourse unburdened with customs frontiers will be felt to be a grievous burden, and that the erection of such a line of demarkation for other diplomatic work at mutual cross-purposes is likewise an unmistakable nuisance.

Yet in the peace negotiations now going forward the gentlemen of the old school to whom the affairs of the nations have been "entrusted"—by shrewd management on their own part—continue to safeguard all this apparatus of mutual defeat and distrust—and indeed this is the chief or sole object of their solicitude, as it also is the chief or sole object of these vested interests for whose benefit the diplomatic gentlemen of the old school continue to manage the affairs of the nations.

The state of the case is plainly to be seen in the proposals of those nationalities that are now coming forward with a new claim to national self-determination. Invariably any examination of the bill of particulars set up by the spokesmen of these proposed new national establishments will show that the material point of it all is an endeavor to set up a national apparatus for working at mutual cross-purposes with their neighbors, to add something to the waste and confusion caused by the national discriminations already in force, to violate the rule of Live and Let Live at some new point and by some further apparatus of discomfort.

There are nationalities that get along well enough, to all appearance, without being "nations" in that militant and obstructive fashion that is aimed at in these projected creations of the diplomatic nation-makers. Such are the Welsh and the Scotch, for instance. But it is not the object-lesson of Welsh or Scottish experience that guides the new projects. The nationalities which are now escaping from a rapacious imperialism of the old order are being organized and managed by the safe and sane gentlemen of the old school, who have got their notions of safety and sanity from the diplomatic intrigue of that outworn imperialism out of which these oppressed nationalities aim to escape. And these gentlemen of the old school are making no move in the direction of tolerance and good will—as how should they when all their conceptions of what is right and expedient are the diplomatic preconceptions of the old regime. They, being gentlemen of the old school, will have none of that amicable and unassuming nationality which contents the Welsh and the Scotch, who have tried out this matter and have in the end come to hold fast only so much of their national pretensions as will do no material harm. What is aimed at is not a disallowance of bootless national jealousies, but only a shift from an intolerable imperialism on a large scale to an ersatz-emperialism drawn on a smaller scale, conducted on the same general lines of competitive diplomacy and serving interests of the same general kind—vested interests of business or of privilege.

The projected new nations are not patterned on the Welsh or the Scottish model, but for all that there is nothing novel in their design; and how should there be when they are the offspring of the imagination of these safe and sane gentlemen of

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THE LANCET.

LONDON: SATURDAY, MAY 24, 1919.

Women in Industry.

THE report of the War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry, which has just been presented to Parliament, is a document of the first interest. The Committee, it may be remembered, was composed of the following members: Sir J. R. ATKIN, Miss JANET CAMPBELL, M.D., Sir L. L. MACASSEY, K.C., Sir W. W. MACKENZIE, K.C., Mrs. SYDNEY WEBB, and Sir MATTHEW NATHAN, who acted as secretary, assisted by Mr. J. C. STOBART. For a time Mr. J. L. HAMMOND sat on the Committee as representative of the special Women's Employment Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction. The War Cabinet Committee was appointed to investigate and report on the relation which should be maintained between the wages of women and men, having regard to the interests of both, as well as to the value of their work. Further, the Committee was asked in its recommendations to think not only of the output necessitated by the war, but of the progress and well-being of industry in the future. Several alterations in circumstances since the original reference to the Committee have obviously taken place, owing to the suspension of hostilities, making the output of war material a matter of history, while the grant of unemployment donations introduced a new factor into the deliberations. The report took definite colour from these circumstances.

The recommendations of the Committee, dealing with the principles governing the relations between men's and women's wages—alike those suggesting the respective remuneration of men and women, those dealing with the conditions of the future employment and wages of women, and, lastly, those replying to the various allegations as to non-fulfilment of Government pledges to women—will certainly be circulated in full for the immediate and earnest attention of all employers and all employed, which in the Great Britain of the future is another way of describing the great majority of the adult population. They form 31 brief, businesslike, and drastic messages to the public, and are covered to some extent by the first, which runs: "That women doing similar or the same work as men should receive equal pay for equal work in the sense that pay should be in proportion to efficient output." This recommendation is intended to cover the principle that on systems of payment by results equal payment should be made to both sexes for equal accomplishment, while the relative value of the work done by women and men employed on time, on the same or similar work, should be agreed between employers and trade-unions, acting through recognised channels of negotiation, as, for instance, Trade Boards or Joint Industrial Councils. The recommendations take note of the introduction of women to do work hitherto performed by men, the onus of proving that the women's work is inferior to the men's work lying with the employer; and if, in order to maintain the principle of equal pay for equal work, it is essential to employ men and women of the same grade, capacity, and training, equal pay is found not to attract the same grade of man as of woman, then the difference of attractiveness, it is suggested, may be counteracted by the payment to married men of children's allowances. It is unnecessary to medical readers to dwell on the vital importance of this recommendation. A valuable memorandum from Dr. JANET CAMPBELL upon the health of women in industry follows the majority recommendations of the Committee, from which Mrs. SYDNEY WEBB alone dissents in a minority report. Mrs. WEBB dwells on the industrial chaos produced by the war, rejects the principle of individual bargaining and the formula "equal pay for equal work," and recommends the adjustment of money wages to meet increases in cost of living, and the adoption of the principle that there must be closer correspondence of occupational rates to relative efforts and needs. Mrs. WEBB'S able document indicts the Government for ignoring the pledge given to women that, where substituted for men in the performance of war work, they should receive the same pay.

The relation of men's and women's wages being clearly dependent in large measure on the relative health and physical capacity of the two sexes—for physical and industrial efficiency are mutually interdependent—the medical issues raised by the inquiry are thus fundamental, and Dr. JANET CAMPBELL has dealt with them thoroughly. After discussing the general and physiological considerations arising out of the physical development of women, the function of maternity, the relative amount of food required by men and women respectively, and the particular bearing of industrial fatigue and its causes in relation to women, Dr. CAMPBELL outlines the conditions in which women were employed prior to the war. It is difficult to differentiate the effect of employment upon the health of the woman worker from the effect of social conditions in general—indeed, Dr. CAMPBELL says that it is admitted to be impossible to obtain particulars of the occupational death-rates of women, and not easy to state definitely the ailments which arise directly from employment; but she comes to the conclusion that while the conditions of work have been such as not to cause actual disablement and disease, they have favoured general constitutional ill-health and lowered power of resistance. Women have been attracted by the conditions of work yielding relatively high pay, and neither they nor their employers have appreciated the serious damage to health which might possibly result. This is a state of things which existed before war employment exaggerated its effects. The incidence of sickness among women was revealed for the first time under the operations of the National Health Insurance Act, when a remarkable frequency of minor and major sickness among girls and young women came to light. The Departmental Committee on Sickness Benefit

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Claims, appointed under the National Insurance Act to inquire into alleged excessive claims in regard to sickness benefit, showed a great deal of anæmia and debility directly attributable to the conditions of employment, and proved that the impression among medical men that the amount of sickness was greater among women than among men was justified beyond a doubt. Further evidence received by the War Cabinet Committee has supported and emphasised the fact. Again, an indication of the injury to health which may follow increased industrialism among women is suggested by the rise in the tuberculosis death-rate during the war. A Special Committee of the Medical Research Committee, under the chairmanship of Dr. LEONARD HILL, has, in the columns of THE LANCET,[1] discussed recently the high incidence of phthisis in the urban male population, and Professor BENJAMIN MOORE, a member of this Special Committee, pointed out that after the thirtieth year of age there was found a great preponderance of the disease among urban males not shared by females, attributing the circumstance to the conditions of daily occupation. Since 1914 the mortality rate of tuberculosis among urban women is shown by Dr. T. H. C. STEVENSON, Superintendent of Statistics, General Register Office, in a review of the vital statistics of the country for 1916, to have undergone substantial increase, and there is no doubt that the subjection of women, at a susceptible age, to increased risks of infection has had a serious outcome. Dr. JANET CAMPBELL'S general conclusions cannot be summed up by stating that the average woman is physically weaker than the average man, but her opinion that she cannot compete with him satisfactorily in operations requiring considerable physical strength will be generally accepted. Competition between the average man and the average woman in operations of even a less arduous and exacting character may be detrimental to the woman's health, in that her power of endurance and her reserve energy are usually less than a man's, while she is often obliged to spend time and strength on domestic tasks which do not fall to his lot. That is the great point, and this valuable report teems with information to us all as to the various social difficulties which underlie the situation, their causes, their fostering influences, and their remedies.

The Hygienic Conscience in Relation to Coal-getting.

THE Coal Industry Commission as they proceed with their deliberations are clearly establishing one fundamental matter—viz., the absence of reliable and scientifically collected information relating to the social conditions and well-being of miners, and yet, after agriculturists, they form numerically the largest industrial group in the kingdom. When the question of their hours of labour was under review no information was forthcoming as to the interdependence in the mining industry of fatigue and output; or as to the effect upon working capacity of the high humid temperature often existing in mines. The housing conditions are now admitted to be bad, but no investigation has established the number of miners' families domiciled in one, two, three, or four rooms; but the conditions were drawn attention to in CHADWICK'S reports as long ago as 1842. Beat knee, beat hand, and beat elbow occur, but their distribution according to process is not worked out. The miner is compensated, the owner is insured: there the matter ends. The miner works in darkness, and may say with Wên T'ien-hsing: "My dungeon is lighted by the will-o'-the-wisp alone; no breath of spring cheers the murky solitude in which I dwell"; nystagmus follows; the miner is compensated; the owner is insured; no remedy is found. Explosions and accidents occur, and these are considered in a fashion. They are intimately associated with getting the coal upon which dividends and royalties depend, and they must be kept in check somehow.

Evidence is presented that the mortality of miners, apart from accidents, compares not unfavourably with that of agriculturists. True; but mortality rates do not tell of oscillating eyeballs and crooked joints. Compare rather a miner 70 years of age—there are a few—with an agricultural labourer of that age. Yet evidence has declared that the miner must once have been strong in wind and limb in order to have become a miner. Appeals to statistics resemble the waters of the Dead Sea—buoyant, indeed, but brackish: no amount of figures will make us think well of the social conditions at present existent in the mining industry. Whatever step may be taken with regard to the nationalisation of mines, we would urge with all emphasis that immediate action be taken on the lines suggested by Dr. FRANK SHUFFLEBOTHAM, who gave evidence out of his experience in the Ministry of Munitions. His recommendations were:—

1. That provision be made for reducing the temperature of hot seams in the coal-mines, and that a temperature of greater than 77° (Fahr.) (wet bulb) be regarded as injurious to the health of the worker.
2. That the question of increased candle-power of the miners' safety lamp be considered without delay.
3. That the housing question of miners be dealt with in a practical way, and with all possible speed.
4. That investigations be made by a Research Committee as to the causation and prevention of miners' diseases.
5. That means be taken to ensure the best possible after-treatment for miners who sustain injuries or contract diseases which are directly due to their employment in the mines.

The first of these recommendations embodies the actual standard adopted in France, and every one of them requires only a moment's attention to see that it embodies a practical reform. That improvements in conditions of labour are possible of attainment under State control has recently been demonstrated by the pioneer work of the Ministry of Munitions during only three years. Workers were housed; canteens were erected; washing accommodation and cloak-rooms were provided; personal supervision was established; and doctors working whole-time were appointed to different factories, directed in their work by a medical headquarters staff associated with a

[1] THE LANCET, Nov. 9th (p. 618) and 16th (p. 680), 1918.

No. 18. List of Pamphlets in this Folder.

Papers for the Present: No I. The Modern Minotaur.

Man Power & Money-Power.

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Issued for Cities Club of the Sociological Society; by Huxley Bax

" " " " No 2. The Banker's Part in Reconstruction.

(with two suggestive appendices)

" " " " Second Series No 4.

The Reeducation of the Adult

The Neurasthenic in War & Peace.

The Convalescent a[illegible] Artist Craftsman.

Paying the Piper a word on War loans & War Prices By W. R. Ewer. "Herald" publication.

The Plebs Magazine: October 1918. Article by the Pauls: "New tactics for the Social Revolution." & other items.

R.V.

"Papers for the Present" Series 2. No 3.

A Citizen Soldier:

(Memoirs of Alastair Forbes)

(Cure educational facts & suggestions

Irish revival 1912–14.)

Papers for the Present. Series 3. No. 8

"A Ruskin View of War & Peace."

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Times 5.9.'19.

Nursing Mirror 13.9.'19

703 B.

703b/1

WOMEN IN THE LEAGUE ADMINISTRATION.

DANGER OF "CRANK" CANDIDATES

Representatives of various women's organizations in the country met in conference at Caxton Hall yesterday to consider the best methods of securing the representation of women in the working of the League of Nations. It is provided in the Covenant of the League that all positions connected with the League, including the secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women, and the women's organizations propose to submit to the Government a list of suitable candidates for appointment upon the various bodies.

Mrs. Rackham presided. She said that their object was to put into effective action the words contained in the League of Nations Covenant. As the vagueness of the League of Nations proposals was a challenge to the democracy of the world, so were those words in Article 7 of the Covenant a challenge to women. They desired to make these words effective by selecting women who were most capable of service.

Resolutions urging upon the Government the just demand for representation of women in the Assembly of Delegates, in the International Court of Justice, and in all commissions and other bodies set up in connexion with the League, were submitted and passed.

Miss Mary Macarthur, of the Standing Joint Committee of Women's Organizations, strongly contended that no one should be appointed to any office simply because she was a woman, but, on the other hand, she should not be excluded for the same reason.

Miss Allen argued that women should be more fully represented upon the delegation to the forthcoming American Labour Congress at Washington. It was the present intention of the Government, she said, to send a male Labour delegate, a male Capital delegate, and, so far as Labour was concerned, four male advisers and only one woman adviser.

Lady Selborne, of the National Council of Women, was alone in her opposition to a resolution urging that in making appointments to all bodies connected with the League of Nations the Governments of the various countries should consult the most representative bodies of organized women of each nation. She maintained that the whole of the womanhood of the country should be consulted, for if organizations only were consulted they would be in danger of being represented by "cranks." She would like to see the representation of the normal women of the country, the wives and mothers, of whom there were many who would be more fit to represent them than many organized women.

The resolution was carried.

Recommending Candidates.

Various schemes for the nomination and recommendation of women representatives were discussed, and a resolution, proposed by Miss M. Macarthur, was ultimately carried to the effect that measures be taken by a provisional committee to receive and consider, and, if necessary, to recommend from, nominations of women to be submitted to the British Government and the League Secretariat as suitable for appointment on the various bodies or in the capacities for which the Government or the Secretariat are responsible. The recommendations will be submitted to a further meeting of the conference.

Lady Selborne said that in order to get the best suited women, party qualifications should be eliminated as far as possible, and in putting forward candidates it would be better to mention only the public work of the individual.

It was decided also to invite the cooperation of women in other countries, and a resolution was carried urging the setting up of machinery in connexion with the League of Nations for holding an annual International Women's Conference, and for the establishment of a permanent International Women's Office, similar to that of the International Labour Conference and the International Labour Office already set up.

future.

NURSES AND THE NATION.

The Women's Conference held last week at Caxton Hall was one which, as women of the nation, closely concerned nurses. It was convened to consider the representation of the female sex on the League of Nations, and the best form this representation could take. Many notable women were present, including Mrs. Rackham, who made a wise, just, and equable Chairman; Miss MacArthur, the Countess of Selborne, Miss Gibson (late matron of Birmingham Infirmary), Miss E. C. Barton, R.R.C., Miss Amy Hughes, Mrs. Bedford Fenwick, and Miss Blanchard (of the Women's Sanitary Inspectors' and Health Visitors' Association). Resolutions were passed urging the Government to demand representation of women in the Assembly of Delegates, in the International Court of Justice, and other bodies set up in connection with the League of Nations. Much difficulty arose over the question of the wisest method of putting before the Government the most able women to act as representatives. It was ultimately suggested that in making appointments the Governments of the various countries should consult the most representative bodies of organised women in each nation. Lady Selborne dissented, as she considered the whole of the womanhood of the country should be consulted. She feared that if only the organised societies were consulted they might be represented by cranks. A resolution was passed inviting women of other countries to co-operate with Great Britain in order to secure the establishment of a Women's International Conference, to meet annually.

Morning Post 4.9.'19.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Women's Representation in the Various Offices.

Representatives of various women's organisations in the country met in conference at Caxton Hall yesterday to consider their representation in the League of Nations and the best methods of securing such representation. It is provided in the Covenant of the League that all positions connected with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women, and the women propose to submit to the Government a list of suitable candidates for appointment upon the various bodies, or in the capacities for which the Government or the Secretariat is responsible. Mrs. Rackham presided.

Resolutions urging upon the Government the just demand for representation of women in the Assembly of Delegates, in the Internatioual Court of Justice, and on all Commissions and other bodies set up in connection with the League were submitted and passed.

Speaking in support, Miss Mary Macarthur, of the Standing Joint Committee of Women's Organisations, strongly contended that no one should be appointed to any office simply because she was a woman, but, on the other hand, she should not be excluded for the same reason.

Miss Allen argued that women should be more fully represented upon the delegation to the forthcoming American Labour Congress at Washington. It was the present intention of the Government, she said, to send a male Labour delegate, a male Capital delegate, and, so far as Labour was concerned, four male advisers and only one woman adviser.

Mrs. Allen Bright, of the National Council of Women, strongly advised the application of pressure on the Government, which, she said, was noticeably susceptible to pressure, and for this purpose the strong combination of women's organisations was essential.

Fear of "Cranks."

The Countess of Selborne, of the National Council of Women, was alone in her opposition to a resolution to the effect that in making appointments to all bodies connected with the League of Nations the Government of the various countries should consult the most representative bodies of organised women of each nation. She maintained that the whole of the womanhood of the country should be consulted, and not only those connected with organisations, for if the latter only were consulted they would be in danger of being represented by cranks. She would like to see the representation of the normal women of the country, the wives and mothers, of whom there were many who would be more fit to represent them than many organised women.

The resolution was carried re-

Various schemes for the nomination and commendation of women representatives were discussed, and a resolution, proposed by Miss M. Macarthur, was ultimately carried to the effect that measures be taken by a provisional committee to receive and consider and, if necessary, to recommend from nominations of women to be submitted to the British Government and the League Secretariat as suitable for appointment on the various bodies or in the capacities for which the Government or the Secretariat are responsible. The recommendations will be submitted to a further meeting of the conference. Opinions differed as to the advisability or otherwise of indicating the organisation responsible for the nomination of each candidate.

Political Women.

The Countess of Selborne pointed out as an objection that a great many women's organisations were party political. In order to get the best suited women party qualifications should be eliminated as far as possible, especially in dealing with international questions, and for that reason she submitted it would be better to mention only the public work of the individual.

It was decided also to invite the co-operation of women in other countries, and a resolution was carried urging the setting-up of machinery in connection with the League of Nations for holding an annual International Women's Conference, and for the establishment of a permanent International Women's Office, similar to that of the International Labour Conference and the International Labour Office already set up.

Daily Chronicle
17. 9. 19

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703 B.

NEW VOCATION FOR THE WOMAN OF 40.

"HOME HELPS" TO RELIEVE SICK WIVES WITH HOUSEHOLD DUTIES.

INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL'S BUREAU

In the opinion of the Women's Industrial Council the right class of work has been found for the much-discussed woman of 40.

Looking round on the England which has emerged from the war, the members of the council have noticed two things:—

1. Numbers of women, aged 40 and over, who have been left with little or no incomes and no specialised training.
2. Many households lacking just the responsible help that would release the mistress of the house from some of her house duties when there is sickness in the home.

To bring into touch the women whose knowledge of domestic affairs is their great asset, and the women who could obtain an hour or two of much-needed leisure if they had an efficient understudy, the council have decided to open a bureau, which has been registered by the L.C.C.

Home-helps is the promising name the council has chosen for the women who are to find that they are of great use in the post-war world after all.

FOR CASES OF SICKNESS.

Discussing the project with a "Daily Chronicle" representative yesterday, an official of the Women's Industrial Council explained that the home-helps are primarily intended to go to homes where the ordinary routine has been upset by sickness.

"This new class of household assistant is not intended to interfere with the trained nurse's work. That is not her vocation. Neither is she intended to replace a servant.

"But our inquiries have shown that there is a great need for educated, tactful women who can go into a household where the mistress is sick, or where she is fully occupied with a case of sickness, and can run the house for her and attend to the many duties that fall to the lot of the mistress of a house, even when there is a staff of servants.

RED CROSS CERTIFICATES.

"These home-helps might sit with patients while the nurse has her day off. They might attend to the affairs of a small household, the head of which has had to give up and go to bed for some minor reason which hardly means real illness. In case of serious illness they might look after the children, keep things running smoothly, do the shopping or ordering, or the dusting, &c., which the mistress of the household usually does herself.

"Our home-helps will be required to take the Royal Red Cross certificate in first aid, home nursing, and invalid cookery. They will not be for the use of people who cannot afford to pay a living wage, because other agencies exist to afford help in such cases. They will ask not less than 10d. an hour, 5s. a day with food, or 25s. a week if they live in the house.

"It has been a great pleasure to everyone who has had anything to do with arranging the scheme to find how delighted the women who have come to us to be registered as home-helps have been to learn that they are likely to be of some use after all.

RIGHT TYPE OF WOMAN.

"Many of them have pensions which are entirely inadequate in these days. Some are the widows of professional men and of Service men. Some are women whose husbands are still alive, but who find it necessary to augment their joint income.

"We have been very much impressed by the charming women who have come to us, through the various associations which have been informed of our scheme. Most of them probably never expected to have to earn money for themselves. All their attention was concentrated in the past on running homes, either for themselves or for their parents, or other relatives.

"We feel that we have got into touch with the right type of women for our purpose—that is, educated women who can be trusted, and who have the necessary social instinct to enable them to be an acquisition to a household."

Women who wish to become home-helps, or women who want to engage one, should apply at the offices of the Women's Industrial Council, 6, York-buildings, Adelphi, W.C., on Tuesdays, Thursdays, or Fridays, between the hours of 10.30 and 12.30. Telephone, Gerrard 3872.

Sunday Evening Telegram
7. 9. 19

Telegraphic Enquiries

Whether Miss Mary Macarthur was not a little put out at the Woman's Conference on the League of Nations?

* * *

And whether Dr. Marion Phillips really thinks that all journalists are Radicals?

Evening Standard 5. 9. '19

Women and the League of Nations.

A conference of women representing 95 societies and associations met at Caxton Hall to discuss the clause in the League of Nations Covenant which declares that "All positions under, or in connection with, the League, including the secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.' If either the British Government, or the League of Nations when it comes into being finally, think that women are going to be contented with a few minor posts, I gather that they will be quickly undeceived, for the Conference was unanimous about the importance of "adequate" representation of women of all nations.

Evening Standard
5. 9. '19

Outstanding Delegates.

About the means that were to be taken to secure this representation there was, I confess, a good deal of difference, and at times the atmosphere was a trifle electric. I could not help being struck by the tact and cleverness with which the two foremost Labour women—Mrs. Andersen and Dr Marion Phillips—managed to compose differences and throw oil on troubled waters, and generally, without anyone noticing it, get all their own way. The idea of the Conference, according to a letter read from the Marchioness of Aberdeen, originated with her pet National Council of Women of Great Britain and Ireland, which had done much of the necessary organisation. Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon held her own for the Council very well, and among other lucid speakers were Mrs. Swannick and Mrs. Rackham (in the chair).

The Value of Clarity.

The absolute necessity for real clarity of thought among women and the importance of being able to make impromptu speeches without wandering from the point was once more clearly demonstrated by the Conference.

The women who knew what they wanted to say and were able to say it convincingly were very few—and, with one or two exceptions, the women who represented the more moderate section of women's thought did not contrast at all favourably with the advanced section. It is a point worth noting.

CORISANDE.

Star. 4. 9. 19.

WOMEN AND THE LEAGUE.

A conference of women's organisations to urge the necessity of securing the representation of women in the League of Nations was held at Caxton Hall today.

Miss Mary Macarthur moved a resolution urging the need of the representation of women on the governing bodies of the League.

This was agreed to.

Mrs. Allen Bright said that all Governments were susceptible to pressure—the present Government notably so, and she advocated such pressure being applied so that women should not merely have a nominal, but a real place in the counsels of the League of Nations.

Daily News
5. 9. '19.

WOMEN AND THE LEAGUE.

British Plans for Securing Representation.

Representatives of various women's organisations, meeting at Caxton Hall yesterday to consider the best means of securing representation in the League of Nations, passed resolutions urging upon the Government the just demand of women for positions in the Assembly of Delegates in the International Court of Justice and in all commissions and other bodies set up.

The Countess of Selborne (National Council of Women) was alone in her opposition to a resolution declaring that Governments should consult the most representative bodies of organised women. She maintained that the whole of the womanhood of the country should be consulted, and not only those connected with organisations, for if the latter only were consulted they would be in danger of being represented by cranks.

The resolution, however, was carried.

On the proposal of Miss Mary Macarthur, it was agreed that a provisional committee consider nominations of women to be submitted to the Government as suitable for appointment. Another resolution was carried urging the setting up of machinery in connection with the League of Nations for holding an annual International Women's Conference and for the establishment of a permanent International Women's Office, similar to that of the International Labour Conference and the International Labour Office already set up.

Daily Express 5.9.19

Women Peace Keepers.

Women want to be represented in the League of Nations, and as it is provided in the covenant of the league that all positions connected with the league, including the secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women, it only remains for women to decide who shall represent them.

* * *

Delegates from various women's organisations met at Caxton Hall yesterday to discuss this question, and Miss Mary Macarthur, the famous representative of women's labour organisations, spoke in support of a resolution urging on the Government the just demand for representation of women in the assembly of delegates, in the International Court of Justice, and in all commissions and other bodies set up in connection with the league. The resolution was passed.

Evening News — 4. 9. 19

WOMEN'S LABOUR LAWS.

Miss Macarthur Pleads for Proper Representation in Washington.

Miss Mary Macarthur, at a women conference on the League of Nations at Caxton Hall to-day, protested against what she believed to be the Government's decision to be represented at the International Labour Conference in Washington next month by five men and one woman.

"I am one of those women," said Miss Macarthur, "who is prepared to admit that a good man may be better than an indifferent woman; but a good woman is better than an indifferent man. Our Government circles seem to think that any man is better than any woman.

"In Washington all the subjects to be discussed affect women in some degree; some affect women exclusively.

"We must be thankful for small mercies, but it would be more appropriate if of the five advisers four were women and only one a man."

One delegate expressed the hope that women would be represented on the service committees of the League of Nations by members of the three women's services.

League of Nations
Representation of Women, via "League of Nations" Conference

Daily Mail 5.9.19

A CRANK ON CRANKS

WOMEN AND LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

How to secure the representation of women on the League of Nations was discussed yesterday by women's societies at Caxton Hall, Westminster.

Miss Mary MacArthur moved that in making appointments in connection with the League Governments should consult the most representative bodies of organised women.

Lady Selborne, who alone voted against this resolution, maintained that the whole womanhood of the country should be consulted, and not only those women connected with organisations.

"We are regarded as cranks, and I am proud of being a crank myself, but there are all round us the great mass of the nation—normal, that is, not cranks—whose sound commonsense is one of the great pillars of society. It is the commonsense of these women that I want to get on to any representative body such as this might be."

It was decided to invite women's societies of other countries to co-operate by forming national committees, with a view to setting up an international committee.

Daily Herald 5.9.19.

WOMEN AND LEAGUE

CAXTON HALL CONGRESS' DEMANDS

A conference of women's organisations to urge the necessity of securing the representation of women in the League of Nations was held at Caxton Hall yesterday. Mrs. Rackham, who presided, said the object of the conference was to try to transform into effective action the words of the League of Nations Covenant, which said that all positions under the League which applied to men should equally be open to women.

Miss Mary Macarthur, on behalf of the Standing Joint Committee of Industrial Women's Organisations, moved a resolution urging the need of the representation of women on the governing bodies of the League. This was agreed to.

Another resolution moved by Miss Macarthur made the demand that in making appointments in connection with the League the Governments of the various countries should consult the most representative bodies of organised women. She pointed out that it was necessary to have the most suitable women for the job, and they were not always the women who were in the limelight or whose names were frequently in the Press.

The Countess of Selborne pointed out that the conference did not by any means represent the whole of the female opinion of the country. "We are regarded as cranks," said her ladyship.

Daily Chronicle 5.9.19.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

WOMEN DEMAND A SHARE OF BRITISH REPRESENTATION.

Representatives of women's organisations in conference yesterday at Caxton Hall passed resolutions urging upon the Government the just demand for representation of women in the Assembly of Delegates, in the International Court of Justice, and in all Commissions and other bodies set up in connection with the League of Nations.

Miss Mary MacArthur, of the Standing Joint Committee of Women's Organisations, strongly contended that no one should be appointed to any office simply because she was a woman, but, on the other hand, she should not be excluded for the same reason.

The Countess of Selborne, of the National Council of Women, maintained that the whole of the womanhood of the country should be consulted, and not only those connected with organisations, for if the latter only were consulted they would be in danger of being represented by cranks. She would like to see the representation of the normal women of the country, the wives and mothers, of whom there were many who would be more fit to represent them than many organised women.

Daily Telegraph - 5.9.19.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION.

Representatives of women's organisations in the country met in conference at Caxton Hall yesterday, to consider their representation in the League of Nations, and the best methods of securing such representation. It is provided in the covenant of the league that all positions connected with the league, including the secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women, and the women propose to submit to the Government a list of suitable candidates for appointment upon the various bodies, or in the capacities for which the Government or the secretariat are responsible. Mrs. Rackham presided.

Resolutions urging upon the Government the just demand for representation of women in the Assembly of Delegates, in the International Court of Justice, and in all commissions and other bodies set up in connection with the league were passed.

The Countess of Selborne, of the National Council of Women, was alone in her opposition to a resolution to the effect that in making appointments to all bodies connected with the League of Nations the Government of the various countries should consult the most representative bodies of organised women of each nation. She maintained that the whole of the womanhood of the country should be consulted, and not only those connected with organisations, for if the latter only were consulted women would be in danger of being represented by cranks. The resolution was carried.

Various schemes for the nomination and recommendation of women representatives were discussed, and a resolution, proposed by Miss M. Macarthur, was ultimately carried to the effect that measures be taken, by a provisional committee, to receive and consider, and, if necessary, to recommend from, nominations of women to be submitted to the British Government and the League Secretariat as suitable for appointment on the various bodies or in the capacities for which the Government or the Secretariat are responsible. The recommendations will be submitted to a further meeting of the conference. Opinions differed as to the advisability or otherwise of indicating the organisation responsible for the nomination of each candidate.

It was decided to invite the co-operation of women in other countries, and a resolution was carried urging the setting up of machinery in connection with the League of Nations for holding an annual International Women's Conference, and for the establishment of a permanent international women's office similar to that of the International Labour Conference and the International Labour Office already set up.

A deputation on the subject of women's appointments at the International Labour Bureau waited upon Mr. Barnes at the War Cabinet Committee offices on Monday. The interview, which was organised by the Women's Industrial League, arose out of the previous deputation taken by the same League to Mr. Barnes in July, when a demand was made for direct representation at the International Labour Conference.

Mr. Barnes, in his reply, said he had every sympathy with the two pleas urged on behalf of the women now being displaced from Government offices, and against the exclusion of women from a fair chance of obtaining positions in administrative work. As regards the promise made to the deputation in July, he was unable to go further than his undertaking that all posts should be equally open to men or women without distinction of sex, where qualifications were equal. It was open to the deputation to suggest names, which he (Mr. Barnes) would submit to the Director of the International Labour Office. The number of such names should be limited, and it was essential that only fully qualified women, able to speak French as well as English, should be suggested.

Morning Post 4.9.19 - 703 B.

WOMEN AS STATE WORKERS.

Undertaking by Mr. Barnes.

Mr. G. N. Barnes, Minister without Portfolio, received at the War Cabinet Committee Offices a deputation organised by the Women's Industrial League with reference to the displacing of women from Government offices and women's appointments at the International Labour Bureau.

In reply to the several speakers Mr. BARNES said he had every sympathy with the two pleas urged, namely, on behalf of the women now being displaced from Government offices, and also against the exclusion of women from a fair chance of obtaining positions in administrative work. As regards the promise made to the deputation in July, he was unable to go further than his undertaking that all posts should be equally open to men or women, without distinction of sex, where qualifications were equal. The power to make appointments, however, to the International Labour Office did not rest with him. The Organising Committee for the Washington Conference, which had been set up, included women in its staff, and its work in this country was now on the point of completion. Further appointments would be made after the Washington Conference by the director of the International Labour Office, when he had been appointed. In view of the fact that Sir Eric Drummond had been appointed Secretary-General to the League of Nations, there was not much likelihood that the director would be British. But whoever he might be, it was open to the deputation to suggest the names of qualified women, which he (Mr. Barnes) would submit to the director of the International Labour Office, when appointed. The number of such names should be limited, and it was essential that only fully-qualified women, able to speak French as well as English, should be suggested.

Miss VARLEY, of the Women's Industrial League, undertook to submit the names of fully qualified women.

Evening News 9.9.19

Eng. News 9.9.19

WOMEN'S LABOUR LAWS.

Miss Macarthur Pleads for Proper Representation in Washington.

Miss Mary Macarthur, at a women's conference on the League of Nations at Caxton Hall to-day, protested against what she believed to be the Government's decision to be represented at the International Labour Conference in Washington next month by five men and one woman.

"I am one of those women," said Miss Macarthur, "who are prepared to admit that a good man may be better than an indifferent woman; but a good woman is better than an indifferent man. Our Government circles seem to think that any man is better than any woman.

"In Washington all the subjects to be discussed affect women in some degree; some affect women exclusively.

"We must be thankful for small mercies, but it would be more appropriate if of the five advisers four were women and only one a man."

One delegate expressed the hope that women would be represented on the service committees of the League of Nations by members of the three women's services.

703 b/3

+03b/4 B

ORGANISED WOMEN AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

THE Covenant of the League has been offered to the nations as a kind of framework on which they can build the future of the world. The fact that the principle of equal opportunities is recognised in it is one of the greatest victories our cause has ever won. It lies with us to make that victory effective. As Mrs. Rackham said at a great conference of organised women last week, "the Covenant of the League is a challenge to the nations, Article VII. is a challenge to women."

The Conference showed that in this country at any rate, organised women have already accepted the challenge. It represented ninety-five Societies, including the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, the National Council of Women, and the chief women's Labour organisations. The women present belonged to every group and to every shade of political opinion that has found organised expression at all. They were, it is true, all women who, for one reason or another, care about politics. Lady Selborne spoke of the great mass of ordinary women up and down the country who do not belong to any group and whose wants are constantly overlooked by those in power because they are inarticulate. In her concern for these she seemed to feel that no representation of women on the League which left them out could be of any real use. To most of those there, however, it appeared, that in one sense these women cannot be represented, and that, in another, they are represented by those in the organisations. The unorganised have no machinery for representation and it is impossible to express the political opinion of those who are totally uninterested in politics. In that sense, then, Lady Selborne's "ordinary women" cannot be represented. In another sense, it may be said that the women in the organisations are simply types of ordinary women. Few would agree with Lady Selborne's theory that all those present last Thursday were cranks (a title which, she said, she was proud to claim for herself). It rather seemed that it was just their ordinariness that drew them together. They were women belonging to different political parties, to different social groups, and to different occupations all united by the ordinary human desire to have some share in deciding matters which, they now understand, affect their own lives and the lives of their children. The only real difference between the organised and the unorganised women is that the former have realised that what touches all is the concern of all and have begun to act upon this knowledge, and the latter have not.

The League of Nations, with its vast implications for the future of mankind, is certainly one of the things that touches all, and it concerns women as much as men. There could be no doubt of the unanimous feeling of the Conference on that point. Among the vast and complicated subjects with which the League will have to deal, there is not one, no, nor any bit of one, which does not in the long run affect women as well as men. About all of them, the opinion of women should be sought and they should have equal opportunities of representation with men. Organised British women hold this belief and are determined not to rest till it has been translated into practice. So much was evident at the Conference.

But there are some subjects which seem, primarily at least, to concern women more than men. Ought there to be a special machinery for expressing women's opinion on these subjects; ought women to be organised in the League not only with the men, but separately, as women? This is a more debatable question, and although the Conference did not come to any conclusion about it, both points of view were ably expressed. One opinion is that if women set up a special machinery they will appear to be claiming a special privilege and will weaken their claim to be included with the men. The supporters of this theory, among whom are Miss Mary Macarthur, Dr. Marion Phillips, and other Labour women, hold that if women could really succeed in obtaining a double representation, by themselves and with men, they would be gaining a most unfair privilege; but this is not in the least likely to happen; what is much more likely is that the women will be pushed away into their separate organisations, and will occupy only a little corner in the affairs of the League; their claim to share all responsibilities with the men will then be hopeless. In support of the opposite opinion (which is that of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship), it is urged that though the ideal to be sought for is the *equal* representation of women and men in the League, and everywhere else, the present practice is so much the reverse of this ideal that special machinery is still needed in order to redress the balance. Without such machinery, indeed, it is hardly possible to attain the ideal. Women are still so weak politically as compared with men, and their representation for some time to come is certain to be so inadequate, that the few of them who are included with men in the different departments of the League will find it difficult to give weight to their views, unless they are strengthened by a special organisation outside. In the long run, it is true, all human questions concern men as much as women and women as much as men. But men have not realised this, and, in practice, men and women do not feel equal interest in the same questions. Men will not yet admit women's share in the special questions in which they have up till now felt more interest than women; and the questions about which women have up till now felt more interest than men tend to be neglected in practical legislation. The question of military defence, for instance, is one in which men and women are both slow in recognising women's concern; the question of the White Slave Traffic, on the other hand, is one in which women's special interest is recognised, but which will not be dealt with effectively unless women have a special machinery of their own. Just as the Labour movement is everywhere urging its demand for equal representation, and yet feels that a special organisation is necessary in order to enforce its claims against the entrenched interests of those who have hitherto held all the power, so the women's movement believes that a special machinery is necessary in order to enforce its claims in what is still to such a very great extent, a man-made, man-ruled world.

The only other difference of opinion which emerged at the Conference was on the best practical method of proceeding in collecting the names of women suitable for work under the League and in pressing them on the attention of the Government. Agreement was reached on this point, and measures were taken for setting up a provisional Committee to begin the work. This is, of course, most important; it is not enough to press for the inclusion of women, we must find the suitable women and put them forward with zeal. They will be sharing in an immense task; the attainment and preservation of peace without which there can be no happiness, no growth, no continued existence for the human race, and the development of the good life, without which peace itself is merely a negation. The League of Nations is something more than a League to prevent war, it is the beginning of the international polity of the future. It is good to know that women will have a share in building it up from its foundations; the Conference last week was an important step to this end.

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THE NURSING RECORD
EDITED BY MRS BEDFORD FENWICK

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EDITORIAL.

FROM SICK-HOUSE TO SCIENCE-HOUSE.

There have been some very pessimistic articles in the Press during the past week on the financial condition of the voluntary hospitals; and, indeed, with the enormous cost of upkeep and labour, very serious consideration of the whole question is imperative. We have no fear that these valuable national institutions will suffer in the long run. The sick must be cared for, and the medical and nursing schools kept up-to-date; but evolution from the sick-house to the science-house is taking place, and must be recognised and organised. In the process, no doubt, co-ordination must be effected, and the care of sick people entrusted only to recognised authority. The present system, by which anyone, no matter how ignorant, may inaugurate and govern hospitals, is wasteful, and must be discontinued. Let the Ministry of Health consider the matter, call to its aid the best social, medical, and nursing expert opinion possible, and then deal firmly with the situation. The matter is too serious for further drifting and delay.

THE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN ON THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The blessed month of August with no meetings has passed; in September we begin to talk again and at the Conference of women's organisations to consider the representation of Women in the League of Nations, held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Thursday, September 4th, the talk was very good.

It is provided in the Covenant of the League that all positions connected with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women, and the women's organizations propose to submit to the Government a list of suitable candidates for appointment upon the various bodies.

Mrs. Rackham presided. She said that their object was to put into effective action the words contained in the League of Nations Covenant. As the vagueness of the League of Nations proposals was a challenge to the democracy of the world, so were those words in Article 7 of the Covenant a challenge to women. They desired to make these words effective by selecting women who were most capable of service.

Resolutions urging upon the Government the just demand for representation of women in the Assembly of Delegates, in the International Court of Justice, and in all commissions and other bodies set up in connection with the League, were submitted and passed.

Various schemes for the nomination and recommendation of women representatives were discussed, and a resolution, proposed by Miss M. Macarthur, was ultimately carried to the effect that measures be taken, by a provisional committee, to receive from the organisations forming the Conference, and consider, and, if necessary, to recommend from, nominations of women to be submitted to the British Government and the League Secretariat as suitable for appointment on the various bodies or in the capacities for which the Government or the Secretariat are responsible. The recommendations will be submitted to a further meeting of the Conference.

The proposal to set up in connection with the League of Nations, machinery for a permanent International Women's Office, with status similar to the International Labour Office, was left undecided. The previous question was moved and agreed, and it was decided, upon the suggestion of Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon, that should the Secretariat of the League propose to establish a Women's Bureau, the draft scheme should be submitted to National Committees of Women, and that the views and recommendations of these bodies should be considered before any such bureau be constituted and given authority.

There should be no difficulty in suggesting names of women well fitted to take part in the International Work of the League of Nations when it is formed.

In the meanwhile, President Wilson is touring the United States in a special train in support of the Covenant of the League, and his opponents in the Senate are "camping on his trail."

703 B.

Pall Mall Gazette 19. 1. 20

WOMEN AND "THE LEAGUE."

MASS MEETING AT ALBERT HALL.

Following upon the issue of the women's manifesto in support of the League of Nations, a mass meeting of women, under the auspices of the League of Nations Union, will take place at the Albert Hall on February 6.

The speakers will be Lady Astor, M.P., Miss Maude Royden, Miss Mary Macarthur, and Lord Robert Cecil; Mrs. Randall Davidson (wife of the Primate) will take the chair.

"Times" 14. 1. 20.

WOMEN AND THE LEAGUE.

A meeting of women, under the auspices of the League of Nations Union, will take place at the Albert Hall on February 6, at 8 p.m. Admission is free, and the doors will open at 7 p.m. The speakers will be Lady Astor, M.P., Miss Maude Royden, Miss Mary Macarthur, and Lord Robert Cecil. Mrs Randall Davidson (wife of the Primate) will take the chair. Tickets for admission may be obtained in advance on application to the League of Nations Union, 22, Buckingham-gate.

Glasgow Herald 17. 1. 20.

Now that it has actually come into being, the League of Nations Union is making strenuous efforts to rouse the interest of women and make them realise their great responsibility in connection with the League. A special Women's Section has been started under Mrs Croxton, who organised the entertainment scheme for the Women's Services. Interviewed at the headquarters of the Union in Buckingham Gate, Mrs Croxton was full of enthusiasm for her new work. "As you know," she said, "we have just issued a manifesto, signed by public-spirited women of all parties and of no party. We intend to have a great campaign all over the country, and the inaugural meeting will be held at the Albert Hall on February 6. Mrs Randall Davidson will take the chair, and the speakers will include Lady Astor, Miss Maude Royden, Miss Mary Macarthur, and Lord Robert Cecil. The various societies, such as the Women Citizen's Association, Women's Institutes, etc., are all helping; and we are also doing our best to get the schools and colleges interested. Women teachers predominate, and if the League continues as a permanent organisation it will be their duty to educate the children as to its objects and use."

League of Nations Union

Pall Mall Gazette 31. 1. 20

The Talk of the Town — The League of Nations.

It is hoped that a great many women will attend the great League of Nations Union meeting on February 6 to hear Lady Astor, M.P., Miss Maud Royden, and Miss Mary Macarthur speak. Mrs. Randall Davidson is to take the chair, and we shall, I expect, be told how we are to influence public opinion. Certainly the three speakers are experts on this subject.

Daily Sketch 2. 2. 20

Women's Mass Meeting.—Women are going to have a mass meeting at the Albert Hall—a thing which I don't think has happened since "Suffrage Days." It is in support of the League of Nations, and is to be on February 6. Mrs. Randall Davidson will be in the chair, and the speakers will be Lady Astor, M.P., Miss Maude Royden, Miss Mary Macarthur and Lord Robert Cecil.

Morning Post 2. 2. 20.

Mrs. Randall Davidson will preside at a mass meeting for women in support of the League of Nations at the Royal Albert Hall on Friday next at eight o'clock. The speakers will include Viscountess Astor, M.P., Miss Maude Royden, Miss Mary Macarthur, and Lord Robert Cecil, M.P.

Dundee Courier 31. 1. 20.

In support of the League of Nations a mass meeting for women will be held at the Royal Albert Hall on Friday, Feb. 6, at 8 p.m. Mrs. Randall Davidson will preside, and the speakers will include Lady Astor, M.P., Miss Maude Royden, Miss Mary Macarthur, and Lord Robert Cecil, M.P.

Dundee Courier 3. 2. 20.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS RALLY.

There is to be a great meeting of women at the Albert Hall this week in support of the League of Nations. Among those who are to take a prominent part in the proceedings are Lady Astor, M.P., Miss Maude Royden, Miss Mary Macarthur, Mrs Randall Davidson, and Lord Robert Cecil.

Daily News 7. 2. 20.

WOMEN & WORLD PEACE.

12,000 VOTE FOR THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

KING'S MESSAGE.

STIRRING SPEECHES AT ALBERT HALL.

Twelve thousand women crowded the Albert Hall last night and enthusiastically and unanimously supported a resolution declaring the League of Nations to be essential to the peace of the world. So great was the crush that two overflow meetings had to be arranged, one in the open-air outside and the second at the Imperial Institute.

Miss Maude Royden

Mrs. Randall Davidson presided at the Albert Hall meeting, and was supported by Princess Helena Victoria, Lord Robert Cecil, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Viscountess Astor, M.P., Viscount and Viscountess Gladstone, Miss Maude Royden, Miss Mary Macarthur, Mrs. W. A. Cadbury (Lady Mayoress of Birmingham), Lady Islington, and others.

The following telegram from the King and Queen was read amid loud cheers:

> The King and Queen have received with much gratification the message you have addressed to their Majesties. . . . Mindful of all that womanhood has sacrificed, endured, and achieved in these years of war, their Majesties feel with you that British idealism can have no more noble aim than to secure to the world enduring peace.

THE SHADOW OF WAR.

Miss Mary Macarthur put the first resolution: "That this meeting regards the League of Nations as essential to the peace of the world." "We are still living in the shadow of war," she said. "The peace that preceded the war was no peace, and at present we are living in the shadow of the horor which has just ended. What man or woman with a heart to feel can look on Central Europe unmoved? We have dreamed dreams of the New World—free from war, and based upon justice between man and man. We realise that it will not be built in a day, and that we must go to war again, this time against greed, envy, fear, and hatred, the foes of all mankind. All mankind must unite, not some nations against some other nations, for the sake of a fetish, called the Balance of Power."

Lady Astor, M.P., in seconding the resolution, begged her audience to trust America. "I believe America has started," she said. "The League may be too ambitious, and reservations necessary, but remember there are twenty million people in America already urging the Senate to sign the Covenant, with or without reservations. Lord Grey's letter has done more to alter the situation for the better than any event in the last few months. I repeat, we must trust America, and I am certain she will not be long before she too comes into the League."

MISS ROYDEN'S STIRRING APPEAL.

Miss Maude Royden put the following resolution:—"That this meeting pledges itself to support the League of Nations Union by every means in its power." She received a wonderful reception upon rising to speak, and carried the great audience completely with her.

"Women have learned from the war," she said, "not that some things are impossible, but that they are intolerable. (Applause.) It is time for the women of the world to refuse to hear that some things are impossible. The League may be imperfect, but it offers an alternative to war. Not again shall the world be plunged into hell in four days, as it was in 1914."

She then addressed specially those who felt that the League as it now is is merely the offspring of an unjust peace, drawn up by statesmen whom the women do not trust. "But it contains within itself the power to revise," she said. "Are you going to take hold of it and make of it the thing of which you dreamed? Revise it; do not let it be your fault that when sanity returns there is no channel for the awakening pity of the world.

"The springs of pity are opening with the spring of the earth. Bradford, to its immortal honour, has been the first to offer its hospitality to one thousand of the children of those who were once our foes.

"The world has bought this hope of the League at such an awful price of suffering. If you withdraw your help now, because it is not the League of your dreams, how will you re-create the hope of a world which you have taught to despair?"

"WAR CRIMES" PRISONERS.

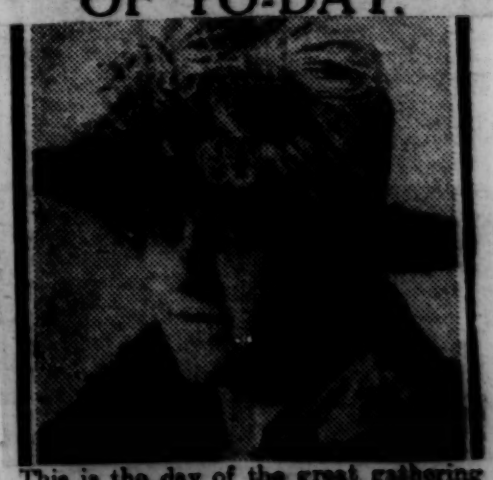
Lord Robert Cecil also delivered an impressive speech. He said the outlook for peace was still dark. We were rightly anxious to see those who ill-treated our prisoners in Germany punished. "There is no meaner or more despicable crime," he proceeded, "than to ill-treat men who are absolutely defenceless. That does not mean that a wholesale demand for the surrender of generals and statesmen and princes, if it be really true that such a demand has been made, is right. I shall not believe this story until we are assured officially that it is true.

"But if we were indignant over the sufferings of our prisoners, are we to close our eyes and steel our hearts against those terrible stories from Russia? Remember, these things are said to have happened under Allied Government. I don't say we are responsible for them, far from it. I do not know how far they are responsible themselves. But if it be the case—as I am sure it is—that thousands and tens of thousands have perished and many more have gone mad, surely we should do what we can to help save the rest." (Cheers.)

Lord Robert proceeded to pay a very warm tribute to the great service Lord Grey had rendered to the League of Nations by his recent letter, which had given rise to new hope. They welcomed his intervention and ventured to say to him that our country, our Empire, nay, the whole world, could not afford to lose again his help and guidance. (Applause.) In the dark situation which he had depicted the one hope was in the League of Nations. It must be made a reality. Above all, they were anxious for the first steps towards disarmament.

Dundee Courier 6. 2. 20

MEN AND WOMEN OF TO-DAY.



This is the day of the great gathering of women at the Albert Hall, London, in support of the League of Nations, and the portrait you see above is that of Mrs Arthur Croxton, who is organising the mass meeting. Among those who are to be taking a prominent part in the proceedings are Lady Astor, M.P., Miss Maude Royden—who, you will remember, gave an interesting address in Dundee quite recently—Miss Mary Macarthur, Mrs Randall Davidson, and Lord Robert Cecil.

703 B. 5/5

703 B. 5/5

Daily Telegraph
Feb. 7. 20.

WOMEN OF ENGLAND
AND THE
LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

LORD R. CECIL AND RUSSIA.

At a crowded meeting of women held in the Albert Hall last night, under the auspices of the Women's Section of the League of Nations Union, an inspiring message from the King and Queen (given in another column) was read in reply to one forwarded by Mrs. Randall Davidson, who presided. It was announced that telegrams had been received from Mrs. Humphry Ward and Mrs. Fawcett regretting inability to attend on account of illness. At an overflow meeting, held in the Jehangir Hall, Imperial Institute-road, Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon (president, National Council of Women) occupied the chair. Both meetings were addressed by Viscountess Astor, M.P., Lord Robert Cecil, M.P., Miss Maude Royden, and Miss Mary Macarthur. The following resolutions were passed unanimously:

That this meeting regards the League of Nations as essential to the peace of the world.

That this meeting pledges itself to support the League of Nations Union by every means in its power.

Mrs. Davidson, in her address from the chair, said that they were there to further the cause of the League of Nations—a great cause, which could only succeed if it was the outcome of the fervent and determined purpose of all of them throughout the whole land. It was not the purpose of statesmen only. It must be everyone's purpose if it was to prevail—the people's purpose, the people's will. That purpose was not merely the stopping of great wars, not merely the resolve, vital as it was, that there should be no "next time." It was that by the common effort of all people "righteousness" should prevail, both between the nations and within the nation's life. If that purpose were carried to its utmost end it would make them able to bear better the terribleness of this most terrible war and its after-effects. It would make even the sacrifice of their best and dearest to have been worth while. (Hear, hear.) The dear lives laid down would then have won a greater victory for the world than most of them had dared to dream. (Hear, hear.)

AMERICA'S RESERVATIONS.

Viscountess Astor said women knew what war meant, and so they were overwhelmingly behind the League of Nations, because it was a sincere and practical effort to correct the causes which lead to war. The real cause of war lay in the hearts of individuals. But while they were all agreed on the ends which they were pursuing through the League of Nations, she did not think they were equally clear about the means. Half the misunderstanding in our own private worlds was caused by letters or messages or reports through third persons. And that was equally true of the great world of affairs. Nations got distorted ideas of each other, and then made the trouble worse by despatches and all the complications of diplomatic intercourse. "You know the old game," said her ladyship, "where you start whispering a sentence at one end of the row and compare it with the original when it reaches the other end? Well, diplomatic negotiations are often rather like that." The League of Nations set up a system by which the responsible Ministers of the different nations met round a table and discussed any difficulties and differences they might have to face. Women were practical people, and she was sure they could all see the good sense of that. When they talked about the League of Nations, let them, therefore, always keep that very simple and practical idea before them. They should realise that Rome was not built in a day, and not despair if the League of Nations did not stop all wars at once. Let them not be plunged in despair because the United States made reservations regarding some articles in the Covenant. Reservations did not matter so much, provided the United States would make a start. Personally, she considered there was a great deal of sense in the reservations made by the American Senate. When a boy started high-jumping, he did not begin by trying to clear 6ft. He put the bar at 3ft, and put it up by inches till he failed and knocked it down. Then he practised hard at the point where he had failed, and after a time he managed to jump a few inches more. That was the way in which she believed the League of Nations ought to start. "Don't expect to clear the moon in your first jump," she added. "Begin with the footstool, and then go on to the sofa, and you may be able to clear the moon in due course." (Cheers.) She thought Lord Grey's letter had done more to alter the situation for good than any single event in the last few months. (Hear, hear.) She believed it was only by facing things in that spirit that we should get through these difficulties successfully. (Hear, hear.) She was very glad indeed to know what a warm reception Lord Grey's sympathetic and courageous statement was met with in America. She thought, however, that it was still going to take all the patience and open-mindedness on both sides of the Atlantic to withstand the powerful propaganda which seemed to be going on to separate us. They had to realise that the League of Nations was ultimately a spiritual matter, and that war would never be abolished until the seeds of war had been rooted out of our hearts and the seed of the Kingdom of Heaven planted there instead. Women, who had such an overwhelming responsibility for the coming generation, must see that they threw their whole weight into the task of meeting suspicion and jealousy and hate, not with their own weapons of force and bitterness, but with the invincible weapon of goodwill, beginning with goodwill in our relations with individuals. (Cheers.)

NEED FOR COMBINATION.

Lord Robert Cecil said we lived in a democratic country—a country in which the ultimate sovereignty rested with the electorate. In the last resort Governments could only carry out the policy which the electors approved. It was their business to see that the electors approved the League of Nations, not merely passively, but actively. For that combination was essential. Single, they could do little or nothing to influence the Government of the country; combined together they might do much. That was the reason for the existence of the League of Nations Union. (Cheers.) They wanted the League of Nations because the League of Nations was essential to the peace of the world. Last June he attended a great meeting in that hall in support of the League, under the chairmanship of their president, Lord Grey. They urged then that the League was necessary; it was far more necessary now. (Hear, hear.) The outlook for peace was not less dark than it was then. The terrible consequences of war were still in operation. Everywhere one saw measureless suspicion—the new States scarcely on their feet; the old States sore and resentful; charges and counter-charges of ambitions and aggressions; and on the top of all, vast numbers of the populations grossly underfed, or even starving. The pitiful cry of the children of Poland, of Bohemia, and of Austria, was still in their ears. Terrible epidemics were raging in Central Europe and in Russia, carrying off the weakest and most innocent of the population, slaughtering the prisoners and the captives.

PRISONERS' SAD PLIGHT.

The sufferings of the prisoners in Russia had been terrible. He feared that tens, and perhaps hundreds of thousands of them had perished from disease and starvation. They were anxious, and he thought rightly anxious, to see those who ill-treated our prisoners in Germany punished. (Hear, hear.) There was no meaner nor more despicable crime than to ill-treat men who were absolutely defenceless. (Hear, hear.) That did not mean that a wholesale demand for the surrender of generals and statesman and princes—if it were really true that such a demand had been made—was right. He should not believe this story until assured officially that it was true. But if we were indignant over the sufferings of our prisoners, were we to close our eyes and steel our hearts against those terrible stories from Russia? They should remember that these things were said to have happened under Allied government. He did not say we were responsible for them—far from it. "I do not know how far they are responsible themselves," he added. "But if it be the case—as I am sure it is—that thousands and tens of thousands have perished, and many more have gone mad, surely we should do what we can to help to save the rest!" (Hear, hear.)

One bright spark in the international horizon had appeared quite recently. In spite of the efforts of mischief-makers on both sides of the Atlantic, the last few days had given better hopes, and it was a gratification to the League of Nations Union to know that it was due to the letter of their President that these hopes had arisen. (Cheers.) Whatever help and support any one of them, or all together, could give to his efforts would be heartily given. They welcomed his intervention and ventured to say to him that our country, our Empire, nay, the whole world, could not afford to lose again his help and guidance. (Cheers.) They trusted he would leave his northern seclusion and come amongst them again, for there was much to be done. (Cheers.)

THE ONE HOPE.

In the dark situation which he had ventured to depict their one hope was in the League. It must be made a reality. Its organs must become living organs. That was why they asked that the Assembly, that great consultation of all the States in the world, should be summoned without delay. That was why they hoped that the other machinery of the League might quickly be put in order. They wanted the court of justice to begin its work. They wanted the mandates allotted and defined. Above all, they were anxious for the first steps towards disarmament. (Cheers.) At present they heard a great deal of rattling of the sabre on the Continent: They were told that the American fleet was being increased and that the military forces of our country were being reorganised. All these things might be necessary, but they could not be called encouraging to the lovers of peace, for without some measure of general disarmament they could feel no real security for peace. (Hear, hear.) The old days, when we could comfort ourselves with the belief that if we wanted peace we should prepare for war, were gone for ever. They had been shattered by the high explosives of the late war. Therefore they wanted the disarmament provisions of the Covenant put in force without delay. (Cheers.)

There were many questions which awaited consideration. The Executive Committee of the union had summarised the immediate steps that they thought should be taken about the Russian danger and the economic chaos in Europe. He had a picture in his mind of how the Council might proceed. He could see a special meeting of the Council of the League, attended by the chief Ministers of all the States which composed it. One chair would be unhappily vacant, but that only called for greater exertion and devotion on the part of the rest of the Council. Would it not be a great thing to read of the British representative coming down to that Council and making a great speech, not to his own countrymen only, but to all the world, calling their attention to the vast problems that awaited settlement, and urging them to abandon sectional and national prejudices and interests and join in a great effort to save humanity? (Hear, hear.) He would point to the starving peoples of Europe, the passions of hatred that afflicted us, and all the other legacies of war, and he would ask the assembled statesmen to put aside their desires for vengeance or for reparation, territorial aggrandisement, or commercial advantage, and, treating themselves as members of a great world assembly, to work for the re-establishment of the prosperity of mankind, and of that confidence between man and man without which prosperity cannot exist. He heard the day before someone quoting the old description of Europe as a number of wicked old gentlemen covered with decorations. It might be so; but he doubted if there were any of them so wicked or so strangled with decorations that they would not respond to such an appeal as that. In any case, let them try it, for there was nothing else to be tried. If that failed, the outlook was dark indeed; but he did not believe it would fail—not, at any rate, if it was supported by the determination of the peoples of the world. (Cheers.)

Miss Mary Macarthur said it was not so very long ago that people could be found who were prepared to defend war, but at any rate for the time being there was no one who upheld that point of view. They had seen enough to realise that there were things even more precious than life which might be destroyed by war. They had realised that it was not only the body which was destroyed by war, but that it affected the soul of man as well.

Miss Maude Royden remarked that her belief was that what women had learned from war was not that some things were impossible, but that some things were intolerable—(cheers)—and that the state of the world during the last five years and at the present moment of so-called peace was one of the things that were intolerable. The real soul of the League of Nations was a request that nations should be given an alternative to war. (Cheers.) Not again should the world be plunged into hell in four days, as it was in 1914. (Hear, hear.)

Among those who accepted invitations to be present were:

Princess Helena Victoria, the American Ambassador and Mrs. Davis, Archbishop of Canterbury, Mrs. W. A. Cadbury (Lady Mayoress of Birmingham), Mrs. Creighton, Lady Sykes, Dr. Jane Walker, Dame Sarah Swift, Viscount Astor, Miss Mary Crowdy, the High Commissioner for Canada, Miss Damer Dawson, Miss Beadsmore, Smith, Dame, Sidney Browne, Miss Rosamond Smith, Mrs. Ross, Miss Conway, Miss Major, the Hon. Lady Norman, Lord Emmott, Major-General John Davidson, Lord Shaw of Dunfermline, Mr. C. Barrie, M.P., Colonel J. W. Greig, M.P., Sir Ernest Pollock (Solicitor-General), Lady Islington, Sir Arthur Boscawen, Mr. H. B. Betterton, M.P., Major the Hon. Edward Wood, M.P., Col. W. T. Care, M.P., Dame Edith Lyttelton, Mr. R. Armitage, M.P., Lady Bective, Lady Cooper (Lady Mayoress of London), Viscountess Rhondda, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Lady Moore, Dame Florence Leach, Miss Dorothy Evans, Mrs. Percy Bigland, Mrs. Stuart-Wortley, Lady Perley, Dame Maud McCarthy, Miss Adelaide Anderson, Mrs. Meynell, Miss Margaret Jones, Mrs. Atholl Stewart, Miss Young, Miss Rita Oldham, Mrs. Croxton, Colonel Hore Ruthven, V.C., Lieut.-Colonel G. Dalrymple White, M.P., Mr. C. A. McCurdy, M.P., Captain Benn, M.P., Mr. J. M. Hogge, M.P., Lieut.-Colonel N. Raw, M.P., Earl of Lytton, Mr. A. E. Waterson, M.P., Lady Davison, Lord Shandon, Dr. Macnamara, M.P., and Mrs. Macnamara, Mrs. G. Hughes (of Winnipeg), Lady Henry Bentinck, Sir G. R. Blades, M.P., Lady Greenwood, Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy, M.P., Madame Cristitch, Miss Elizabeth York, Mrs. McKenna, Lady Jekyll, the Belgian Ambassador and Baroness Moncheur, the Consul-General for Chile, Lady Mary Fitz-Roy, Viscountess Acheson, Mr. J. Seddon, M.P., Countess of Cromer, Lady Denman, Lady Edmund Talbot, Lady Sydenham, Viscount and Viscountess Gladstone, Lady Baden-Powell, Lady Moyra Cavendish, Lord Erskine, Lady Jane Gathorne-Hardy, Mrs. Oliver Brett, Mrs. Gideon Murray, Mrs. Aneurin Williams, Mr. J. Gardiner, M.P., Consul-General for Finland, Muriel Countess De La Warr, the Bishop of Kensington, Dame May Whitty, Dowager Countess Brassey, Hon. Mrs. Norman Grosvenor, Sir Archibald Williamson, M.P., Lord Monk Bretton.

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Morning Post. 7.2.20

Message From the King and Queen.

"The King and Queen have received with much gratification the message you have addressed to their Majesties on the occasion of the mass meeting representing the women of England assembled in furtherance of the movement for the League of Nations. Mindful of all that womanhood has sacrificed, endured, and achieved in these years of war, their Majesties feel with you that British idealism can have no more noble aim than that of securing to the world enduring peace."

This message, sent to a crowded meeting of women in the Albert Hall last night, was greeted with prolonged cheers when it had been read by Lord Robert Cecil. The object of the gathering, over which Mrs. Randall Davidson presided, was to support the League of Nations.

Viscountess Astor said: "I am perfectly certain that America will come into the League of Nations. I beg of you to go on trusting America—give her a little more time. My heart aches and my ire rises when I hear some criticisms of America and her people because they are really a misrepresentation of American views."

Lord Robert Cecil, having referred to the inspiring message received from the King and Queen, urged that if those present were sincere in support of the League of Nations they must join the Union under which that meeting was held. The League must be made a reality. Its organs must become living organs. Women were no longer voiceless and voteless; they had become full citizens of the Empire, with an influence as great as that of their male fellow-citizens. They could no longer stand aside, even if they wished to do so. The cause of peace must appeal to women even more than to men, and they must take care lest future generations might say that in the first great call to the enfranchised women they failed to do their duty.

Miss Mary Macarthur and Miss Maude Royden were also among the speakers.

Times. 7.2.20

"TRUST AMERICA!"

LADY ASTOR ON LORD GREY'S LETTER.

The meeting of the Council of the League of Nations at St. James's Palace has been fixed for next Wednesday.

The Albert Hall was crowded to overflowing last night on the occasion of a mass meeting of women in support of the League of Nations. So great was the demand for admission that two overflow meetings were held, one outside the hall and the second at the Imperial Institute.

Mrs. Randall Davidson presided at the Albert Hall, and among those on the platform were Princess Helena Victoria, Lord Robert Cecil, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lady Astor, M.P., Lord and Lady Gladstone, Miss Maude Royden, Miss Mary Macarthur, Mrs. W. A. Cadbury (Lady Mayoress of Birmingham), and Lady Islington.

The following telegram from the King and Queen at Sandringham, addressed to Mrs. Davidson, was read amid loud cheers:—

The King and Queen have received with much gratification the message you have addressed to their Majesties on the occasion of the mass meeting representing the women of England assembled in furtherance of the movement for the League of Nations. Mindful of all that womanhood has sacrificed, endured, and achieved in these years of war, their Majesties feel with you that British idealism can have no more noble aim than to secure to the world enduring peace.—Private Secretary.

Lord Robert Cecil said that the terrible consequences of the war were still in operation, and the League was needed far more than it was last year.

"One bright spark on the international horizon has appeared quite recently. In spite of mischief-makers on both sides of the Atlantic, the last few days have given us better hopes, and it is a gratification to the League of Nations Union to know that it is due to the letter of their president that these hopes have arisen. Whatever help and support any one of us, or all together, can give to his efforts will be heartily given. We welcome his intervention, as we venture to say to him that our country, our Empire, nay the whole world, cannot afford to lose again his help and guidance." (Cheers.)

Lady Astor said she thought that Lord Grey's letter had done more to alter the situation for good than any single event in the last few months. It was only by facing things in that spirit that we should get through the difficulties successfully. It was still going to take all the patience and open-mindedness on both sides of the Atlantic to withstand the powerful propaganda which seemed to be going on to separate us. She believed that as the desperate facts came home to the people of America they would realize that the desire of the Allies for their cooperation was a genuine one without ulterior imperialistic motives. "Trust America," added Lady Astor, "I am perfectly certain that America will come into the League of Nations."

Daily Sketch 7.2.20

WORLD-WIDE PEACE.

The King and Queen's Message to Women's Mass Meeting.

AIM OF BRITISH IDEALISM.

There were remarkable scenes of enthusiasm at the Royal Albert Hall last night on the occasion of a mass meeting for women in support of the League of Nations.

The vast building, accommodating 10,000 persons, was packed an hour before the advertised time of commencement, and so great was the demand for admission that two overflow meetings were arranged.

Mrs. Randall Davidson presided at the Albert Hall, supported by Princess Helena Victoria, Lord Robert Cecil, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Viscountess Astor, M.P., Viscount and Viscountess Gladstone, Miss Maude Royden, Miss Mary Macarthur, Mrs. W. A. Cadbury (Lady Mayoress of Birmingham), Lady Islington and others.

Women's War Sacrifice.

The following telegram from the King and Queen was read:—

Mindful of all that womanhood has sacrificed, endured and achieved in these years of war, their Majesties feel with you that British idealism can have no more noble aim than to secure to the world enduring peace.

Lord Robert Cecil said that at present they heard a great deal about the rattling of the sabre on the Continent. They were told that the American fleet was being increased, and they read that the military forces of this country were being reorganised. All these things might be necessary, but without some measure of general disarmament we could feel no security for peace.

America Will Come In!

Lady Astor said she thought it was still going to take all the patience and open-mindedness on both sides of the Atlantic to withstand the powerful propaganda which seemed to be going on to separate Britain and the United States. She believed that as the desperate effects came home to the people of America they would realise that the desire of the Allies for their co-operation was a genuine one without ulterior imperialistic motives.

"I am perfectly certain," she added, "that America will come into the League of Nations."

The meeting unanimously carried resolutions declaring the League of Nations to be essential to the peace of the world, and pledging those present to support the League of Nations Union by every means in their power.

Yorkshire Post 23.2.20.

"A WOMAN'S POINT OF VIEW."

Sir,—May I make a few comments on the article in to-day's "Yorkshire Post"—"A Woman's Point of View"?

The writer complains of the futility of public meetings, and pours scorn upon women's meetings. She must surely be aware that meetings are convened for various purposes; the two meetings particularly referred to were undoubtedly organised for the purpose of spreading information and thereby educating public opinion. At the League of Nations meeting Lord Robert Cecil invited those who believe in the League to join the League of Nations Union, and help to establish branches wherever possible; that was surely giving the people something definite to do. Perhaps this is not a sufficiently novel way of helping a new movement to attract the majority of men and women, but as the League of Nations is a political instrument, it is only by educating public opinion in the uses and possibilities of the League that individuals can be of use. In an article in the "Woman's Leader," Lord Robert says of women's part of the work, "Let them throw themselves into the national campaign for the League. Let them bring to the help of the League of Nations Union their money, and their service, their matchless powers of organisation and devotion."

With regard to the meeting on the "Need of Women in Parliament," it is true that the need for them there has been established in the minds of some women and some men, but there are still many women and men to whom the idea is both startling and repugnant. There is need for a great deal of propaganda on this subject, and the only scheme that will help women into Parliament is the education of the electorate, men as well as women, for in spite of the preponderance of women in the country, the great majority of electors are men. This means steady hammering at the same topic until prejudice and opposition are worn away. It is most unsensational work, but it is the only way. Women have to find their way into Parliament by the same road as men; no other scheme, however well devised, will get them there. The meeting which your contributor considers futile was part of this educational campaign, and had the backing of the two largest non-party women's organisations in the country; moreover, there are being formed in all parts of the country women citizen's associations whose object is to educate the woman voter in her duties and responsibilies as a citizen. The writer of the article does not appear to be aware of these organisations.

The Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act does not "transform our lives" quite as much as your contributor seems to think. It is a very poor substitute for the Labour party's Women's Emancipation Bill, which would have removed practically all the legal disabilities as between men and women. However, we have learnt to be thankful for small mercies, and half a loaf is better than no bread.—Yours, etc.,

HON. SECRETARY,
Ilkley Society for Equal Citizenship.
February 20, 1920.

Glasgow Herald 9.2.20.

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Progress of the League of Nations

In the historic atmosphere of the Picture Gallery of St James's Place, the League of Nations Council will on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday of this week hold its second meeting, with Mr Balfour as British representative, and with representatives of France, Italy, Belgium, Greece, Japan Spain, and Brazil. Among the sumjects on the agenda are the duties which fall to the League under the Peace Treaty in relation to the Saar Valley and Dantzig and also the establishment of an international court of justice. The discussions and decisions in such supremely important and practical matters will be sufficient in the meantime to emphasise the reality of the League. But, over and above this, there are signs that the vital nature and indeed the inevitableness of the League are every day coming to be more widely recognised. The ton of het French press, for example, indicates that the utter hopelessnes of obsolete associations of militant or distrustful Chauvinisms as a permanent protection or as a remedy for the after-effects of war is beginning to dawn upon the French mind. As for our own country, no better testimony to the claimant need for an all-powerful international guarantee against war could be imagined than the mass meeting of women held in support of the League at the Albert Hall in London last Friday. The "platform" included a royal Princess and women of the most "advanced" opinions; every class and every shade of belief and opinion were represented in the vast audience that carried by acclamation a resolution moved by Mirr Mary Macarthur and seconded by Viscountess Astor. It is to women that the real horror and crime of war have been most tragically brought home, and British women have evidently made up their minds that—in the words of the message sent to the meeting by the King and Queen—"British idealism can have no more noble aim than to secure to the world enduring peace." Idealism, too, is being heavily backed by sheer economic pressure. It is to the League that Europe will ultimately turn for a solution of such problems as those represented by the present sate of the exchanges. And, except in the formation of an international court of justice under the ægis of the League, it is not very easy to see any way out of the difficulties that beset a belated execution of the clauses in the Peace Treaty regarding the trial of war criminals.

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Sunday School Chronicle
12. 2. 20.

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BRITISH WOMEN AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Special to the "Sunday School Chronicle."

Twelve thousand women took part in a remarkable demonstration at the Albert Hall and the Imperial Institute, London, on Friday evening last. The object of these huge gatherings was to prove to the world that the educated women of England had a great faith in the League of Nations, that they regarded the League as essential to international peace, and that they were prepared to make sacrifices in support of the ideals for which it stood. It was a most interesting assembly. Royalty and ladies of high social rank mingled with members of the aristocracy of service. Statesmen and diplomats, including the American Ambassador, were there also, but they took a secondary position. Over eighty societies and organisations were allotted seats in the Albert Hall, most of them women's societies. It was undoubtedly one of the most inspiring meetings I have attended for a long time. The speeches were uplifting and helpful, and one had a foretaste of the real contribution which the thoughtful women of England will make to the progress of the world of to-morrow.

A Great Adventure.

Mrs. Randall Davidson, who presided over the Albert Hall meeting, reminded the audience that the League of Nations could only succeed if it was the outcome of the fervent and determined purpose of everyone. It could not be done by statesmen alone. That purpose was not merely the stopping of great wars, not merely the resolve, vital as it was, that there should be no "next time." It was that by the common effort of all people righteousness should prevail both between the nations and within the nations' life. "But let us not forget," she added, "that no League of Nations can have life unless it is founded on a clear vision of one great fact—the Love of God—which finds its expression in the words 'Our Father,' and recognising the people of the world as one family. If we took up the League as a great adventure, in the power of God, it would become a lasting force for the whole world's good."

Who Defends War to-Day?

Miss Mary Macarthur reminded the meeting that it was not so very long ago that people could be found who were prepared to defend war for its own sake. She quoted an amazing statement from a leading London daily, written just before the outbreak of the great war: "Peace means greater comfort, greater enjoyment, longer life, less suffering; but if war were ended the world would suffer, human character would deteriorate, and we should become a race of degenerates!" Who, she asked, would now defend that point of view? We had seen enough to realise that there were things even more precious than life which might be destroyed by war. We had seen that war not only destroyed the body, it warped the soul of man. Look at the world to-day, she said. Look at Central Europe. In Vienna 80 per cent. of the children under five were deformed, and children of two or three years had the appearance of shrivelled babies of six months. In some towns there were no children alive under seven years of age.

"We must have a new alliance," said Miss Macarthur a little later, "an alliance of the best in the world against the worst, and this the League of Nations would give us."

How Misunderstandings Occur.

Viscountess Astor made a rousing speech. She affirmed that the reason why women were so overwhelmingly behind the League of Nations was because they knew what war meant, and they saw in the League a sincere and practical effort to correct the causes which led to war. The real causes of war lay in the hearts of individuals. But while they were all agreed on the ends which they were pursuing through the League of Nations, she did not think they were equally clear about the means. Half the misunderstanding in our own private worlds was caused by letters or messages or reports through third persons. And that was equally true of the great world of affairs. Nations got distorted ideas of each other, and then made the trouble worse by despatches and all the complications of diplomatic intercourse. "You know the old game," said Lady Astor, "where you start whispering a sentence at one end of the row and compare it with the original when it reaches the other end? Well, diplomatic negotiations are often rather like that." The League of Nations set up a system by which the responsible Ministers of the different nations met round a table and discussed any difficulties and differences they might have to face.

But, added the speaker, they had to realise that the League of Nations was ultimately a spiritual matter, and that war would never be abolished until the seeds of war had been rooted out of our hearts and the seed of the Kingdom of Heaven planted there instead. Women, who had such an overwhelming responsibility for the coming generation, must see that they threw their whole weight into the task of meeting suspicion and jealousy and hate, not with their own weapons of force and bitterness, but with the invincible weapon of goodwill, beginning with goodwill in our relations with individuals.

Lord Robert Cecil's Hope of the League.

Lord Robert Cecil, who did so much to infuse the true British spirit into the Covenant of the League, made a statesmanlike speech. The League, he declared, was absolutely necessary to the peace of the world. Everywhere one saw measureless suspicion; new States scarcely on their feet; old States sore and resentful; charges and counter-charges of ambitions and aggressions; and on top of all vast numbers of the populations grossly underfed or even starving.

In the dark situation which he had ventured to depict their one hope was in the League. But it must be made a reality. Its organs must become living organs. That was why they asked that that Assembly, that great consultation of all the States in the world, should be summoned without delay. That was why they hoped that the other machinery of the League might quickly be put in order. They wanted the court of justice to begin its work. They wanted the mandates allotted and defined. The old days, when we could comfort ourselves with the belief that if we wanted peace we should prepare for war, were gone for ever. They had been shattered by the high explosives of the late war. Therefore they wanted the disarmament provisions of the Covenant put in force without delay.

The League in Action.

There were many questions which awaited consideration. The Executive Committee of the Union had summarised the immediate steps that they thought should be taken about the Russian danger and the economic chaos in Europe. He had a picture in his mind of how the Council might proceed. He could see a special meeting of the Council of the League, attended by the chief Ministers of all the States which composed it. Would it not be a great thing to read of the British representative coming down to that Council and making a great speech, not to his own countrymen only, but to all the world, calling their attention to the vast problems that awaited settlement, and urging them to abandon sectional and national prejudices and interests and join in a great effort to save humanity? He would point to the starving peoples of Europe, the passions of hatred that afflicted us, and all the other legacies of war, and he would ask the assembled statesmen to put aside their desires for vengeance or for reparation, territorial aggrandisement, or commercial advantage, and, treating themselves as members of a great world assembly, to work for the re-establishment of the prosperity of mankind, and of that confidence between man and man without which prosperity cannot exist.

An Alternative to War.

Miss Maude Royden made the final appeal. She reminded the women of England that the world was returning to sanity, instancing as proof of her contention the case of the town of Bradford, which, to its eternal honour, had offered a home, and food, and love to a thousand children of Central Europe. But what, she asked, if, when the whole world had come back to its right mind, there was no machinery by which it could express its altered judgment? Or if the machinery made for a great and good purpose was taken by the enemies of this peace of the world and used for a bad purpose? The real soul of the League of Nations was a request that nations should be given an alternative to war. It was not perfect, but its defects could be mended and it could be made good.

The meeting passed with great enthusiasm two resolutions, the first affirming that the League of Nations was essential to the peace of the world, and the second pledging the audience to support the League of Nations Union by every means in its power.

The following telegram from the King and Queen was read amid loud cheers:—

> The King and Queen have received with much gratification the message you have addressed to their Majesties. . . . Mindful of all that womanhood has sacrificed, endured, and achieved in these years of war, their Majesties feel with you that British idealism can have no more noble aim than to secure to the world enduring peace.

Evening Standard
7. 2. 20

Women's Meeting at Albert Hall.

Although I had heard the Albert Hall was going to be very full for the massed meeting for women last night, organised by the League of Nations Union in support of the League of Nations, I was surprised to find it so packed with people.

Whether enthusiasm for the cause or interest in the celebrities on the platform formed the greater attraction it was hard to say, but those in the audience who were not very sure of the purposes of the League must have become its firm supporters after the clever speeches of Miss Royden and Miss Mary MacArthur. Lady Astor also spoke with her usual charm, but was not so convincing as her fellow-orators.

Lord Robert Cecil's speech, I thought, was all too short, and his remark—"that would be cured by time"—to the girl who complained that young women had no votes, was delightfully apt.

Miss Ellen Terry Deeply Interested.

Miss Ellen Terry was one of the guests in Mrs. Croxton's box. She looked very well, was most interested in the women speakers, and quite enthusiastic in her praise of Miss Royden's wonderful oratory and beautiful voice.

Mrs. Croxton, who had so much to do with the organising of the meeting, must have been pleased with the splendid result of her hard work.

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WOMEN AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

GREAT MEETING AT THE ALBERT HALL.

("British Weekly" Special.)

Eight months have passed since Viscount Grey presided over an Albert Hall demonstration in support of the League of Nations. On Friday evening, in the same hall, the women of London proclaimed their ardent championship of the League. All the best places were occupied, though hundreds had preferred one or other of the overflow gatherings. The speakers moved between the hall itself, the Imperial Institute, and the crowd in the open air. It has been estimated that 18,000 persons were present, and that four-fifths at least were women. In the arena and stalls there was an unusual display of costly furs and expensive millinery, a sure sign that the leisured classes are backing the movement. Wealth will be needed if the League is to carry out its great task of international service. It was good, however, to see a throng of girls who had manifestly come at the close of a working day, and on the platform a large contingent of Salvation Army officers.

"What, no programmes?" was the murmur that buzzed round the hall during the hour of waiting. Leaflets were placed on every chair, women in uniform were selling books and pamphlets, chocolate-vendors moved along the gangway, warning the laggards, "You can't get chocolates after eight;" but by a singular oversight—unique, as far as my experience goes, at the Albert Hall—there was no plan of the meeting, not the scrappiest list of speakers.

As the daughter of one Archbishop of Canterbury and the wife of another, Mrs. Randall Davidson is ideally qualified to preside over an assembly of women. The Archbishop accompanied her to the platform, and was an attentive listener throughout the evening. Mrs. Davidson, in her opening speech, showed that the idea of this League has sprung from the very heart of Christianity. When wars are no more, we shall be nearer the fulfilment of our Lord's petition, "Thy Kingdom come."

A telegram of sympathy from the King and Queen was read amid hearty cheering The following sentence gave evident pleasure: "Mindful of all that womanhood has sacrificed, endured, and achieved in these years of war, their Majesties feel with you that British idealism can have no more noble aim than to secure to the world enduring peace."

Miss Mary McArthur.

Fair-haired Miss Mary McArthur (Mrs. Anderson) rose from her place on Lady Astor's right to move the first resolution, "That this meeting regards the League of Nations as essential to the peace of the world." Miss McArthur has lately returned from America, and she spoke with well justified indignation of wicked attempts in this country to create ill-feeling between the two English-speaking democracies. Her speech was clearly spoken and well delivered, without much help from notes. The grave, deliberate manner, slow enunciation, restrained and quiet gestures, told of long practice in the difficult art of talking to crowds. The Albert Hall echo, let me remark in passing, seemed to be especially troublesome on Friday. To my seat in the middle of the arena, every speech came in grotesque, half-mutilated repetition. Friends in the stalls made the same complaint, "as if the echo approved of militarism and wanted to spoil the peace oratory."

Viscountess Astor, M.P.

Beyond a doubt the chief interest centred in Viscountess Astor. This was apparent, not only from signs among the audience, but from talk on the underground trains, and conversations on Saturday. London is proud of its first woman M.P., and many compliments were paid her. "Such warm humanity," "so delightfully natural," "so clever and witty," were comments I overheard outside the hall. The lady Member was recognisable by all from her portraits in the newspapers. Press gallery pens have described the dainty black costume, white collar, close-fitting black hat, and immaculate white gloves. The small gloved hands were often raised to enforce a merry quip or clinch an argument. Once or twice Lady Astor got a trifle mixed with her notes, and had to turn back. "Trust America," was the watchword of her fine address, and she pleaded for a generous attitude. "I am perfectly sure that America will come into the League. . . . There are twenty million people in America already urging the Senate to sign the covenant, with or without reservations. Lord Grey's letter has done more to alter the situation for the better than any event in the last few months."

Strange as it may seem, I heard neighbours asking, "What letter?" "What Grey is that?" A lady near me was not even aware that a letter had appeared in the *Times*. Allusions to it were doubtfully taken up, and this proves, I think, the mistake of choosing one paper, however great, as a means of communication between statesmen and the people.

The resolution approving of the League was carried with enthusiasm.

Miss Maude Royden.

Miss Maude Royden, whose motion pledged the meeting to support the League, is, in some respects, a consummate orator. She, alone among the speakers, was unprovided with notes, yet there was never a pause in the full-flowing stream of eloquence. Her danger, I should say, lies in the opposite direction. Words and sentences rolling onward in an unchecked, resistless flood are like a newspaper article of five columns, printed as one unbroken paragraph. It might not be a bad thing if this highly-equipped woman preacher would study the sermons of Dr. Alexander Maclaren, and see how he condescended to the weaker brethren and sisters by orderly arrangement, sharp and clear-cut divisions.

Miss Royden's suggestion that the League is the offspring of an unjust peace, "drawn up by statesmen whom the women do not trust," left me cold. We London women have had our opportunity of cheering Clemenceau, Wilson, Lloyd George, Bonar Law and their colleagues. We have not gone back on our admiration and gratitude. If the Allied Nations had refused to trust these men while war was raging, Germany would at this hour be mistress of the world. Miss Royden's speech, as a whole, was admirable. Her allusion to Bradford's offer of hospitality to a thousand Austrian children drew forth a hearty response.

Lord Robert Cecil.

Last June we heard Lord Robert Cecil pronounce the stately manifesto of the League. He has put his heart into this enterprise, and means to carry it to victory. Friday's impromptu speech gripped the meeting by its single-mindedness and transparent honesty. While other Statesmen are occupied with many things, Lord Robert can say "This one thing I do." In the League of Nations he sees humanity's only hope amid the darkness, and he follows the gleam.

Globe - 7. 2. 20

12,000 WOMEN VOTE FOR LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

KING'S MESSAGE.

Enthusiasm was the keynote of a great mass meeting of women last night, held at the Albert Hall, in support of the League of Nations. Twelve thousand people were in the audience.

Mrs. Randall Davidson presided, supported by Princess Helena Victoria, Lord Robert Cecil, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Viscountess Astor, M.P., Viscount and Viscountess Gladstone, Miss Maude Royden, Miss Mary Macarthur, Mrs. W. A. Cadbury (Lady Mayoress of Birmingham), Lady Islington, and others.

THE KING'S WISH.

The following telegram from the King and Queen was read:—

Mindful of all that womanhood has sacrificed, endured, and achieved in these years of war, their Majesties feel with you that British idealism can have no more noble aim than to secure to the world enduring peace.

Lord Robert Cecil said that at present they heard a great deal about the rattling of the sabre on the Continent. They were told that the American Fleet was being increased, and they read that the miltary forces of this country were being reorganised. All these things might be necessary, but without some measure of general disarmament we could feel no security for peace.

Lady Astor said she thought it was still going to take all the patience and open-mindedness on both sides of the Atlantic to withstand the powerful propaganda which seemed to be going on to separate Britain and the United States.

She believed that as the desperate effects came home to the people of America they would ralise that the desire of the Allies for their co-operation was a genuine one, without ulterior imperialistic motives.

"I am perfectly certain," she added, "that America will come into the League of Nations."

The meeting unanimously carried resolutions declaring the League of Nations to be essential to the peace of the world, and pledging those present to support the League of Nations' Union by every means in their power.

NOT ANOTHER HELL.

"Women have learned from the war," said Miss Maude Royden, "not that some things are impossible, but that they are intolerable. (Applause.) It is time for the women of the world to refuse to hear that some things are impossible. The League may be imperfect, but it offers an alternative to war. Not again shall the world be plunged into hell in four days as it was in 1914."

"What man or woman with a heart to feel can look on Central Europe unmoved?" asked Miss Mary Macarthur.

"We have dreamed dreams of the New World—free from war, and based upon justice between man and man. We realise that it will not be built in a day, and that we must go to war again, this time against greed, envy, fear, and hatred, the foes of all mankind.

"All mankind must unite, not some nations against some other nations, for the sake of a fetish called the Balance of Power."

Manchester Guardian 7.2.20

WOMEN AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

SUPPORT PLEDGED BY GREAT LONDON MEETING.

LONDON, FRIDAY NIGHT.

"They used to tell us that women took no interest in national or international affairs," said Miss Maude Royden, speaking at the Albert Hall to-night, "and look at this." The vast hall was packed from floor to the topmost gallery with women who had come to the women's demonstration in support of the League of Nations. Outside and in the Imperial Institute overflow meetings were held, and altogether 12,000 women testified to their interest in an international affair.

Most of the representative women who had launched this women's campaign were on the platform, and scattered about the hall were groups representing all sections of women's interests. Among them were women from the Arsenal whose allegiance to the League had a special significance; women from various war services, many delegates from the country women's institutes, a party from the Ministry of Labour, women from all the West End drapers and stores whose potential influence in public affairs is beginning to be realised; the Lady Mayoress and the mayoresses of all the London boroughs; and right in front of all the other people from various societies and institutions some blinded soldiers from St. Dunstan's, listening with evident interest and pleasure.

Certain points were made by all the women speakers. They spoke of the present sufferings of the child victims and the agony of the mothers. They emphasised the fact that the success of the League depended ultimately on the individual, as well as the international, goodwill of the peoples—on the spiritual impetus given to its work by minds which had freed themselves of hatred and of greed. "I have known people," said Lady Astor pointedly, "who talked of brotherhood with Germany and who did not like the people next door." "Our purpose," said Mrs. Randall Davidson, who presided, "is not merely that war shall cease, but that righteousness shall prevail between and within the nations."

The Cause of Peace.

Miss Mary Macarthur moved a resolution, afterwards carried unanimously: "That this meeting regards the League of Nations as essential to the peace of the world." She said we needed a new alliance of the best in all the nations against the worst in all the nations, and that was what a League of Nations meant. There had been a time when people extolled the virtue of war, but no one would dare to do that now. The League of Nations demanded the support of the highest enlightened patriotism.

Lady Astor, obviously nervous as she faced such a vast audience, made an appeal for and to America. The United States, she said, was making reservations regarding some articles in the Covenant, but we should not despair. That did not matter provided the United States would make a start, and already in America twenty million people had petitioned the Government to sign the Covenant immediately. She thought that Lord Grey's letter had done more to alter the situation for good than any other single event in the last few months. "Trust America," she said. "I am perfectly sure that she will come into the League of Nations. Here it is easier for us to understand Europe's urgent need. Attempts are being made to sow dissension between this country and America, and I ask America not to be put off by those efforts to divide us."

Miss Maude Royden, speaking to the resolution pledging the meeting to support the League of Nations by every means in its power, addressed herself especially to those in the audience who were dismayed because the League fell so far short of what they had prayed for. It had at least the [illegible]t power of postponing a war until the two nations at enmity had been called on to plead their cause. If we gained this point the world could never again be plunged into hell in four days. It was true that the League had been created in large part by statesmen whom many of them did not greatly trust, and that it was part of a peace which contained grave injustice and mad impossibilities. "But the League exists. It contains the power to revise the treaty. The world is turning towards sanity. Do not let it be your fault if when its sanity returns there is no machine by which it can give its judgment. Do not let the machine be seized and wrested to evil purposes by the enemies of the world. It can be used for the love and pity of the world if you choose. It can be used to alter what is wrong, and it can be perfected, but if you wash your hands of it, do not complain if your enemies use it."

A Great Responsibility.

Lord Robert Cecil said: "The outlook for peace is not less dark than it was last summer. The terrible consequences of war are still in operation. One bright spot in the international horizon has appeared quite recently. In spite of mischief-makers on both sides of the Atlantic the last few days have given us better hopes. This is the anniversary of your enfranchisement. You are no longer voiceless and voteless, you have become full citizens of the Empire with an influence as great as that of your male fellow-citizens. But do not forget that this change has thrown upon you a great responsibility. Surely the cause of peace must appeal to women even more than to men. Be up and doing. The starving children of to-day, the unborn children of future ages, call for your help. Take care lest future generations may say that in the first great call to the enfranchised women they failed to do their duty."

A telegram from the King and Queen, replying to a message from the meeting, said: "Mindful of all that womanhood has sacrificed, endured, and achieved in these years of war, their Majesties feel with you that British idealism can have no more noble aim than to secure to the world enduring peace."

Daily Express. 27.2.20

WOMEN RULERS OF THE WORLD.

HELPERS FOR THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

A little gathering in a tiny room at the Caxton Hall yesterday included some of the most prominent women in public, social, and professional life.

It was an historic occasion, because the women had met to discuss the actual names of those who should take a part as members of their sex in the ruling of the world. Nearly a hundred organisations had been invited to nominate representatives for work in connection with the League of Nations, and the names of the women selected afforded an interesting study in varying activities.

A few of the better known include:—

Miss Maude Royden, editor of the "Common Cause," writer of books on feminist subjects, and lately co-pastor of the City Temple.

Dr. Letitia Fairfield, lecturer, editor, and woman medical director of the R.A.F.

Miss Mary Macarthur, the prominent woman Labour leader.

Lady Sykes, a traveller in Eastern countries.

Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon, a champion in the cause of health and better housing.

Professor Caroline Spurgeon, London University.

Marchioness of Aberdeen, a pioneer suffragist.

Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton, playwright and authority on industrial questions.

Dr. Jane Walker, authority on tuberculosis.

Miss Annie Christitch, member of the staff of the "Daily Express" before she returned to Serbia to do invaluable relief work during the war.

Mrs. Snowden, wife of Mr. Philip Snowden.

Daily Chronicle 7.2.20

AMERICA WILL COME IN, SAYS LADY ASTOR.

The Albert Hall, which has seating accommodation for 10,000 persons, was packed from floor to ceiling last night on the occasion of a women's demonstration in support of the League of Nations. Thousands were unable to obtain admission, and two overflow meetings were held, one outside the hall and the second at the Imperial Institute.

Mrs. Randall Davidson presided at the Albert Hall, supported by Princess Helena Victoria, Lord Robert Cecil, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Viscountess Astor, M.P., Viscount and Viscountess Gladstone, Miss Maud Royden, Miss Mary Macarthur, Mrs. W. A. Cadbury (Lady Mayoress of Birmingham), Lady Islington, and others.

Viscountess Astor, seconding a resolution declaring that the League was essential to the peace of the world, urged that we should not be plunged in despair because the United States made reservations regarding some articles in the Covenant. The reservations did not matter so much provided the United States would make a start. "Trust America," added Lady Astor. "I am perfectly certain that America will come into the League of Nations."

The resolution was unanimously carried.

Challenge 13.2.20

703 B.

THE WOMEN'S LEAGUE OF NATIONS MEETING.

THE Women's Demonstration at the Albert Hall on February 6th, in support of the League of Nations, was a great success. The demand for tickets had been so keen that arrangements were made for two overflow meetings, and the audience showed an enlightened appreciation of the significance of what they were doing. Mrs. Randall Davidson read a brief speech from the Chair, in which she said that failure would be impossible if "We women of Britain set out on this great adventure founded on the love of God."

The first resolution: "This meeting regards the League of Nations as essential to the peace of the world," was proposed by Miss Mary MacArthur, and seconded by Lady Astor, M.P. Miss MacArthur spoke not at great length, but with vigour and transparent sincerity. Referring to posters she had seen on the walls as she came to the meeting, "Swank and Uncle Sam," "America's Insult to our Dead," "Is Germany Beaten?"—she passionately demanded whether a question more pertinent than "Is Germany Beaten?" would not be "Have the ideals for which we fought been victorious?" Developing this thought, she continued that a new world is impossible without a new spirit, and that a new spirit means a new conquest and a new alliance. A conquest over greed and hate, an alliance, not of some nations against others, but of the best in all nations against the worst in each; for hate is twice cursed, it curses him who hates and him who is hated.

Miss Maude Royden proposed the resolution pledging the meeting to support the League of Nations Union. Her question "What happens when an irresistible force meets an immovable object?" provoked laughter, which was renewed when she answered, "I do not know"; then she added, "But I *shall* know, for the irresistible force of women's determination must remove the immovable object called the necessity of war." All she claimed for the League was that by it the nations, when things became intolerable for them, might be offered an alternative to war. The supremely significant part of Miss Royden's speech was her direct and moving challenge to those of her friends who, because they are disappointed that the League is yet so imperfect—"created by statesmen we do not greatly trust"—hold aloof. "I also," she exclaimed, "I also have dreamed dreams of a League which is not this League. These dreams were all I had to sustain me in the war. I too know disappointment, but I say to those who, for such reasons, hold aloof, they incur a terrible responsibility. With the spring of the year comes again the spring of pity and of humanity—Bradford, to its immortal honour, takes a thousand of the ex-enemy children—sanity will come again to the world, and if, when it comes, it finds the channel blocked along which the flood of humanity can flow, yours will be the responsibility. If you do not like the League, change it. Revise the Treaty. But do not for want of a little faith in yourselves and in human nature bring this counsel of despair that the thing shall be dead before it is born, for if you do the world will not easily hope again, it will not easily dream again. Teach it to despair, and the hope of peace is already dead."

Lord Robert Cecil showed his respect for his audience of women by giving of his best political thought, and unfolding in considerable detail his scheme for building up, through the League of Nations Union, a stable yet dynamic force of public opinion, by which the League shall become the real instrument of the peoples rather than of the diplomats. He burked nothing of the difficulties, but above it all rose the indomitable spirit of leadership. "Would it not be a great thing to read of the British representative coming down to the Council of the League (which he declared ought to be summoned at once) and making a great speech, not to his own countrymen only, but to all the world, calling their attention to the vast questions that await settlement, and urging them to abandon sectional and national prejudices. . . . He would point to the starving peoples of Europe, the passions of hatred that afflict us and all the other legacies of war, and he would ask the assembled statesmen to put aside their desires for vengeance or for reparation, territorial aggrandisement or commercial advantage, and treating themselves as members of a great world assembly, to work for the re-establishment of the prosperity of mankind." His closing words may become historic: "You can no longer stand aside even if you wish to. . . . Be up and doing. The starving children of to-day, the unborn children of future ages call for your help. Take care lest future generations may say that in the first great call to the enfranchised women they failed to do their duty."

A. HELEN WARD.

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